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PIONEER COLLECTIONS.

REPORT

OF THE

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF THE

STATE OF MICHIGAN;

TOGETHER WITH

REPORTS OF COUNTY, TOWN, AND DISTRICT PIONEER SOCIETIES.

VOL. VIII.

LANSING:
THORP & GODFREY, STATE PRINTERS AND BINDERS
1886.

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In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

PREFACE.

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Since the organization of the Michigan State Pioneer Society in 1874, many of the veterans, who, in early youth and vigor, came to the then *far west*, have annually met together, renewed old acquaintance, and revived the recollections of early struggles, failures and successes, and traced back to their beginnings many of the institutions of which the State, to-day, is so justly proud. Papers are annually read at these gatherings, which have been carefully prepared, from personal knowledge of the matters to which they refer.

In the interest of history, and to rescue from concealment and danger of entire loss, family treasures carefully stowed away, libraries of antiquarian lore, and the archives of antiquarian and historical associations have been searched and examined, to bring to light papers and matters relating to the early history of the Territory and State, and these have, from time to time, been published in volumes, entitled, "Pioneer Collections of Michigan." The volume now presented is the eighth of this series, and the committee feel assured that it will repay careful perusal and study. In some of the matters herein contained, the reader will be carried far back of the recollection and times of any now living, where the scenes depicted transpired.

The Diary of a careful observer (who lived in Detroit during the entire period covered by the Pontiac Conspiracy, having a personal acquaintance with most of the scenes and incidents referred to), has been procured, through the courtesy of the gentlemen who have the custody of the papers belonging to the old Historical Society of Michigan, and it has been translated, and is now for the first time published entire.

Among the other papers obtained from the same source, the present volume contains:

"Father Marquette and the Early Jesuits of Michigan," by C. I. Walker, of Detroit; "Extracts from a Manuscript Journal of Rev. David Jones," Chaplain of U. S. Troops under General Wayne during Indian Wars in 1794–6; "Sources of Our Early History," (author's name not given); "Plot for Obtaining the Lower Peninsula of Michigan," by Judge J. V. Campbell; and other papers. All of these are of great value and importance, and we bespeak for them, as well as for the entire contents of the volume, careful perusal and study.

It will be observed that, in the more antiquated papers presented, especial care has been taken to preserve, as closely as possible, the exact orthography, capitalization, punctuation, etc., of the original copies.

The committee feel justified in saying that each of the eight volumes now issued contains much of historical interest and value; and while the various subjects are necessarily treated in an unconnected and fragmentary manner, these volumes, and those soon to follow, will prove mines of wealth to historical and antiquarian students.

The work of the Committee of Historians has constantly grown upon their hands. New sources of information have been discovered, and records relating to the earlier historical events transpiring within the limits of what is now Michigan, have been found in Canada, Wisconsin and elsewhere, and are being carefully examined, transcribed and translated, and such portions as relate to what is now Michigan, or in any way throw light on its history or institutions, prepared for publication in ensuing volumes.

The Committee are sometimes embarrassed by the very wealth of materials at their disposal. It is their design not to duplicate the publication of historical facts and incidents, leading to important results, but to rescue from dust, decay and long concealment in monasteries and antiquarian depositories, such, and only such, as are of historical interest, and have not heretofore been published.

The living sources of information, the hardy and venerated Pioneers of

our State, are rapidly passing away. At each annual gathering the forms and voices of venerable fathers and mothers, seen and heard at the preceding meeting, are missed, and soon only their children, and their children's children, will be left to enjoy and rejoice in the grand Michigan they have builded.

In presenting this volume of the Michigan State Pioneer Collections, the Committee desire to express their obligations to Mr. Rudolph Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, of Jackson, for their faithful transcript and translation of the faded and partially defaced manuscripts of the Pontiac conspiracy and other like papers, which required not only learning, but also the exercise of great patience and skill. Also to Mr. W. L. Smith, of Lansing, who was engaged to read the proof, and who has been unwearied in his efforts, devoting time and service far beyond the requirements or expectations of the Committee.

M. SHOEMAKER, CHAIRMAN,
O. C. COMSTOCK,
T. E. WING,
M. H. GOODRICH,
HARRIET A. TENNEY, SECRETARY,
Committee of Historians.

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AN ACT

Making an Appropriation for the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan for the Years 1885 and 1886.

SECTION 1. *The People of the State of Michigan enact,* That there is hereby appropriated from the general fund for each of the years eighteen hundred and eighty-five and eighteen hundred and eighty-six, to the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, the sum of five hundred dollars, to be expended from time to time, whenever needed, for the purposes of said society, in collecting, embodying, arranging and preserving, in authentic form, a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, and other materials illustrative of the history of Michigan; to rescue from oblivion the memory of its early pioneers; to obtain and preserve narratives of their early exploits, perils, and hardy adventures; to secure facts and statements relative to the history, genius, progress or decay of our Indian tribes; to exhibit faithfully the antiquities, and the past and present resources of Michigan; but no part of such annual appropriation shall ever be paid for service rendered by its officers to the society.

SEC. 2. There is hereby further appropriated from the general fund, for each of the years eighteen hundred and eighty-five and eighteen hundred and eighty-six, the sum of two thousand dollars, or as much thereof as may be necessary for the publishing by the State printer, in each of the years eighteen hundred and eighty-five and eighteen hundred and eighty-six, under the direction of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, one volume of matter, prepared and selected by the officers of said society; said volume, in each year, not to exceed seven hundred and twenty pages, and to be in type, style of printing and binding, similar to the "Pioneer Collections" heretofore published by said Pioneer Society, the number of copies so to be published, under the direction of said Pioneer Society, not to exceed, in each year, three thousand volumes.

SEC. 3. Five hundred copies of each volume, to be published as heretofore in this act provided for, shall be deposited in the State library of Michigan, for exchange with the pioneer and historical societies of other States governments and countries. A further distribution of said volumes to be made by the officers of said Pioneer Society to each of the duly incorporated public libraries in the State of Michigan, when demanded by the proper officers of said libraries, and the balance to be placed in the hands of the State Librarian, to be sold at a price not less than seventy-five cents per volume, the proceeds to be deposited in the State treasury to the credit of the general fund.

SEC. 4. The money appropriated by this act may be drawn from the State treasury, from time to time, on warrant of the Auditor General, based on the requisition of the proper officer of the society, subject to the requirements of the law, in regard to filing vouchers and accounts.

Approved March 20, 1885.

OFFICERS

OF THE

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN.

ELECTED JUNE 18, 1885.

PRESIDENT.

HON. HENRY FRALICK ..... Grand Rapids.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

County.	Name.	Residence.
Allegan	DON. C. HENDERSON	Allegan.
Barry	DAVID G. ROBINSON	Hastings.
Bay	WM. R. MCCORMICK	Bay City.
Berrien	ALEX. B. LEEDS	Berrien Springs.
Branch	C. D. RANDALL	Coldwater.
Calhoun	A. O. HYDE	Marshall.
Clare	HENRY WOODRUFF	Farwell.
Clinton	SAMUEL S. WALKER	St. Johns.
Crawford	MELVIN D. OSBAND	Fredericville.
Eaton	DAVID B. HALE	Eaton Rapids.
Emmet	ISAAC D. TOLL	Petoskey.
Genesee	JOSIAH W. BEGOLE	Flint.
Grand Traverse	J. G. RAMSDALL	Traverse City.
Hillsdale	E. O. GROSVENOR	Jonesville.
Ingham	C. B. STEBBINS	Lansing.
Ionia	HAMPTON RICH	Ionia.
Jackson	CHESTER B. TAYLOR	Jackson.
Kalamazoo	HENRY BISHOP	Kalamazoo.
Kent	ROBERT HILTON	Grand Rapids.
Lapeer	JOHN B. WILSON	Lapeer.
Lenawee	FRANCIS A. DEWEY	Cambridge.
Livingston	NELSON B. GREEN	Fowlerville.
Macomb	JOHN E. DAY	Armada.
Marquette	PETER WHITE	Marquette.
Monroe	J. M. STIRLING	Monroe.
Montcalm	JOSEPH P. SHOEMAKER	Amsden.
Muskegon	HENRY H. HOLT	Muskegon.
Oakland	O. POPPLETON	Birmingham.

County.	Name.	Residence.
Oceana	OLIVER K. WHITE	New Era.
Ottawa	HENRY PENNOYER	Nunica.
Saginaw	CHAS. W. GRANT	East Saginaw.
Shiawassee	B. O. WILLIAMS	Owosso.
St. Clair	WM. T. MITCHELL	Port Huron.
St. Joseph	H. H. RILEY	Constantine.
Tuscola	TOWNSEND NORTH	Vassar.
Van Buren	EATON BRANCH	Decatur.
Washtenaw	EZRA D. LAY	Ypsilanti.
Wayne	PHILO PARSONS	Detroit.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HARRIET A. TENNEY ..... Lansing.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

GEORGE H. GREENE ..... Lansing.

TREASURER.

EPHRAIM LONGYEAR ..... Lansing.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HENRY FRALICK, *ex-officio* ..... Grand Rapids.
JOHN C. HOLMES ..... Detroit.
ALBERT MILLER ..... Bay City.
FRANCIS A. DEWEY ..... Cambridge.

COMMITTEE OF HISTORIANS.

COL. M. SHOEMAKER, Chairman ..... Jackson.
TALCOTT E. WING ..... Monroe.
DR. O. C. COMSTOCK ..... Marshall.
M. H. GOODRICH ..... Ann Arbor.
WITTER J. BAXTER ..... Jonesville.
HARRIET A. TENNEY, Secretary ..... Lansing.

MICHIGAN
PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 17, 18, 1885.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

BY FRANCIS A. DEWEY, OF CAMBRIDGE.

Pioneers, Friends, and Citizens of Michigan:

It is with cheer and good-will we meet this evening, and in behalf of the Pioneer Society I give to all a cordial welcome. With advancing age it is oftimes a pleasure to review the former scenes in the history of our beautiful State, and to gather from those who were actual participants in those scenes such facts and reminiscences as they are able to present. Especially are we encouraged when we notice with what interest our efforts to collect these facts and reminiscences for preservation, ere it be too late, are appreciated by the people of the State. Here, to-night, we are met by an intelligent assembly, composed of such persons as are ready to assist, as they may be able, in making this annual meeting a very pleasant and profitable one; and among them we see the sons and daughters of song, who have come to cheer us with admirable music—music which thrills us with delight as we sit in this beautiful temple dedicated to the worship of the true and only God.

It is an appropriate custom, handed down to us from the earliest age, frequently to celebrate the scenes of former times, and to set apart certain days

to gatherings in memory of the past; and thus we have met to take a retrospective view of the primitive days in Michigan—days when the wild, primeval forest stretched unbroken for miles around, while the habitations of the white man were, "like angels' visits, few and far between." I will ask your indulgence for a brief moment while I refer you to the unhospitable shores of Massachusetts, where the feeble band on Plymouth Rock faced midwinter in the year 1620, having as neighbors not only fierce wild beasts, but the more hostile savages as well, while the remoteness of human succor, and the slenderness of the ties which stretched in invisible lines across the wild waste of Atlantic waters, rendered their condition still more unpleasant. They met cruel disappointment and wasting sickness, yet like the lofty pine, storm-topped, they struck root at length, even in the stony soil of bleak New England, and laid deep the firm foundations of a great and glorious commonwealth. We can most truly say that among the genuine stock of New England and the Middle States the people of Michigan claim a large share of their ancestry.

As we examine the first records of Michigan, we find that a treaty was made with twelve tribes of Indians by General Anthony Wayne, December 2, 1795, by which there was obtained a piece of land, bounded on the north by Lake St. Clair, on the south by the River Raisin, and extending six miles in width west from Detroit river. A few years later, on the first day of July, 1805, Governor William Hull having arrived at Detroit, the government of the Territory of Michigan began its existence. On the seventeenth of November, 1807, at the village of Detroit, a treaty was negotiated by Governor Hull, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, with the Ottawa, Chippewa, Wyandotte and Pottawattomie nations of Indians, embracing nearly half of the Lower Peninsula. This unbroken wilderness was surveyed in the year 1812 by Joseph Fletcher, and by proclamation of the President, dated March 15, 1820, it was offered in market on the first Monday in July following. This survey began at the bay where the outlet of the Maumee river enters Lake Erie, and ran directly north one hundred and eighteen miles; thence east by north eighty miles to near White Rock, Lake Huron. This land now contains two hundred and eight townships and several large cities, while highly cultivated farms are found in all sections.

During the year 1819 Governor Cass made a treaty at Saginaw with the Chippewa Indians, in which lands were obtained in Michigan embracing about six millions of acres. As we review the early days of Michigan, we find that but a small part of the interior was settled by those who cleared the forest or plowed the ground previous to the year 1824. Then a few remote

settlements began north and west from Detroit and Monroe. In the year 1825 the Erie Canal was opened to Buffalo, and then the enterprising families from New York and other Eastern States led the way, for ten or twenty successive years, to Michigan. Men in search of lands and new homes came into most every township and county.

Among the sweetest of the cherished memories of the past are some associated with the year 1829. At that time, now fifty-six years ago, the primitive settlement at Tecumseh had fairly begun. A stripling of a boy, eighteen years of age, on foot and alone, a stranger to everyone in the territory, became a resident of Lenawee county. That boy is now the speaker who addresses this large and intelligent assembly of Michigan Pioneers this evening. Long shall I remember that time with cheerful satisfaction.

Another olden time remembrance is brought to mind each succeeding year, as the calendar brings to us the invigorating month of October, when pumpkins, squashes, potatoes and rutabagas are being gathered for winter. On a mild, pleasant, autumnal evening in 1829 a stranger on horseback called at a small dwelling in Tecumseh and requested entertainment for the night. He was cordially received, for we were all pleased to take the hand of the pioneers' friend—Hon. Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory. Quite a pleasant scene was enacted the next day at the house of our late esteemed friend, Musgrove Evans, where the Governor dined with a few pioneer friends. In the afternoon a number of forest choppers escorted the General to a small school-house, sixteen feet square, the largest public hall in the county, where a preliminary meeting was organized by appointing Daniel Pittman chairman, Dr. M. A. Patterson secretary. Governor Cass made a short address, showing the importance of organizing and appointing officers for a regiment of soldiers. I was pleased on that day to know that my name was not omitted from the warriors' roll. I still have the commission given me, bearing date October 25, 1829. Of that first military organization fifty-six years ago, including officers and privates, only four are now left. The first signs of war in Lenawee county were at midnight in the month of May, 1832. The drums beat the "long roll," and, forming our ranks, we marched two days through the wilderness to Niles. On the outskirts of Coldwater prairie a midnight battle was fought; powder was used freely, and the limbs and bark of the neighboring forest trees were roughly dealt with, but the Black Hawk tribe retreated. Thus we see the importance of the military arm of our service. With discipline and undaunted bravery it maintained our rights near the Ohio line, and among chickens and potatoes on the disputed lands near Toledo in the year 1835; also in Mexico in 1847;

and again in the war of the Rebellion from 1861 until 1865, when the United States was deluged with blood and every house was one of mourning.

The records of the public land sales at the office in Kalamazoo for the year 1836 show that there were nearly two millions of money received at one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. For one single day there was received eighty-seven thousand dollars in exchange for the fertile land of Michigan. And this, notwithstanding the Surveyor-General's report for the year 1815 says that the land was unfit for cultivation and not worth the expense of surveying.

Our State now shows admirable farms, with beautiful homes and an enterprising population, not surpassed anywhere. From humble beginnings and by timely perseverance and well directed enterprise they have won wealth for themselves and fame for the State. It is with cherished satisfaction that we look back to the primitive wilderness homes forty or fifty years ago, when our fathers or brothers first came to the forest domain, erected the log house, and marked out the roads. In the place where the Indian camp fires were built, the war songs were sung, and the councils of the braves were held, now may be seen, near the crystal lakes and beautiful rivers, large and enterprising villages, magnificent cities, and fertile farms, all teeming with an intelligent population. Our picturesque and useful inland lakes are found in nearly every county, and number 5,173.

Nor should we omit to mention the iron railway which in all parts of our country is provided with beautiful and sumptuous accommodations and where trains of palace cars are passing over the country night and day, with a speed of thirty-five miles an hour. On the four bordering lakes we have the unexcelled palace steamers, which sail round our coast, 1,684 miles. And the telegraph wires that span our State may be measured by the hundreds of miles. Here also are asylums built, commensurate with the growth of the State, for all classes of unfortunate citizens. Our school system, from the primary department to the university, is regarded as nearly perfect. In conclusion, we well may say that the mining, salt, and lumber interests, with the inexhaustible beds of lime rock and plaster deposits, and the untold millions accumulated from the farms, have combined to make Michigan one of the chief States of America.

A large share of our honored and historic pioneers have left us to be here no more; it is with sadness we review the record of the departed, and we are reminded that in a few more years there will be no one here to recount the early history of this State. Very excellent and well written historical papers have been received for publication in the volumes of Pioneer Collec-

tions, of which there are now six volumes of about seven hundred pages each printed and ready for sale. We would respectfully say to the few remaining pioneers, that we hope to learn of them and of others any facts regarding the first settlement of their respective localities; so that the same may be printed in the State Pioneer Collections. The State Pioneer Society was organized under a special charter April 22, 1874, in the old capitol, now a thing of the past. The object is the collecting and preserving historical, biographical, and other information in relation to the State of Michigan. Any person forty years of age and twenty-five years a resident of the State is eligible to membership in this Society on the payment of one dollar. Officers of this Society render their services gratuitiously and are most happy when most successful in regaining from oblivion the early history of their cherished State. In closing this brief outline let me say, one generation soon follows another, and the shades of night pass over historic men and memorable women. Who are more worthy of historic record than they who transformed the wilderness into a beautiful and a civilized State, with fertile plantations on all sides and thousands of attractive and happy homes, rich in every variety of plant, grain, fruit, and vegetable? We would respectfully say to all here and to the generous thousands who visit this country and State that "here is peace," and we bespeak for all good-will and plenty in the State of Michigan.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

OFFICE OF THE
PIONEER SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN,
Lansing, June 17, 1885.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the "Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan," I herewith present my eleventh annual report.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1884.

The tenth annual meeting of the society was held in Representative Hall, commencing at two o'clock, Wednesday afternoon, June 4, 1884.

OFFICERS PRESENT.

President—C. I. Walker.

Recording Secretary—Harriet A. Tenney.

Corresponding Secretary—George H. Greene.

Executive Committee—Albert Miller, John C. Holmes, and Henry Fralick.

Committee of Historians—M. Shoemaker, M. H. Goodrich, T. E. Wing, and F. A. Dewey.

Vice-Presidents—O. Poppleton, M. Shoemaker, Roger Haviland, H. H. Riley, E. D. Lay, F. A. Dewey, and H. H. Rich.

The session was opened by Rev. B. Franklin, with the reading of the 103d Psalm, and prayer.

A piano solo—"Grand Polanaise"—was rendered by Rosa Keene, pupil from the State School for the Blind; also a vocal solo—"La Manola"—was sung by Miss Keene.

The reports of the Recording and Corresponding Secretaries and of the Treasurer were read and adopted.

The report of the Committee of Historians was read by M. Shoemaker, and adopted.

The reports of the Memorial Committee were then read. Mr. Geo. H. Greene, the corresponding secretary, reported that there are 100 names of members entered upon the memorial record book, who have died during the ten years of the organization of the society, 1874–1884.

A vocal solo, "Unforgotten Days," was sung by Miss Ella Baker.

The President said that he would take the liberty of introducing something not upon the programme,—a poem written and dedicated to the State Pioneer Society by Elijah Woodworth, on the 92nd anniversary of his birthday, which was read. Mr. Woodworth was a soldier of the war of 1812.

A biography of Rev. Charles Fox, by his son, Wm. H. Fox, was read by J. C. Holmes.

A vocal solo was then sung by Mr. Brown.

The History of "The Michigan Farmer" was read by J. C. Holmes.

Five minute speeches were called for. Mr. O. Poppleton made a few remarks on the life and character of Mr. Caneels, a corresponding secretary of "The Michigan Farmer."

The President appointed Albert Miller, T. E. Wing and E. D. Lay, a committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year.

"Greenwich" was sung by a quartette, Messrs. Crosman and Thompson and the Misses Brown.

The society then adjourned.

Wednesday Evening.

The society met at 7:30 o'clock, standard time. The President in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

A quartette—"Dancing over the Waves"—was sung by Messrs. Pratt and Esselstyn, Misses Turner and Paddack, Mrs. S. L. Kilbourne presiding at the piano.

The President, C. I. Walker, then delivered his address.

"The Schools of Michigan during the Territorial Period," by Lucy Salmon, A. M., was read by Geo. W. Knight, A. M.

A vocal solo was then sung by Mr. Adler.

"Early days in Genesee county" by Sherman Stevens, was read by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

Recitation by Inez Smith—"The Old House," Eugene J. Hall, author.

On motion of O. Poppleton, the corresponding secretary was requested to convey to Mr. Sherman Stevens the thanks of this society for his valuable paper, and, on motion of Albert Miller, the society voted to present Mr. Stevens with a copy of the volume of the Pioneer Collections that will contain his paper when published.

An outline of the march of the 15th U. S. Infantry, from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, 1847, and of some of the ungazetted heroes of company E of that regiment, by Col. Isaac D. Toll, was read by T. E. Wing.

Mr. George Spangler rendered a violin solo, with a piano accompaniment.

A paper entitled "The $5,000,000 Loan" by John T. Blois, was read by J. C. Holmes.

"Down on the Suwanee River," a quartette, was sung by Messrs. Pratt and Esselstyn, Misses Turner and Paddack.

On motion, the Society then adjourned, to meet again Thursday morning at 9 o'clock.

Thursday Morning.

The Society met according to adjournment, and was called to order by the President. Prayer was offered by Rev. W. H. Thompson, and the audience joined in singing "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

A paper on the "Land Grants for Wagon Roads and Canals in Michigan" was read by Albert N. Bliss.

"Bishop Chase in Gilead in 1832–1836," by Mabel Randell, his kinswoman, was read by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

A vocal solo, "Recollections of Childhood," was sung by W. L. Smith.

"The Early History of North Lansing" was read by Mrs. D. L. Case.

"The Treaty of Saginaw, 1819," by E. S. Williams, read by J. C. Holmes.

A duet, "Home Again," was sung by Misses Lizzie Brown and Addie Berridge.

A paper on the "Land Grants for Common Schools in Michigan" was read by Geo. W. Knight.

Music—"New Durham" was sung by Messrs. Crosman and Thompson and the Misses Brown.

The Society then adjourned till 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Thursday Afternoon.

The Society met according to adjournment. Mr. O. Poppleton was called to the chair during the temporary absence of the President.

"What I Know About O-taw-wars and Ne-war-go," by Ephraim S. Williams, was read by Col. M. Shoemaker.

"A Narrative concerning the Knaggs Farm and Windmill in Springwells," near Detroit, was read by J. C. Holmes.

A violin solo—"Home, Sweet Home"—was rendered by Mrs. Ella Shank.

"Some Sketches of the Early Settlement of the Copper Region of Lake Superior" was read by John H. Forster.

The President, C. I. Walker, took the chair, and ex-Governor Felch being present, was invited to a seat on the platform.

Miss Ida Longyear gave a recitation, "The Old House on Miller's Hill," Eugene J. Hall, author.

A vocal solo, "Waiting," was sung by Jessie Baker.

"The Pottawattomie Indians in Michigan over Fifty Years Ago" was read by F. A. Dewey.

Memoir of Hon. John Ball was read by Henry Fralick.

Hon. Albert Miller, chairman of the committee on the nomination of officers, made a report which was accepted and adopted.

For President—F. A. Dewey, Cambridge.

For Recording Secretary—Harriet A. Tenney, Lansing.

For Corresponding Secretary—George H. Greene, Lansing.

For Treasurer—Ephraim Longyear, Lansing.

For Executive Committee—John C. Holmes, Detroit; Henry Fralick Grand Rapids; Albert Miller, Bay City.

Committee of Historians—Michael Shoemaker, Jackson; Talcott E. Wing, Monroe; O. C. Comstock, Marshall; H. G. Wells, Kalamazoo; M. H. Goodrich, Ann Arbor; Harriet A. Tenney, Lansing.

Vice Presidents—Allegan county, Don C. Henderson; Barry, David G. Robinson; Bay, Wm. R. McCormick; Berrien, Alex. B. Leeds; Branch, C. D. Randall; Calhoun, A. O. Hyde; Clare, Henry Woodruff; Clinton, Samuel S. Walker; Crawford, Melvin D. Osband; Eaton, David B. Hale; Emmet, Isaac D. Toll; Genesee, Josiah W. Begole; Grand Traverse, J. G. Ramsdall; Hillsdale, E. O. Grosvenor; Ingham, George H. Greene; Ionia, Hampton Rich; Jackson, John F. Mitchell; Kalamazoo, Henry Bishop; Kent, Robert Hilton; Lapeer, John B. Wilson; Lenawee, Francis A. Dewey; Livingston, Nelson B. Green; Macomb, John E. Day, Marquette, Peter White; Monroe, J. H. Sterling; Montcalm, Joseph P. Shoemaker; Muskegon, Henry H. Holt; Oakland, O. Poppleton; Oceana, Oliver K. White; Ottawa, Henry Pennoyer; Saginaw, Charles W. Grant; Shiawassee, Roger Haviland; St. Clair, Wm. T. Mitchell; St. Joseph, H. H. Riley; Tuscola, Townsend North; Van Buren, Eaton Branch; Washtenaw, Ezra D. Lay; Wayne, Philo Parsons.

"Invitation" was sung by the quartette, Messrs. Crosman and Thompson, and the Misses Brown.

The society adjourned until half past seven.

Thursday Evening.

The society met according to adjournment; Francis A. Dewey, the President-elect, in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

A quartette—"Friendship, Love and Song"—was sung by Messrs. Lee and Baker, Mrs. DeViney and Miss Lizzie Haines.

The life of D. Darwin Hughes was read by Hon. T. M. Cooley.

A recitation—"The Battle of Gettysburg"—was given by Mrs. S. F. Summers.

The battle song—"Michigan, My Michigan"—was sung by Rev. R. C. Crawford.

Reminiscences relating to the treaty of Saginaw, 1819, by E. S. Williams, was read by B. O. Williams.

The early history of Oakland county was read by O. Poppleton.

Five-minute speeches being called for, J. C. Holmes presented the "original saw mill" of the Saginaw Valley—the pitman and the sash—in the persons of Judge Albert Miller and Charles Lull. Mr. B. L. Baxter related many amusing anecdotes about the Toledo War. Ex-Governor Felch being called upon, made very eloquent remarks in regard to pioneer life in Michigan. He was followed by T. E. Wing with some humorous anecdotes.

The following resolutions were offered and adopted:

By John C. Holmes:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to Mr. Thomas Hill and his assistants for their kindness and attention to the Association in caring for and making suitable arrangements in the hall for this meeting. Their courtesy to members, and the interest they have exhibited in their endeavors to have members comfortably seated, are fully appreciated by the Pioneers.

By Col. M. Shoemaker:

Resolved, That the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan tender its thanks to the State Board of Agriculture for the profuse and beautiful supply of plants from the Agricultural College which adorn the Speaker's stand and Secretary's desk, and to Mr. Louis Knapper, the gardener at the Agricultural College, for his care and skill in the selection and arrangement of the same.

By Col. M. Shoemaker:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan are hereby tendered to Mrs. John W. Longyear, Mrs. James Turner, Mrs. D. L. Case and Mrs. Smith Tooker, Committee on Decoration, for the beautiful and appropriate manner in which they arranged and displayed the profusion of cut flowers with which the Speaker's stand and Secretary's desk are decorated.

By Col. M. Shoemaker:

Resolved, That the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, to express its appreciation of the great additional interest given to its annual meeting by the number and variety of the musical compositions, and by the skill and ability with which they have been rendered, hereby offer its grateful thanks to the several quartettes, trios, solos and the instrumental musicians who have with so much good will given their services to aid in the efforts of the Society to make the meeting attractive as well as instructive.

Mr. Henry Fralick made a few remarks on the advantage and necessity of the organization of the Pioneer Society.

A song—"A Medley"—was given by the quartette, Messrs. Lee and Baker, and Mrs. DeViney and Miss Haines. The benediction was pronounced by Dr. Wm. H. Haze.

On motion of J. C. Holmes the Society adjourned.

LIST OF DONATIONS FROM JUNE, 1884, TO JUNE, 1885.

F. A. DEWEY:

Tecumseh Herald, June 12, 1884. State Pioneers at Lansing.

GEN. WM. BIRNEY, June 16, 1885:

Sketch of the Life of James G. Birney.

J. B. PORTER, June 18, 1884:

Sermon of Rev. T. P. Prudden, delivered April 27, 1884, at the 20th anniversary of Plymouth Church, Lansing.

DWIGHT H. KELTON, July 12, 1884:

Annals of Fort Mackinac, by D. H. Kelton.

G. W. RAUCK, August 1, 1884:

Rauck's Guide to Lexington, Kentucky. Historical Address, by G. W. Rauck at the Centennial celebration of the settlement of Lexington, Ky.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

The Theatre; Its early days in Chicago, by J. H. McVicker. In Memoriam: Isaac N. Arnold and Thomas Hoyne.

WYOMING HISTORICAL SOCIETY, October 18, 1884:

Number of articles presented, 14.

The Wilkes Barre Record, Feb. 21, 1885.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Report of Kansas State Board of Agriculture for Sept., 1884.

STEPHEN D. PEET:

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, July, 1884; Sept., 1884; Nov., 1884; Jan., 1885; March, 1885; May, 1885.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA:

Bulletin of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Jan., 1884.
" " " July, 1884.
" " " Jan., 1885.

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Annual Report of the Board of Managers of said society, Jan. 13, 1885.

O. A. JENISON:

Announcement of Fall Fair, at Lansing, 1884.

The Lansing Republican, April 28, 1855; presented Jan. 19, 1885.

M. SHOEMAKER:

Gazetteer of the State of Michigan, by J. T. Blois, published in 1838.

Official Register of the United States for 1883. Vol. I., Legislative, Executive, Judicial. Vol. II., The Post Office Department and Postal Service.

J. C. HOLMES:

Detroit Post and Tribune, dated Dec. 24, 1882; Jan. 14, 1883; Jan. 28, 1883.

Transactions of Michigan State Agricultural Society for 1849, presented Jan. 23, 1885.

Third Annual Report of Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of Mich., for the year ending 1864.

Steel engraving of H. S. Williams.

Package of Cadillac papers, received May 20, 1885.

One package of miscellaneous papers, received June 3, 1885.

One package of miscellaneous papers, magazines, etc., received June 3, 1885.

One package miscellaneous papers, received June 13, 1885.

Zeisberger Diary, 1781–98, 2 volumes, received June 13, 1885.

Candle snuffers and tray.

JOHN OLIVER:

June 3, 1885, History of Bay county.

GEN. WM. P. INNES, June 9, 1885:

Historical Sketch of Early Masonry in Michigan.

Transactions of Grand Lodge, 1827–28.

Transactions of Grand Lodge from 1842 to 1885 inclusive.

W. W. COOK:

History of Ingham and Eaton Counties.

MISCELANEOUS:

Lansing Republican, June 11, 1884.

Monroe Commercial, July 11, 1884.

Adrian Times and Expositor, July 4, 1884.

The Wilkes Barre Record, Sept. 13, 1884.

Owosso Weekly Press, Sept. 17, 1884.

Detroit Free Press, Dec. 14. 1884.

Detroit Post, Dec. 15, 1884.

Detroit Post, Dec. 22, 1884.

MEMBERSHIP.

The increase in the membership since the last annual meeting is thirty-eight. The names are as follows: Melvin D. Osband, Elliott T. Slocum, Ervin Palmer, John Oliver, Allen Beane, Helen M. Farrand, John F. Temple, George Sellman, Mrs. R. C. Crawford, Mrs. O. Poppleton, Mrs. R. L. Sherman, Mrs. Philander Knight, Daniel Ellis, Elias Comstock, H. F. Pennington, A. D. Hatch, Mrs. Frank Hagerman, Mrs. Whitney Jones, Mrs. S. S. Stagg, Mrs. O. B. Ingersoll, Ebenezer McMillan, Dan. H. Ball, Levi E. Dolson, T. J. Ramsdall, C. J. Monroe, A. F. Morehouse, T. C. Abbot, George W. Thompson, Joseph Manwaring, Madison J. Ulrich, Levi L. Barbour, Mrs. Susan K. Winans, Harry A. Conant, Russell A. Alger, J. Huff Jones, Solomon D. Hollister, James A. Crozier, H. H. Safford.

The total number of names now enrolled upon the membership book of the society is six hundred and twenty-one.

HARRIET A. TENNEY,

Rec. Sec. of State Pioneer Society.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

LANSING, JUNE 17, 1885.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan State Pioneer Society:

Since our last meeting another year has passed into history; and in conformity to custom it now becomes my duty to submit my annual report of the correspondence of the Society, also the files of letters and communications received during the year, all of which have received prompt attention, as will be seen by the filings made on each.

The usual notices to vice presidents notifying them of their election were sent soon after our last annual meeting and again another notice to them a few weeks prior to this meeting reminding them of their duty relative to furnishing to this meeting a memorial report of all pioneers in their respective counties who have died within the year.

Several of the vice presidents not being able to attend this meeting have forwarded their report, which will be presented at the proper time; others no doubt are here and will present theirs in person.

Those of our own membership who have passed away during the year are sixteen in number, as follows:

Moses Bartow of Portland, July 7, 1884.

Henry C. Lewis of Coldwater, Aug. 18, 1884.

Roger Haviland of Burns, and vice president for Shiawassee county, Sept. 24, 1884.

Mrs. Charles P. Bush of Lansing, Sept. 19, 1884.

Minos McRoberts of Mason, Oct. 5, 1884.

William H. Montgomery of Hudson, Oct. 13, 1884.

Rev. John S. Goodman of East Saginaw, Nov. 12, 1884.

Caleb Sweetland of Kalamazoo, Nov. 28, 1884.

Lucius L. Clark of Kalamazoo, Dec. 15, 1884.

Hardy J. Olds, of Jonesville, Died Jan. 9, 1885.

Charles Grant of Bengal, Jan. 11, 1885.

Mrs. Harriet Row of Lansing, Feb. 28, 1885.

Mrs. Jane Olds of Alaiedon, April 4, 1885.

Judge Hezekiah G. Wells of Kalamazoo, a member of the committee of historians, April 4, 1885.

Alexander Buell of Kalamazoo, April 17, 1885.

Allen Potter of Kalamazoo, May 8, 1885.

Notices of this meeting containing a list of papers to be read, as far as could be at that time determined, were sent May 29, 1885, to each member of the society, also one to each of the leading newspapers of the State.

In addition to these notices and in the same envelope, in accordance with a resolution of the committee of historians, I enclosed the following circular:

MICHIGAN STATE PIONEER SOCIETY.

This Society is desirous of obtaining a copy of all county histories in the State that have been published, and it is believed that there are some persons in each county where such a history has been published who are willing to donate one to the Society as a book of reference for the use of those throughout the State who are fast becoming accustomed to look to this Society for historical information.

It is requested that the person into whose hands this circular may fall will use his best endeavor to find a copy that can be so donated, and any person who can make such a donation is requested to correspond with the undersigned.

GEO. H. GREENE,

Lansing, May 29, 1885. *Corresponding Secretary, Lansing, Mich.*

This bids fair to bring to our archives quite a number of these histories. Bay, Ingham and Eaton have already been donated and notices have been received that several others will be.

It is hoped that the friends of the Society will not stop with county histories alone, but anything that pertains to the history of any part of the State will be very thankfully received and gratefully acknowledged.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

GEO. H. GREENE,
Corresponding Secretary.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

To the Officers and Members of the State Pioneer Society of Michigan:

Your Treasurer begs leave to submit the following report:

E. Longyear, Treasurer, in account with the Society, from June 4, 1884, to June 15, 1885.

To balance on hand June 4, 1884			$597 26
Receipts for membership fees		$112 00	
Pioneer Collections. Vols. 1 and 2		34 40	
Old folks' song book		96	
from appropriation, General Fund, of 1882	$200 00		
1883	500 00		
		700 00	
Appropriation, Publication Fund		1,000 00	
			1,847 36
Total			$2,444 62

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid from General Fund:		
for postage, express, copying and filing papers, and expenses of annual meeting 1884	$101 28	
Paid for portrait of Captain Marsac	50 00	
Expenses of Executive Committee	166 52	
		$317 80
Paid from Publication Fund:		
for expenses of Committee of Historians	173 32	
W. S. George & Co., for printing	1,462 15	
Paid for copying	50 00	
Telegram	80	
Forbes & Co. for lithographing	41 13	
C. B. Stebbins for proof reading on Vols. 5 and 6, Pioneer Collections	200 00	
		1,927 40
Total disbursements		$2,245 20
Balance on hand June 15, 1885		199 42
		$2,444 62

All of which is respectfully submitted.

E. LONGYEAR,
Treasurer.

LANSING, June 17, 1885.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF HISTORIANS.

PREPARED BY T. E. WING.

LANSING, June 17, 1885.

To the Pioneers of the State of Michigan:

The Committee of Historians of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan have reason to congratulate its membership and citizens of our beautiful Peninsula upon the success that has crowned the efforts and aims of this society in securing from the *first settlers* of our Territory and State, authentic and reliable material which shall furnish for the historian of the future information upon which reliance can be placed. Historians generally give prominence to eminent men who have attracted attention by their ability and statesmanship, leading and directing the public mind and institutions of our country; prominence to those who have led our armies to battle and to victory; prominence to those who have figured largely in political

revolutions. But the object and aim of this society is to give the material for full, accurate and graphic descriptions of the actual condition of the first settlers; the men who first cleared our forests, many of whom, without public notoriety, have laid the foundations of the prosperity and blessings we now enjoy; the hardships they endured, the wonderful development of resources through their agency, the broad views entertained in laying the foundations for our schools and educational institutions which they not only founded and fostered, the progress made in Christian civilization which has attracted the attention and admiration of *not only* our sister States, but has elicited complimentary commendations from the government and institutions of the old world.

The able report made in June, 1884, reviewing the transactions and achievements of this society previous to that time, in collecting, examining, and arranging papers for the Pioneer Collections and superintending the publication of the first four volumes, obviates the necessity of further reference thereto.

During the past two years this society has received and published histories of the Michigan State Agricultural College, by T. C. Abbot; of Hillsdale College, by John C. Patterson; of Michigan Female College, by Mrs. Eliza C. Smith; manuscripts from Pioneers of the early history and settlement of Allegan county, Alpena county, Branch county, Calhoun county, Ingham county, Ionia county, Kalamazoo county, Kent county, Mackinac county, Macomb county, Monroe county, Ottawa county, St. Clair county, St. Joseph county, Saginaw county, Washtenaw and Wayne counties.

History of the Black Hawk war, by Henry Little.

Poems referring to early life in Michigan, by Wm. Lambie, E. N. Wilcox, Mrs. Emma Tuttle, Rev. R. C. Crawford, W. E. Ransom, and Dr. W. Campbell.

Memorial discourses on the life and services of Erastus O. Haven, D. D., LL. D., former President of our University.

Memorial discourses on the life and services of Rev. Geo. P. Williams, Professor for so many years of our University.

Autobiography and perfect likeness of Hon. J. W. Begole, ex-Governor of Michigan.

Autobiography of Geo. H. Greene, our worthy corresponding secretary, and Wm. A. Burt, one of our commissioners of internal improvement and surveyor of the upper peninsula.

Time would fail me to enumerate the valuable articles contributed to this society during the past two years, fraught with great interest relating to the

early settlement of the different towns in the lower and upper peninsulas, that constitute the 5th and 6th volumes of Pioneer Collections and the compilation for the 7th volume, now ready and prepared for the press, which your committee commend to your favorable notice, feeling assured that you will not only be agreeably entertained in their perusal but that you will derive valuable information that can be gained from no other source.

Your committee take pleasure in announcing the fact, that by correspondence with friends in Germany we have procured a negative, taken late in life, of the late Chancellor Tappan—the first chancellor of our University, to whom the citizens of our State are so largely indebted for his instrumentality in laying the foundation and superstructure of our University, which has challenged the admiration of the civilized world. Our committee is also assured that we shall soon be presented with a manuscript of a *Philanthropic Poem* which the Chancellor had devoted many years of the latter part of his eventful life in composing, but never issued to the public. That in addition to the eulogy by Prof. Frieze, now in the possession of the society, we shall be favored, in time for the forthcoming volume, from the pen of Mrs. Bruno, the daughter of the Chancellor residing in Germany, his history subsequent to his resignation of the Chancellorship which will be highly prized, especially by the graduates of the University by whom he is remembered with great affection and gratitude.

While the services of the officers of this society are appreciated and highly prized by those who have examined the published volumes and have been interested in the proceedings of this society, it is nevertheless to be regretted that a very small proportion of our citizens appear to have any correct knowledge of the aims and purposes this society has in view,—but because they have not had their attention attracted thereto, they, rather, suppose the object is to procure a soft place for a number of old gentlemen with a salary and little to do, that they have an annual jubilee and feast, and all at the expense of the State. When, if they would seek correct information, they would find that the officers pay an annual fee of membership, but not one dollar, from the organization of this society to the present time, has been appropriated or used in payment for salaries or services. But we are mindful of the fact that the original pioneers are fast passing away, that in the next decade nearly all, if not all, will have gone to their rest and the sources of information with them. On the contrary, the officers of this society have voluntarily contributed their time and services and will feel amply

compensated, believing as time passes the result of their labor will be more and better appreciated and highly prized by future generations.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

M. SHOEMAKER, *Chairman.*
TALCOTT E. WING.
DR. O. C. COMSTOCK.
M. H. GOODRICH.
WITTER J. BAXTER,
Committee of Historians.

HARRIET A. TENNEY, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

ALLEGAN COUNTY.

BY DONALD C. HENDERSON.

CAPT. HENRY STARK.

This well-known citizen died in Otsego Thursday, April 30, 1885, of a complication of diseases, chief of which was chronic diarrhœa, contracted in the army, from which he had suffered extremely since the war. Captain Stark was in the regular army over forty-five years ago, was stationed at Fort Dearborn (Chicago) when that place was a small burg, and took part in the Black Hawk war. In the Union army he commanded Company G, Sixth Michigan infantry, afterwards artillery. He had a high reputation as a soldier, and was one of the first to enter New Orleans at the head of his company. The deceased was a man of excellent good sense, well informed, of blameless moral character, kind-hearted, and of good social qualities. He was a native of Vermont, and a descendant of John and Mollie Stark of revolutionary fame. He came to Otsego about thirty-five years ago, and at his death wanted only a few days of being seventy years of age. He leaves a widow and one son, Arthur T. Stark. A large concourse of people attended the funeral at his late residence, five miles from the village of Otsego, on Sunday last. W. G. Eaton Post, G. A. R., of Otsego, came down with the

band and some fifteen members of C. J. Bassett Post went up from Allegan. The pall bearers were members of his regiment, and six of his comrades, with arms, acted as guard. On arriving at the village the soldiers marched at the head of the procession to the cemetery. Rev. E. Andruss of Cooper, who was chaplain of the Sixth Michigan, officiated at the funeral, and spoke in the highest terms of Capt. Stark as a soldier. The burial was conducted by the G. A. R. Post with the ceremonies of the order.—*Allegan Journal and Tribune,* May 8, 1885.

At the Reunion of the Sixth Michigan Infantry, held at Benton Harbor, August 26, 1885, Dr. Milton Chase, of Otsego, spoke of Capt. Henry Stark as follows:

Comrades, our veteran Captain died at his home in Otsego, Michigan, April 30, 1885, after an acute attack of the old ailments that came as a legacy of his army life on the borders of the pestiferous swamps of Louisiana. He lacked but a few days of being seventy years old. He was an orderly sergeant of a company of U. S. Infantry in 1833, and stationed at Chicago when it was the western outpost of the United States. A year or two ago Long John Wentworth, President of the Chicago Historical Society, spied him out and invited him to Chicago as the guest of the Iroquois Club of that city. He was escorted from his hotel to the club room by millionaires and trod with his granger boots a Brussels carpet laid from his coach to the club-house door, and the first ladies of Chicago sought the honor of a promenade in the hall with him. The next day the officers of the club were his auditors as he tried to point out the location of old Fort Dearborn and its surroundings and told of the old settlers of 1833.

Of his history and worth while in our Sixth Regiment I need not to tell you. Not one of you but remembers his straightforward honesty, his dauntless courage, his conscientious attention to every detail of his duties as a soldier of the U. S. A., and of his kindness to the men under his care. He was one of the officers who always addressed the members of his company as men, not boys. I need not say more of this which you know. I do want to say something to you of his life as a member of society and a citizen of the State since 1865. In this capacity he was a model that any of us would be proud to have our sons copy in nearly everything. He was scrupulously honest in his financial affairs. He had as one of his mottoes to live by, that would avert a national death from the crush of millionaires or the chaos of communism. It was this—"I don't believe in taking any man's dollar until I render him an equivalent for it in goods of the market, and I don't believe in parting with a dollar of mine until I get a dollar's worth of goods of the

land." In the discharge of his duty at the polls he was extremely conscientious to do the best possible thing for his country, and second to this was a consideration for party and personal friends. I once saw him slap a careless but good natured joker over the mouth for asking him "what he got for his vote," and he could not understand that there could be any apology for an attempt to joke him in this way. He leaves enough property to his widow to make comfortable provision for her during the rest of her life. It was earned by him and her in a way that will never make them blush to have every item spread before the angels of heaven in the "sweet bye and bye." Ever since the war every hour, when awake, the pains of disease have been felt by him, but they were bravely borne because he thought the service in which they were contracted was necessary for the preservation of the country. He had not missed more than two of our annual reunions, previous to his death. If in spirit form he can at will visit the earth he is here with us this evening, for there is no place on earth that he would more like to be. May peace be to his ashes and joy to his soul is the wish of your speaker and of you all.

CAPT. ROBERT W. HELMER.

Capt. Robert W. Helmer died at his residence, two miles west of Dorr Center, May 12, 1885, of Bright's disease. The deceased came to Dorr seventeen years ago, and at one time was largely engaged in lumbering operations, running a saw-mill near his residence. He served in the war in the Third Michigan cavalry, and afterward became captain of a company in a colored regiment. He was a prominent and highly respected citizen and a member of the Methodist Church. He leaves a wife and five children. The funeral was held yesterday, and was conducted by Eureka chapter No. 50, R. A. M., at Allegan, and P. S. Pullen lodge No. 307, F. A. M., at Dorr, of both of which he was a member. His age was fifty-seven years.—*Allegan Journal and Tribune*, May 15, 1885.

BERRIEN COUNTY.

BY ALEXANDER B. LEEDS.

Judge Henry H. Cooledge, died May 31, 1884, Niles, aged 79 years.
William W. Webber, died May —, 1884, Niles township, aged — years.
Mrs. Celia Tutton, died June 4, 1884, Pipestone, aged 72 years.
George W. Rossman, died June 5, 1884, Niles city, aged 72 years.

John Harner, died June 14, 1884, Oronoko, aged 81 years.
Jacob Luther, died June 15, 1884, Buchanan, aged 69 years.
Joseph Bowman, died June 19, 1884, Benton, aged 75 years.
Joseph De Lambert, died June 21, 1884, Niles city, aged 72 years.
Mrs. William Easton, died June 22, 1884, ———, aged 73 years.
Alonzo Barrett, died June 23, 1884, Benton, aged 74 years.
Mrs. Caroline Newlan, died June 28, 1884, Benton, aged 49 years.
Salmon L. Estes, died June 29, 1884, Buchanan, aged 55 years.
Mrs. George Feodore, died July 1, 1884, ———, aged 68 years.
Almond B. Riford, died July 10, 1884, Benton, aged 44 years.
Elisha O. Allager, died July 11, 1884, Buchanan, aged 66 years.
Benjamin Stevens, died July 14, 1884, ———, aged 84 years.
Philip Neeb, died July 15, 1884, Niles city, aged — years.
Mrs. Juliette Griswold, died July 25, 1884, Niles city, aged 64 years.
Michael Lyons, died July 28, 1884, Niles township, aged 60 years.
Hon. Vincent L. Bradford,* died August 7, 1884, Philadelphia, Pa.
John Foster, died August 10, 1884, Niles city, aged 65 years.
Mrs. Jacobina Shaffer, died August 17, 1884, Niles city, aged 63 years.
Jesse B. Slight, died August 30, 1884, Oronoko, aged 65½ years.
George Brown, died September 1, 1884, Hagar, aged 81 years.
Horace W. Guernsey, died September 26, 1884, St. Joseph, aged 56 years.
Orlando Servis, died October 6, 1884, ———, aged 74 years.
Mrs. Jonathan Norris, died October 14, 1884, ———, aged 56 years.
Martin Hoshein, died October 18, 1884, Bainbridge, aged 81 years.
Mrs. Orilla Selter, died October 20, 1884, Bainbridge, aged 63 years.
Gideon Smith, died October 26, 1884, Benton, aged 74 years.
Alkanah Nickerson, died October —, 1884, Benton, aged 80 years.
John A. Zwergle, died November 13, 1884, Niles city, aged 66 years.
Dr. Charles A. Magill, died November 14, 1884, ———, aged 58 years.
Mrs. Honora M. Wilson, died November 15, 1884, ———, aged 58 years.
William W. Brown, died November 16, 1884, Lake, aged — years.
Mrs. Lydia Hutson, died November 19, 1884, ———, aged 68 years.
Z. R. Stickney, died November 25, 1884, Bainbridge, aged 85 years.
Marilla Wigent, died November 16, 1884, Watevliet, aged 80 years.
Archibald Stewart, died November 28, 1884, ———, aged 74 years.
Philip Riley, died November —, 1884, St. Joseph, aged 72 years.
Mrs. Mary Murdock, died December 8, 1884, ———, aged 86 years.
John Johnson, died December 10, 1884, Berrien, aged — years.

* An old citizen of Niles and a member of the State Senate in 1837-8.

Henry Ashoff, died December 17, 1884, ———, aged — years.

Mrs. Henry H. Cooledge, died December 30, 1884, Niles city, aged — years.

Dr. John K. Finley, died December —, 1884, Niles city, aged 79 years.

Norman Castle, died February 8, 1885, Benton, aged 73 years.

Anna Burrough, died February 10, 1885, St. Joseph, aged 91 years.

Mrs. C. Rittenhouse, died February 11, 1885, ———, aged 58 years.

Mrs. Rica Veller, died February 11, 1885, ———, aged 67 years.

Lucinda Hale, died February 12, 1885, Niles city, aged 73 years.

Thomas K. Clybourne, died February 14, 1885, Berrien, aged 85 years.

Mrs. Phebe Tryon, died February 14, 1885, ———, aged 79 years.

Wells Crumb, died February 16, 1885, Watervliet, aged 88 years.

Deborah Gould, died February 16, 1885, ———, aged 90¾ years.

Mrs. Martha Hand, died February 19, 1885, Berrien, aged 66 years.

Mrs. Mary Griswold, died February 24, 1885, Niles city, aged 86 years.

Stephen R. Gilson, died February 25, 1885, Watervliet, aged 80¾ years.

Mrs. Sophronia Woodruff, died February 26, 1885, Bainbridge, aged — years.

Jacob Beeson, died April 19, 1885, Niles city, aged 77 years.

Sylvester Kittle, died April 20, 1885, Hagar, aged 62 years.

——— Ferris, died April 28, 1885, St. Joseph, aged 75 years.

Terrence McCrone, died April 28, 1885, Benton, aged 77 years.

Ross Pierce, M. D., died April 29, 1885, Buchanan, aged 48 years.

Mary Zwergle, died April 30, 1885, ———, aged 67 years.

Shelah Willis, died May 2, 1885, Berrien, aged 80½ years.

Margaret Shearer, died May 3, 1885, Oronoko, aged 79 years.

William Hill, died May 7, 1885, St. Joseph, aged 75 years.

Mrs. Betsey Platt, died May 8, 1885, Niles city, aged 93½ years.

Mrs. Angelina W. Jefferies, died May 12, 1885, Lincoln, aged 68 years.

John M. Gilbert, died May 12, 1885, Benton, aged 71 years.

William B. Gray, died May 13, 1885, Niles township, aged 65 years.

Mrs. John Tibbetts, died May —, 1885, Niles city, aged about 72 years.

Mrs. E. H. Phelps, died May —, 1885, Niles city, aged about 61 years.

Samuel Rodgers, died May 31, 1885, ———, aged over 90 years.

Benj. Lemon, died —— —, ——, Lake, aged 65 years.

GIDEON SMITH.

After an illness of three weeks, Gideon Smith, aged seventy-four years, died at his home in Benton on Sunday morning, Oct. 26, 1884. Mr. Smith was one of the pioneer fruit growers of this section, and was widely known

and respected. He leaves a wife and five children, two sons and three daughters. Funeral took place from the Methodist Episcopal Church on Tuesday, Rev. Mr. Earl conducting the services.—*Benton Harbor Palladium*, Oct. 31, 1884.

S. L. ESTES.

Died, Sunday, June 29, 1884, at 4:50 P. M., at his residence on Main street, Buchanan, Salmon L. Estes, aged fifty-five years, seven months and sixteen days. Deceased was a resident of Columbia county, N. Y., and was the oldest of six brothers all of whom, as also their mother, preceded him to the great beyond. He was a resident of Buchanan township twenty-eight years, eighteen of which were in the village, being engaged in active business until incapacitated by paralysis. An active Christian from his youth, his faith sustained him in the trying ordeal of years of suffering, and his Savior was with him in the passage of the dark river of Death. He left a devoted wife, an affectionate daughter and son, an aged father and many warm friends, to mourn the severed ties; but they mourn not as those having no hope. The funeral took place from his late residence on Tuesday afternoon, the service being conducted by Rev. C. G. Thomas.—*Buchanan Record*, July 1, 1884.

JACOB BEESON.

Our community was startled,—was fearfully shocked, early on Sunday morning, April 19, 1885, at the announcement, "Jacob Beeson is dead!" He had been on the streets almost daily, in his usual health, and it is not strange that the mournful message was received with surprise. An old and honored citizen had passed away suddenly and without warning; an old landmark had been removed.

Jacob Beeson was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, September 7, 1807. His early youth was passed with an uncle in Hardy County, Virginia, and later, in his early manhood, he spent some years in Georgia and New Orleans with the same uncle, who was engaged in the mercantile business. He returned to Uniontown, his native place, in 1829 for a short time, but in the fall of that year journeyed on horseback to the wilds of Michigan Territory, then just beginning to attract the attention of wide-awake and enterprising men in the old States. Being pleased with the country, then an almost unbroken wilderness, with here and there a trading post, he purchased a business site in Niles and returned to Pennsylvania, from whence, in the spring of 1830, he removed permanently to Niles, bringing with him his mother and three brothers, and here established himself in the general mercantile business in which he was for many years extensively engaged, and he

was a highly prosperous and successful merchant, his brother, William B. Beeson, being much of the time his assistant. He was also largely engaged in the forwarding, commission and shipping business and in establishing lines of boats on the St. Joseph river, and built a large storage and grain warehouse on Water street, at the foot of Sycamore street, where a large business was transacted under the supervision of his brother Job J. Beeson, who will be remembered by a few of our older citizens.

Mr. Beeson served as a paymaster in the Black Hawk war, from which service he derived his title as Colonel, by which he was familiarly known in olden times, and for which service he received a bounty land warrant, afterwards located upon land in the Lake Superior mineral region.

Upon the organization of Trinity Parish in October, 1834, Jacob Beeson was elected on the first board of vestrymen and was an active and efficient helper in that work fifty years ago.

He was a very active and influential man in the organization of the State Government of Michigan, and was a warm and zealous supporter of our first Governor, Stevens T. Mason.

He was one of the charter members and the first Worshipful Master of St. Joseph Valley Lodge No. 4, the first Masonic Lodge organized west of Jackson, and he assisted in the establishment of the Royal Arch Chapter in Niles, and was for many years a member of Apollo Commandery of Chicago.

Mr. Beeson was never a seeker of office, though always an active man in public affairs. He was a member of the National Democratic committee during the campaign of 1856, which resulted in the election of Mr. Buchanan to the presidency.

He was appointed Receiver of Public Moneys at Detroit, by Mr. Buchanan, in 1857, which necessitated a change of residence from Niles to Detroit, and while residing in the latter city he became a stockholder and director in the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, of that city, and was also the president and principal stockholder in the Merchants' Bank of Detroit, and was for two years, 1876 and 1877, president of the Detroit Board of Trade, and in every position he occupied was conspicuous for untiring energy and rare business tact.

He was a member of the last Constitutional Convention of Michigan and an active participant in the doings of that body.

He will be remembered in Niles, his old home, to which he returned a few months ago, and where he was warmly welcomed by his old neighbors, as an honorable and successful merchant, an extensive and enterprising dealer in real estate, a thorough business man, always ready to work for the interest of Niles, his chosen home, always efficiently and with his whole heart.

In parting with Jacob Beeson, Niles parts with a valued friend upon whose like she will not soon look again.—"OLD SETTLER," in *Niles Democrat*, April 25, 1885.

MRS. BETSY PLATT.

In this city, May 8, 1885, at the residence of her son, Geo. W. Platt, Mrs. Betsy Platt, aged ninety-three years, five months and twenty-two days. The subject of this notice was born in Vermont in 1791, and was the oldest resident of this city, where nearly forty years of her life was spent. She had been confined to her room by the infirmaties of age for some time, and her death, which was calm and peaceful, was not unexpected. By those who knew her during the average days of her life, she is pleasantly remembered for her many kind traits of her character, and from the younger people her venerable appearance at once won her the esteem and kindest thoughts. She was a member of the Presbyterian Church for more than half a century, and while health permitted she was a regular attendant at the services. In ripe old age she has gone to the grave and only pleasant memories cluster around her long and useful life.—*Niles Republican*, May 14, 1885.

WILLIAM B. GRAY.

In Niles, Wednesday morning, May 13, 1885, after intense suffering, William B. Gray, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. William Bartley Gray was born of Irish parents at Fairfield, Rockbridge county, Virginia, July 8, 1820. His parents emigrated to Richmond, Indiana, in 1825, and removed to the Carey settlement, afterwards called Niles, in 1829, in company with the Lacey family, the Comleys, William Justice and others, first settlers here. Coming to this then new country a child, he has grown up to manhood, and been a continuous resident here from the time of his coming to the day of his death, and is mourned by the entire community, for all knew Bartley Gray, and none knew him but to love him.

A man of very decided opinions, and always firm in the advocacy of his views, he ever maintained the respect and esteem all of with whom he came in contact. However widely people might differ with him, he was always respected for his opinions and given credit for honesty and fairness. He never resorted to trickery or deception, but was always frank and manly, though oftentimes impulsive. You always knew where to find Bartley Gray.

On the breaking out of the Mexican war he was one of the first to enlist, and was made a Second Lieutenant in the First Regiment of Michigan Volunteers. His commission was issued by Hon. William L. Greenly, then Governor of Michigan, and bears date December 22, 1847. He entered at once

into the service and sailed with his regiment from New York, landed at Vera Cruz, and served all through that conflict, marching under General Winfield Scott, from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, and taking part in all the hard fought battles of that famous march. In this service he lost his health, which he never regained, though always an active man.

He has held many important positions conferred upon him by the suffrages of his fellow citizens. He was the first recorder elected under our city charter, has held the office of city treasurer, and been several times elected supervisor, and in every place has discharged every duty with fidelity and efficiency.

As one of the very earliest settlers in the St. Joseph Valley, he was widely known, and universally respected and esteemed. He was an honest, true man, a whole souled Irishman. He leaves a wife with whom he had lived happily for thirty-four years, an only daughter, his eldest sister and a younger brother behind him in mourning, beside many other relatives, and a wide circle of acquaintances, all his friends, who mourn his death.—*Niles Republican*, May 14, 1885.

CLINTON COUNTY.

BY B. O. WILLIAMS.

CAPT. CHARLES GRANT.

Capt. Charles Grant died at his farm in Bengal, January 11, 1885, aged ninety years, three months and nine days. He was born in Colrain, Mass., October 2, 1794. With his father, Isaac Grant, who served in the Revolutionary war and passed the memorable winter of 1778 with Washington at Valley Forge, he moved into Whitingham, Vt., and from there to Chenango county, N. Y., to the towns of Smyrna and Smithville. While living with his father at Smithville, the war of 1812 with Great Britain broke out, in which, young as he was, he took an active part, his motto then, as ever through life, being "My country and liberty." He was quartered at Sackett's Harbor, helping to guard that place while Gen. Brown's army was in Canada. For services rendered in that war he was allowed a pension of $8 per month from October 28, 1872, until his decease. He was promoted to the rank of captain. After returning to his home he taught successfully seven terms of school. By trade he was a carpenter. He was married in 1817. Concluding to try his fortune in the western wilds he came to Michigan in

the fall of 1836, stopping for a time in Ann Arbor. From there he went to Mason, Ingham county, which place boasted of two inhabitants, and helped to erect the first saw mill in that place, for Gen. Wadsworth, and also one at Aurelius, six miles west of Mason. Then going on to Lyons, Ionia county, he assisted in building the first bridge across Grand river at that place. In 1837 he went back to New York, where he married (for his third wife) Emeline Gillette, of Gainesville. Returning in the winter of 1838 he worked at his trade until the spring of 1840, when he removed to Bengal, Clinton county, his family being the third in that township. He built on section 4 the first frame house of which the town could boast, in which he lived until 1848, when he moved to the south half of the northwest quarter of section 2, living there the remainder of his life, enduring many hardships and privations pertaining to pioneer life, doing nobly his part during the transition of Clinton county from what seemed to be an endless waste of forest to one of the finest counties in the State.

He united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1871. During his last illness he frequently said: "I have no fear of death," lingering without complaint or murmur, only waiting to be called hence. When near the last he said: "I am going home," and to friends who gathered near he beckoned not to weep for him. January 11, 1885, he passed away, full of years and followed by the love of all who knew the excellence of his thoroughly manly character. To mourn him he leaves a wife, five sons—C. W. Grant, secretary East Saginaw board of trade, Rev. Elihu Grant of Fall River, Mass., Eugene Grant, Glyndon, Minn., Isaac Grant of Reed City, and Loring Grant, who is living on the homestead in Bengal; and four daughters—Mrs. B. F. Young and Mrs. Frank Harvey of Bengal, Mrs. John Duncombe, Union City, Pa., and Mrs. M. L. Welter of St. Johns; twenty-one grandchildren, and twelve great-grandchildren. At his late home in Bengal, on the 13th inst., the last sad rites were performed by Rev. R. H. Bready of St. Johns. Of the large concourse of people who gathered to mingle their tears with those of the bereaved, many could, in memory, recall for half a century his voice, his dignified yet cheerful bearing, his contempt for anything mean or unmanly; and, as a generous kind hearted friend and father, he is deeply mourned by all who are left behind.

The following lines were written by Mrs. M. L. Welter, in memory of her father, Capt. Charles Grant:

Dear father, thy days of toil are o'er,
As fall the wings of night;
And peacefully thy head lay down,
And thy spirit took its flight.

Yes, nobly thou has toiled
Through hardships, pain and woe;
But now thy days of toil are o'er,
And thy soul was ready to go.

Thou hast fought thy battles bravely,
Through this wilderness below;
And many a loved one thou hast
Seen pass to the other shore.

Old age thy form did never bend,
But proud and erect you stood;
Like an aged oak in the forest grand,
Till swept down by the flood.

An aged pensioned soldier,
Who battled for the right;
And nobly stood, both firm and true,
And fought with all thy might.

A strictly honest life you led,
Generous with hand and heart;
And never a stranger you turned out
Into the cold and dark.

Yes, honest and just to all mankind,
Thou dealt with friend and foe;
"Do unto others as ye would
Have others do to you."

An honest man, God's noblest work,
Has passed to the other shore;
Oh, may we meet our father dear,
Where parting is no more.

No murmur or complaint was heard,
As loved ones cared for thee;
As softly falls an autumn leaf
From off the withered tree.

"I'm going home, dear friends," he said,
'Don't weep for me to-night,"
And gently waved his aged hand,
And the spirit took its flight.

We loved our dear old father well;
Yes, child and grandchild, all;
And now we wander here below,
Waiting for our call.

Oh, may we all be gathered home,
A large unbroken band;
And gather 'round our Father's throne,
And clasp our loved one's hand.

EATON COUNTY.

BY D. B. HALE.

Mrs. Levi Hale died in Eaton, Eaton county, June 28, 1884, aged seventy-two years. She had been a resident of the county forty-one years; was a native of Vermont.

John Locher died in the township of Benton, Eaton county, July 6, 1884; was a resident of the township thirty-two years; was born in Germany.

Emanuel DeGraff died in Oneida, Eaton county, July 26, 1884, aged eighty-three years. He was born in Amsterdam, N. Y., and had been a resident of the State forty-two years, and of the county thirty-six years.

Geo. W. McClintic died in Eaton, Eaton county, October 10, 1884, aged seventy-seven years. He was born in Pennsylvania, November 15, 1806.

Mrs. Diana Potter died November 12, 1884, aged eighty-four years, in Benton, Eaton county, in which county she had resided forty-four years; was a resident of the State fifty-four years. She was born in Cayuga county, N. Y.

Sueton Fairchilds died in Charlotte, Eaton county, November 24, 1884, aged sixty-nine years. He had been a resident of the county forty years.

Mrs. Parmelia Hunsiker died in Bellevue, Eaton county, December 12, 1884. She had been a resident of the county fifty years.

Solomon E. Norton died in the township of Eaton Rapids, Eaton county, January 28, 1885, aged eighty. He had been a resident of the county forty years.

Ellzey Hayden died at Charlotte, Mich., on the seventh day of February, 1885. He was born in Orange, Ashland county, Ohio, on the twentieth day of August, 1825, and lived there on a farm until sixteen years of age. His parents were Miles and Sarah Hayden. He was educated in the district schools and at Ashland Academy. He learned the tinners' trade and afterwards was engaged as a clerk in the dry goods store of S. E. Millett, and removed with the latter to Charlotte, Mich., in the autumn of 1844. After remaining in the employ of Mr. Millett a few months, he taught one term of school in the Charlotte district. He then entered into partnership with his brother John, in the hardware trade, and so continued for six years, when he purchased the latter's interest and carried on the business alone until 1860. He was then obliged to retire on account of impaired health.

After spending two years in retirement he was appointed Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue, which office he held for two years. In 1864 he was elected treasurer of Eaton county and held that office four terms, declining to be a candidate in 1872. Care of his personal estate occupied

his entire attention until 1881, in which year he was elected president of the First National Bank of Charlotte, Mich., which position he continued to occupy until his death. He had served as a director of the bank from its organization in 1871. He was twice married. His first wife was Miss Elizabeth Condon. In 1857 he was married (a second time) to Miss Celia Crawford who survives him. He also leaves a son and daughter,—Charles and Mabel.

Very few men have so completely enjoyed the confidence of his associates as did he. He was possessed of a fine mind, greatly enriched by careful and systematic reading. His habits were always correct and his integrity unquestioned. As a business man his judgment was excellent and his operations conservative and uniformly successful, enabling him to leave a large estate. Originally he was a Whig, but joined the Republican party at its birth and continued in its ranks until his death. Although some years in office, he never sought place, but on the contrary, repeatedly declined positions of honor and power.

Mary Gunnel died in Eaton Rapids township, March —, 1885, aged eighty-six years. She had been a resident of the county forty years.

Israel M. Allen died May 12, 1885, in the township of Hamlin, Eaton county. This gentleman was born in Connecticut, June 20, 1818; moved with his parents, when about one year old, to the State of Ohio and remained on his father's farm until he became of age. October 4, 1840, he was married to Miss Hannah Mathers, and November following moved to Michigan and settled upon a new farm in the township of Tyler, Eaton county. He buried his wife in 1850. In 1856 he was married to Caroline Ludlow, who died on the third of March, 1863. He was again married to Elmira R. Nichols, who is still living.

Mrs. A. Dickerson died in Vermontville, Eaton county, aged ninety-four years.

GENESEE COUNTY.

BY EX-GOV. JOSIAH W. BEGOLE.

Charles Seymour, died May 9, 1884, aged 91 years.

Mrs. Mary Bidwell Foote, died June 14, 1884, aged 86 years.

Mrs. Phebe Ann Curle, died September 14, 1884, aged 68 years.

Judge Lewis G. Bickford, died September 18, 1884, aged 68 years.

Mrs. John H. Townsend, died January 26, 1885, aged 70 years.

Edward Sawyer, died February 2, 1885, aged 96 years.

Almira Sawyer, died April 12, 1885, aged 85 years.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Charles Seymour, one of the pioneers of Genesee county, died at Reed City, on May 9, 1884, in the ninety-second year of his age. The deceased was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, leaving that place in 1835, and coming direct to Genesee county, and was a resident of Flushing and Flint nearly fifty years.

MRS. MARY B. FOOTE.

Mrs. Mary Bidwell Foote was born in Bath, Steuben county, N. Y., May 17, 1816; died in the city of Flint, June 14, 1884, aged sixty-eight years. November 27, 1833, she was married to David Foote, and four years thereafter moved to Willowby, in the State of Ohio. Their residence in Ohio was brief, for in June, 1838, they moved to Ypsilanti, in this State, where they resided for over two years, removing to this place in the fall of 1840.

For nearly forty-four years she has resided in Flint, and for the most of that time in what is now the third ward.

She was the mother of nine children, five of whom died before her, one falling in defense of his country during the late rebellion. Four survive her, to mourn the loss of one of the truest and noblest of mothers.

Mrs. Foote was a devoted Christian woman. In early childhood she was thoughtful, prayed much and was undoubtedly the subject of divine grace. In the winter of 1837–38, attending revival services held by the Methodists in Willowby, Ohio, she received a full witness of her acceptance with God, and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which she remained a consistent and honored member until her death.

November 27th last, a goodly company of friends met at her residence on Church street to celebrate the golden wedding of David Foote and Mary Bidwell. The poem for the occasion was composed and read by Rev. Luther Lee, D. D., and an address by Rev. W. H. Shier. Many golden presents and many precious greetings made the occasion a memorable and happy one, but the feebleness of Mother Foote cast a shadow of a coming sorrow over the otherwise joyous event.

For the past six years Mrs. Foote has been failing rapidly in health and though suffering much, bore all without a murmur of complaint. Sunday, the 8th inst., she was stricken down with paralysis, which affected her right side, rendering her helpless and speechless. Most of the time until her death she seemed conscious of all that was passing around her, but could only manifest it by pressure of the hand in response to questions.

Saturday evening, June, 14, just as the sun was setting, she fell asleep, quietly, peacefully, without a groan or a struggle, surrounded by children

and friends, with her hand in that of her now bereaved and sorrowing husband.

On the morning of her decease there came an invitation from her bridesmaid of fifty years ago, an invitation to attend her golden wedding, but she had received a message that could not be denied, a summons to appear at the court of Heaven and be crowned with immortality.

MRS. PHEBE ANN CURLE

Died in Flint city, September 14, 1884, aged sixty-eight years, eight months and twenty-one days. Mrs. Curle was born in Mansfield, Warren county, New Jersey; came with her father, Richard Bray, to Oakland county, Michigan, and settled at Sas-sah-bah Plains, now Independence. She was married to Wm. S. Curle, January 6, 1836; moved to Mundy township, Genesee county, and lived there until 1868, when she moved with her family to the second ward of this city, where she lived up to the time of her decease. Mrs. Curle leaves her aged husband and five children to mourn the loss of a Christian wife and a beloved mother, besides a host of friends.

LEWIS G. BICKFORD.

Hon. Lewis G. Bickford, one of Flint's oldest and most highly esteemed citizens, died quite suddenly, at his residence on Kearsley street, city of Flint, at ten o'clock P. M., September 18, 1884. His health had been impaired for a long time with Bright's disease of the kidneys, as well as a complication of diseases of other organs of the body, but he had been to his office on Thursday and was apparently not suffering particular distress, so that the death was quite unexpected when it came. Soon after retiring he aroused his wife and informed her that he felt very bad. She gave him some medicine and immediately sent for Dr. Putnam, who lives across the street. The doctor was not at home and a messenger was then dispatched for Dr. Willson, but before he could get back Mr. Bickford had passed quietly away.

The deceased was born at Manilu, N. Y., and was sixty-eight years of age. He came to Flint in the fall of 1836, erected a wooden building near where Awanaga Hall now stands, and embarked in general mercantile business, which he followed for some years. Afterwards he bought a new farm of 120 acres in Burton. He settled upon his farm and commenced clearing it up and ere many years had it converted into a rich, productive homestead, which he still owned at the time of his death, besides a large tract which he had added to it. About thirty years ago he was elected justice of the peace and

has held that office by reëlection continually ever since. He was the third register of deeds elected after the organization of Genesee county. He also filled the office of judge of probate, recorder of the city of Flint, and various minor positions of public trust, always discharging the duties with ability. He was the soul of honor, and no citizen of Michigan ever enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the community in wnich he lived more than did Lewis G. Bickford. He came to Genesee county the same year as did Gov. Begole, Samuel B. Wicks, William P. Crandall and Milton Case, and all were married in the same year. Mr. Bickford's widow is the only member of his family who survives him.

MRS. J. H. TOWNSEND.

Mrs. John H. Townsend breathed her last, at her home in the first ward, on Monday morning, Jan. 26, 1885, after a tedious illness, borne with exemplary patience, and in perfect resignation to the will of her Heavenly Father.

Deceased was the daughter of the late Thomas Tufts, Esq., of Leroy, N. Y., and was born there on the 16th of June, 1814. She married Mr. Townsend in April, 1839, he being then in business in Caryville, N. Y., from whence they moved to Missouri. They came to Flint in 1844, residing on Kearsley street, where Mr. Townsend purchased property and built the residence formerly known as the Bartow House. In 1847 they went from Flint to New York City, and thence to Janesville, Wisconsin, and in 1857 came back to reside permanently in Flint, purchasing one hundred and thirty acres of land from C. S. Payne, in the first ward, and expending considerable means in improving and enlarging his present residence, where he settled with his wife and only child. Here deceased drew around her a large circle of warmly attached friends, and here, as prominent members of society for a period of twenty-eight or thirty years, she and her husband have enjoyed the highest respect of our entire community. Few as pure and beautiful characters are found as that of Mrs. Townsend. Devoted to her loved ones at home she was most happy with them, notwithstanding her enjoyment of society, when they enjoyed it with her. And we are assured that she and her husband have not been separated a night in twenty-seven years, excepting a few days on the occasion of his niece's death. The family was a model of domestic love and such separations are painful to bear, but hopeful in the assurance that "God giveth His beloved sleep," and that we shall all meet our dear ones on the other side. Deceased leaves a husband and daughter, Mrs. George M. Walker, Mr. Walker and their little daughter Carrie Louise, to mourn their irreparable loss, in which they have the sympathy of the entire community.

EDWARD SAWYER AND ALMIRA SAWYER.

Edward Sawyer was born in Piermont, New Hampshire, August 12, 1788, and moved to Michigan, October 10, 1836. He died February 2, 1885. Almira Sawyer was born in Sheffield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, in 1800. Came to Michigan with her husband in 1836, and died April 12, 1885. Edward Sawyer and Almira Kellogg were married in East Bloomfield, Ontario County, New York, in 1818, and lived together sixty-seven years. Mrs. Sawyer lived just ten weeks after her husband's death.

INGHAM COUNTY.

BY GEO. H. GREENE.

Dr. Minos McRobert, died October 5, 1884, aged 80 years.
Hon. Arnold Walker, died December 5, 1884, aged 63 years.
Lemuel Woodhouse, died February 22, 1885, aged 65 years.
Mrs. Harriet Row, died February 28, 1885, aged 74 years.
Mrs. Jane Olds, died April 4, 1885, aged 76 years.
Geo. F. Strong, died April 14, 1885, aged 72 years.
Dr. Charles H. Darrow, died May 28, 1885, aged 55 years.
Col. A. R. Burr, died June 2, 1885, aged 67 years.

DR. MINOS MCROBERT.

Dr. Minos McRobert died at his home in Mason on Sunday, October 5, 1884, at 2:15 P. M., aged eighty years, eight months and nineteen days.

Dr. McRobert was born in Springfield, Vt., February 14, 1804. Four years later he removed with his parents to Clinton county, N. Y., where he remained until his 25th year. Lured by the prospective advantages of the west, he departed for Michigan in 1837, and in the same year located at Mason. He was the first physician in the village and the second to locate in the county. He built him an office which was used for a great variety of purposes, serving for a doctor's office, county register's office and in fact almost for a court-house. Strong in physique, and with an experience of five years in the practice of medicine in the east, Dr. McRobert was well equipped to grapple with the almost universal sickness of this new and miasmatic country. His practice was laborious in the extreme. Rides were long and the exposures great, but he met the labors of his calling with that untir-

ing zeal, hopefulness and courage which ever characterized him in his long career.

In connection with his practice of medicine he owned and conducted a drug store, which he sold in 1848 to Dr. D. W. Halstead. In 1850 he ceased the practice of medicine, a profession which he never afterward resumed.

In 1871, upon the organization of the First National bank, of Mason, he became its president, a position which he continued to retain up to the time of his death.

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He was prominently identified with the growth and development of Mason's commercial interests, and indeed, of those of the county. He was the first register of deeds, in 1838–40, and was president of the village in 1871. Although his official life was meager, he was a public man in a truer sense; he was at the front in every praiseworthy public enterprise. His contributions to the church and to charitable enterprises were large and freely bestowed. He was an especial friend to those who were honestly and industriously struggling to secure a start in life. The men, now prosperous, who have been aided by him when they were in financial straits can be counted by the score.

In 1841 he was married to Nancy Abbott who, with two daughters and one son, survive him. His genial, happy, hopeful disposition was displayed most constantly in his home, into which he always carried sunshine, and where he will be so tenderly remembered, but so sadly missed.

Although at so advanced an age, his general health had been uniformly good. The only evidence of feebleness which he displayed appeared in his failing limbs. On Tuesday morning, September 15, he was suddenly taken with a severe pain in the calf of his right leg. Although prostrated at the first, the pain slowly abated and at the expiration of a week had substantially disappeared, when it came on again as suddenly as before, and with increased intensity. Dr. Culver was called, who attended him with devotion and skill, but nothing could be done to relieve the excruciating pain. The cause of it did not appear until Monday, when a discoloration of the foot disclosed the relentless presence of gangrene. Dr. McLean, of Detroit, was summoned, but he could give little encouragement. The dread disease, impossible to control, pursued its fatal work. Loving hands could minister, comfort, mitigate, but the physician's skill could not heal.

The funeral services were held at the residence on Tuesday, at 11 o'clock. The floral offerings to the memory of this beloved and respected pioneer were beautiful and profuse. Friends who loved him and acquaintances who revered him joined in the sweet gift of flowers. The services were conducted

by Rev. F. L. McCoy, who gave a skeleton history of his life and work. Rev. E. H. Brockway spoke feelingly of his more than thirty years' acquaintance with the deceased, and of his old-time kindness and friendship. Rev. Mr. Baldwin followed, speaking of the great cheerfulness and hopefulness which he had ever observed in his departed friend. Rev. Mr. McCoy then, in eloquent language, elaborated the three prominent characteristics which he had noticed in his brief acquaintance with Dr. McRobert—his activity, his philanthropy, his spirituality. The remains were interred in the city cemetery.

Dr. McRobert will be greatly missed in Mason. For forty-seven years his happy face and helpful hand have been upon her streets. They will be seen no more. Forty-seven years' continuous residence in one place is a great while; it speaks of a growth with the city, of a life with the city, of a vivifying part of the city. Dr. McRobert and Mason have been a part of each other. He is still a part of Mason, but many hearts are sad when they remember that it is that part which is the silent city within her borders. A life has gone out which has taken a great deal with it. An honest, just, generous, kindly, sympathizing, helpful man has died.—*Ingham County News*, October 9, 1885.

ARNOLD WALKER.

Hon. Arnold Walker, one of the best known business men of Central Michigan, died at his home in Leslie, Friday morning, December 5, 1884, aged sixty-three years. He was born in Gibson, Susquehanna county, Pa., and in 1837 removed to Senaca county, New York. He was educated in the common schools of his boyhood days, which gave a man more practical common sense than polish. In other words, Mr. Walker was well fitted for the rough and tumble of life, and succeeded admirably in overcoming obstacles whieh appeared in his business life. In 1844 he came to Ingham county, and settled in Vevay township. He held various offices of trust in his township, took large contracts in railroad building, and was for many years a director in the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw Railroad Company. In 1860 he removed to Leslie, where he resided up to the time of his death. He represented the southern district of Ingham county in the Legislature during the session of 1873, and proved to be a most valuable member. He had been extensively engaged in lumbering and hardware, and was for many years president of the Leslie National Bank. He leaves a widow, two sons, Claude C. and John, and a daughter, Mrs. S. D. Woodworth, to mourn his loss.—*Lansing Republican*, December 11, 1884.

LEMUEL WOODHOUSE.

Lemuel Woodhouse, who died at his home in White Oak township, February 22, 1885, was a good man in all that the term implies. He was born in New York State in 1819 and his boyhood was spent in St. Lawrence county of the Empire State, and also in Cuyahoga county, Ohio. He learned the cabinet maker's trade, also that of mill-wright, and worked at these professions during his early manhood near Columbus, Ohio. In 1840 he came to Michigan with his father's family and settled in Unadilla, Livingston county. He was married to Caroline Ward of Washtenaw county, who still survives him. The fruit of this union was two children, Mrs. E. Timmerman of this city, and Miss Olive Woodhouse, who lives with her mother at the old home. He was a member of the Lansing Blue Lodge of the Masonic order, but demited from this lodge to become a charter member of the Mason lodge. He lived for a time at Leslie, and while a resident of that village was elected county treasurer and served two terms. This was from 1858 to 1862. After this term of office expired he removed to Dansville and entered into partnership with D. L. Crossman in the dry goods trade. This firm had a contract for building the Leslie and Dansville school-houses; and kept a branch store at Leslie during the progress of the work. He was for three years a resident of Lansing, and was most of that time an efficient clerk in the office of auditor general. In 1872 he was disabled by the kick of a horse, which confined him to his house for more than a year. In 1874 he was again elected county treasurer, and reëlected in 1876. After the expiration of his term as county treasurer he removed to White Oak, where he owned a small farm, and a saw and stave mill, which business he was conducting at the time of his death. He represented the second district of Ingham county in the constitutional convention of 1867, and was also United States draft commissioner in 1864. His remains were buried at Dansville. During his last illness every care and attention that human mind could devise were given him, but they were of no avail in averting the dread calamity of death. Beside the ministrations of the family, his sister, Mrs. E. B. Dykeman of Schoolcraft, spent the last eight weeks at his bedside. His death is universally mourned by all who knew him, for he had no enemies.—*Lansing Republican*, February 28, 1885.

MRS. HARRIET ROW.

Mrs. Harriet Row, eldest daughter of Nathaniel and Rhoda Hunter, was born in Sharon, Connecticut, March 6, 1810. On the 18th day of August, 1831, she was married to Gilbert Row, of the adjoining township of Amenia,

Duchess county, N. Y., and on the 12th of September following moved with him to Sharon, Washtenaw county, Territory of Michigan. She is the very last one of the earliest pioneers, who, as heads of families, settled in that beautiful location known as "the bend of the River Raisin." This was her home continuously for thirty-four years until 1865, when she came to Lansing with her husband, where they lived for about one year, and then made their residence temporarily with a son at Lebanon, Clinton county, Michigan. Gilbert Row died at that place September 5, 1866. Since that date, and until her death, her home was at Lansing. He was buried in Sharon, in the old family burying ground, the site of which overlooks the farm they located and cleared up. Her remains were also taken there for burial. Her oldest son, William, died in California, September 7, 1857. She leaves three sons to survive her, Myron Row of Owosso, and Samuel H. and Edwin E. Row, of Lansing.

Before her marriage and at about the age of eighteen years she united with the Methodist Episcopal Church (in Connecticut), and maintained such connection uninterruptedly until her death. In the month of June, 1832, the first religious society in Sharon, Washtenaw county, was organized, at the log house of her husband, by Rev. E. H. Pilcher of the M. E. Church. At the first organization there were nine members, of which she was one. Mrs. Row's connection with this church extends, therefore, over a period of fifty-seven years. She clung with unwavering faith to her early religious teachings, accepting the Bible as the Word of God and the Lord Jesus Christ as her blessed Savior.

At the time of her death, which occurred at Lansing, February 28, 1885, she was almost seventy-five years of age, and was in full possession of her mental faculties. About three years ago she suffered a stroke of paralysis, from which she did not fully recover, but maintained to the last her remarkably erect form and clear, penetrating voice. Her death was painless and peaceful. During her later years, and as the last survivor of the Row brothers and their wives who were pioneers of Sharon, her mind frequently recurred to those early days. Since her death and among her papers was found in her own handwriting a few notes of some of the events and recollections of her pioneer life, of which the following is a copy:

Henry, Conrad and Gilbert Row, three brothers, early pioneers of Michigan, were born in Amenia, Duchess county, N. Y., respectively as follows: Henry on December 16, 1794; Conrad on December 10, 1797; Gilbert on April 12, 1802. They with their families emigrated to Michigan Territory in the fall of 1831. We started September 12, from the home of their father, with some household goods. One of Henry's children, Fred, was just recovering from a severe sickness and had to be carried on a pillow

as far as Poughkeepsie, where the teams left us. We went on board a sloop that night on the Hudson River, and the next night arrived at Albany; then were on the canal boat, I think, nearly two weeks before we reached Buffalo; then a long, rough passage across Lake Erie. Twice we had to put back a long way on account of head winds. I do not now remember the name of the vessel, but the captain's name was Blake. There was but one lady on board except myself who did not suffer from sea-sickness. The captain took us on deck to see some places of interest, and said we would make good sailors. Arriving in Detroit they bought a yoke of oxen, for which they paid one hundred dollars. They were very large ones, and one thing I especially remember of them, they were terribly afraid of Indians. They always had to be chained up to a tree when any Indians were passing. The brothers brought a wagon with them, which they put together at Detroit and loaded up with their chests of bedding, clothing, etc., their wives and children on top, and started for Saline or Lodi, as there they had a cousin, Arba Hurd, and family, who came on the spring previous. The men walked most of the way, as the roads were nearly impassible, often having to unload the *live stock* and pry the wagon out of the mud-holes, the handspikes laying quite thick along the way where other teamsters had used them. But they kept up good courage, making their cheerful comments on the little log huts that began to appear on either side, and especially the women had plenty of time during that long, slow ride to make a great many calculations for the future, which of course were not all realized. In due time we arrived at Mr. Hurd's house, which, I think, was in Pittsfield—not Lodi, as I said before. There they left their families and, in company with Smith Lapham (who was surveyor) and some others, they started out to hunt for land on which to make themselves homes in this western wild. They located lots in different parts of Washtenaw county, but finally settled in the town of Sharon, which they helped to name. They were afterwards joined by two other brothers, Nicholas and John. The name "Row Settlement" was given to this location, where they all lived many years in great harmony and prosperity. There they raised their families to men and women. *Four* of the brothers are gone, and all their wives but *one*. Their remains lay in the old churchyard near what has been known for many years as Row's Corners. *John Row is still living (over eighty years of age in Jackson county), and also the wife of Gilbert Row in Lansing. They brought with them to this new country vital Christianity, which they exemplified in their lives and all died in the faith of the Gospel, leaving a good hope that they are gone to rest. Especially may this be said of Henry Row and wife, who died last, he on August 9, 1875, his wife, Priscilla L. Row, October 5, 1877. Their house was a home for ministers of the Gospel. Their hearts were open to the calls of humanity and their hands ready to relieve. They both lived to a good old age and sank peacefully and quietly away to their rest.

Conrad Row died July 27, 1838.

Nicholas Row died October 18, 1841.

Gilbert Row died September 5, 1866.

All were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church—the five brothers and their wives and many of their children. There are many incidents connected with moving and settling in a new country which we pioneers love to remember and talk about. The building of the first log house—the furnishing somewhat different in style from these modern times. How well I remember the wide stick chimney and fire-place filled with huge logs. The first bedstead made of tamarack poles, with only one post, the others

*John Row died at Hanover, Jackson county, in October, 1878, aged nearly 87 years.—S. H. R.

made fast to the logs. Our straw ticks filled with marsh hay. Our first table made of a whitewood board with legs like a sawhorse. Our cupboard, with holes bored in the logs of the house and pins put in to lay the shelves on. For a little time, until the goods came from Detroit, the bread was baked in a dish-kettle, with the spider turned over it and coals of fire on top. Then came the famous tin baker—first, the single reflector, which must have coals in the lower part in order to bake; then the double reflector, which baked nicely, we thought, not requiring coals underneath.

We all had good appetites after crossing Lake Erie, and plenty to eat of venison, wild honey, cranberries, etc. We made our mince pies of pumpkins and cranberries in place of apples, and ate bean porridge instead of bread and milk. Our water for cooking was drawn in a barrel from Mr. Sloat's, two or three miles, the first winter, and used, except as we melted snow or ice. In the spring a well was dug. It was nothing uncommon to hear the wolves howl around our house at night. It seemed there must have been a dozen or more. Deer were plenty in those days and often crossed the plains in droves. Wild turkeys and many kinds of game were also common. A company of hunters drove a large bear out of the woods one day near our house. The neighbors came out with their guns and shot and killed it. It was loaded on an ox-sled and taken to the schoolhouse that the children might all see it. At another time, while our family were taking breakfast, we heard an uproar among the cows and oxen yarded near the house. A huge bear had chased a fawn into the yard and caught it, but the cattle drove him off, so he had not hurt it much. The bear made off for the woods, and the little deer was allowed to go where he pleased when he got over his fright. We were often visited by Indians. Sometimes we let them sleep by our fire over night without fear.

In the spring of the year the fires used to run over the plains, burning up the dry grass, fallen timber and many of the trees. Before there was plowing and fencing we could ride over the country in any direction. Then the green grass would spring up and a succession of the most beautiful flowers of almost every kind and color. I can never forget that sight—as far as the eye could reach, like a flower garden. Soon, however, the country became settled, log houses and sheds, little patches of wheat here and there, and other crops, with plenty of fever and ague. We bought quinine by the bottle and dosed it out without stint. Some of us began to think Michigan was a pretty hard place. Often there would not be well ones enough in a family to care for the sick. But that nearly all passed away with the Indians, wolves, bears, and big snakes, and civilization, schools, churches and culture have taken their places, and to-day we behold this beautiful country. The first religious meeting held in the township was at our first log house. I went to visit at Mr. Hurd's, in Pittsfield, and attended church, or preaching at Francisco's, on Lodi's Plains, by Elijah H. Pilcher, who was the first Methodist minister I had seen in Michigan. I invited him to come down to the bend of the Raisin and preach a sermon. He accepted, and gave me an appointment, which we circulated among our neighbors when I returned home. They came together, a respectable number, and Ezekiel Gavitt, who was Pilcher's colleague, filled the appointment and left another for four weeks from that time. E. H. Pilcher came at that time to the house of Gilbert Row and formed a class of nine members. Two of the members were absent and their letters were given in by their husbands. The names were as follows: Henry Row and wife, Conrad Row and wife, the wife of Gilbert Row, Anthony Yerkes and Joseph O. Gilbert. I think this was about June, 1832. The first prayer meeting was held at Joseph O. Gilbert's, and participated in by Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and one Christian by the name of John Cannon.

MRS. JANE OLDS.

Mrs. Jane Olds departed this life April 4, 1885, in Alaiedon, aged seventy-six years, six months and six days.

Our mother has departed,
We now for her do mourn;
Our hearts are sad and aching
Since she is from us torn.

Her soul doth sleep in Jesus,
A peaceful, quiet rest;
She is from sin delivered
And numbered with the blest.

Her path on earth was weary,
And thorns lay in the way,
But now her spirit tasteth
Of that eternal day.

Oh, yes, quite oft the storm cloud
Did gather thick and fast,
But now that cloud is lifted,
And is a burden past.

She is now with her husband,
Her daughters and her son,
Who crossed the sea before her,
When all their work was done.

Her parents and her sisters,
Yes, brothers, too, are there,
They're singing with the angels,
Their crowns are bright and fair.

Four of us are left to mourn,
In this cold world of woe;
But we know 'twill not be long
'Till we are called to go.

We'll claim you then, dear mother,
And sing the songs you sing,
And offer praise to Jesus,
Our Savior and our King.

GEORGE F. STRONG.

Geo. F. Strong, an old and greatly esteemed resident of this city, died at his home on Chestnut street, on Tuesday afternoon, April 14, after a painful illness of about three weeks' duration.

Mr. Strong was born in England, in 1813, and came to this country with his parents when a lad five years of age. He was apprenticed to a New York book-binder, with whom he remained until twenty-one years of age, after which he was for several years engaged with binding establishments in that city and Boston as journeyman and foreman. In 1857 he removed to Lan-

sing and connected himself with the State printing house. Six weeks after his arrival he was promoted to the foremanship of the bindery, a position which he ably filled for a quarter of a century, enjoying alike the confidence and highest respect of his employers and brother workmen.

In 1841, while residing in Boston, he was united in marriage to Miss Mary P. Shea, who survives him, and shares the heavy burden of his loss with his three sons, John T., Geo. E., and J. Frank Strong, all of this city. Mr. Strong was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church for over fifty years, and united with the congregation of the Central M. E. Church soon after coming to Lansing. At that time the society had no edifice of its own, but occupied representative hall in the old capitol. Mr. Strong became one of its trustees and rendered efficient service in the construction of the present church building. He was tireless in laboring for the best interests of the society, and every member regarded him with the utmost esteem and respect.

His every-day life was characterized by spotless integrity and honorable dealing with all. Kindly, affable and generous, he endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact, and has departed without leaving a single enemy to speak ill of his memory, nor a mean or unkind action to blot the margin of a clean-cut and noble life.—*Lansing Republican*, April 16, 1885.

DR. CHARLES H. DARROW.

Dr. C. H. Darrow, a prominent citizen and business man, and a former register of deeds of Ingham county, died at his home in Mason, on Thursday, May 28, 1885, at 11 o'clock P. M., of consumption. He had been in poor health for many years, but was not confined to his bed until about a week before his death. It became evident then that he had entered upon his last sickness, but no one supposed the end would be quite so near. On Thursday evening, however, he quietly and peacefully breathed his last. The funeral services were held on Sunday at the Presbyterian Church, conducted by the Rev. C. D. Ellis, assisted by the Rev. D. Baldwin. The church was beautifully trimmed about the altar with white flowers in appropriate forms. A large concourse gathered, the church was filled, and as many more remained outside, who were unable to gain admission.

Rev. Mr. Ellis's sermon was in the main a sketch of the life of the deceased, especially delineating the progress of his conversion from skepticism to a lively Christian faith. Rev. Mr. Baldwin followed in a feeling address.

The funeral cortege was the longest that ever entered the Mason cemetery, nearly sixty teams joining in the procession. And thus was laid to rest the dust of an honest man.

Dr. C. H. Darrow, whose death so sudden, yet expected, we are called upon to announce, was born on a farm in Princetown, Schenectady county, N. Y., where his boyhood days, as well as the early days of manhood, were spent. He was the second of five children, of whom D. J. Darrow was the oldest. At the age of eighteen he was called upon to take charge of the farm by the sudden death of his father, after an illness of only four days, D. J. at the time being at college. Having an anxious desire to follow the medical profession as a life work, such changes were made on the farm as left him free to engage in the study he so much prized, and as a reward of preseverance and close application to study he received a diploma from the Albany medical college in 1853. His entire professional work has been confined to Michigan, and not a few can testify to his skill and success in the practice of medicine and surgery. Of his life and of his financial success since he became a resident of Mason, we need not speak. To know him was to know a man of a determined will, an earnest advocate of the right, a true friend, a Christian neighbor. Though in younger life he was possessed of a good physical constitution, his strict attention to professional duties made sad inroads upon his health while yet a young man, from which he never recovered till death relieved him of his silent sorrows and afflictions so patiently borne. Of his family his wife alone remains, his three children peacefully resting with him in the grave. He was born April 14, 1830.—*Ingham County News*, June 4, 1885.

A. R. BURR.

This well-known pioneer, who died at his residence in Lansing, June 2, 1885, was born in Harrisville township, Medina county, Ohio, April 22, 1818. He was educated in the common schools, and was married July 6, 1848, to Miss Catharine Foote of Southwick, Mass. He pursued the vocation of a farmer until elected sheriff of Medina county, which position he held four years. In 1854 he removed to Lansing, which became his permanent home. In 1855 he formed a partnership with George K. Grove in the hardware business, which continued two years. He served the old third ward as alderman for five years, and was postmaster for two years under President Lincoln. He resigned the latter position, and afterwards served for several years as a clerk in the auditor general's office. In 1872 he was elected sheriff of Ingham county, and served the people acceptably in that position for four years. He died on June 2, the anniversary of the birthday of his only sister, Mrs. Moore of Alaiedon township, Ingham county. Death came from exhaustion in consequence of aortic aneurism. In his

active days few men were better known or had a larger circle of friends. He leaves a widow and two children,—Dr. C. B. Burr, assistant physician of the Eastern asylum at Pontiac, and Miss Stella F. Burr of this city. The funeral services were held at the family residence, on Grand street, on Friday afternoon at two o'clock. He was buried with Masonic honors, of which craft he had long been a member.—*Lansing Republican*, June 4, 1885.

JACKSON COUNTY.

BY C. R. TAYLOR.

The following is a list of pioneers of Jackson county, aged fifty years and upwards, who have died during the year 1884, as reported by the supervisors to the county clerk:

Jacob Luther, Jackson, aged 64 years.
Polly Underwood, Jackson, aged 85 years.
Maria Elizabeth Carter, Jackson, aged 62 years.
Elizabeth Kellogg, Jackson, aged 65 years.
Mahala Croman, Jackson, aged 64 years.
Lydia H. Barrett, Jackson, aged 68 years.
Lewis H. Shout, Jackson, aged 62 years.
Robert Behan, Jackson, aged 79 years.
Alfred D. Eddy, Jackson, aged 64 years.
David G. Heeler, Jackson, aged 76 years.
Francis Larive, Jackson, aged 84 years.
Mary Kellogg, Jackson, aged 54 years.
Patrick Baines, Jackson, aged 66 years.
Mary Jewell, Jackson, aged 64 years.
Spencer Caulkins, Jackson, aged 51 years.
Perry Scott, Jackson, aged 57 years.
Martha Drescoll, Jackson, aged 68 years.
Thomas J. Kent, Jackson, aged 66 years.
Mary V. Hallett, Jackson, aged 64 years.
Maria Ann Dattleson, Jackson, aged 75 years.
Content Preston, Jackson, aged 84 years.
William Light, Jackson, aged 66 years.
Michael Brennan, Jackson, aged 78 years.
Ashell Bryant, Jackson, aged 71 years.

Elizabeth Latta, Jackson, aged 69 years.
Susan Summers, Jackson, aged 73 years.
Chas. B. Hallett, Jackson, aged 80 years.
Mary A. Hallett, Jackson, aged 66 years.
Geo. Gates, Jackson, aged 79 years.
Sylva Foster, Jackson, aged 72 years.
Mordica Mosher, Jackson, aged 64 years.
Adela Johnson, Jackson, aged 63 years.
Sarah McDevitt, Jackson, aged 68 years.
Morgan Johnson, Jackson, aged 78 years.
Harriet S. Blaney, Jackson, aged 66 years.
John Muncie, Jackson, aged 84 years.
Elizabeth B. Cramb, Jackson, aged 57 years.
Margaret Stowell, Jackson, aged 65 years.
Michael Cognovin, Jackson, aged 62 years.
William Keilman, Jackson, aged 60 years.
Sarah Burnett, Jackson, aged 76 years.
Moses L. Hart, Jackson, aged 75 years.
Matthew Carey, Jackson, aged 78 years.
Nancy Stevenson, Jackson, aged 89 years.
Russell Ford, Napoleon, aged 84 years.
Solomon Alcott, Napoleon, aged 60 years.
Rosanna Smith, Napoleon, aged 68 years.
Louise Winchell, Napoleon, aged 70 years.
Morgan Case, Napoleon, aged 77 years.
Nelson W. Crippen, Liberty, aged 61 years.
E. J. Straight, Liberty, aged 74 years.
Thomas B. Slid, Sandstone, aged 79 years.
Armella Bailor, Sandstone, aged 65 years.
Mary A. Raymond, Sandstone, aged 65 years.
John Ackerson, Sandstone, aged 66 years.
Cyrus Coy, Sandstone, aged 77 years.
Frances H. Rogers, Sandstone, aged 82 years.
Betsey Lewis, Sandstone, aged 88 years.
Ephraim Gary, Sandstone, aged 61 years.
Thomas Cuff, Sandstone, aged 73 years.
Chester Wall, Sandstone, aged 76 years.
David Harrington, Sandstone, aged 78 years.
Mary Hammill, Sandstone, aged 72 years.

Margaret M. Jones, Norvell, aged 80 years.
Alvinza Hunt, Norvell, aged 75 years.
Anna Green, Norvell, aged 74 years.
Edward Potter, Norvell, aged 76 years.
Michael Baghan, Norvell, aged 60 years.
Samuel St. John, Leoni, aged 65 years.
Talmadge Stevens, Concord, aged 67 years.
Sabrina Bigelow, Concord, aged 63 years.
John Whittaker, Concord, aged 61 years.
John Falls, Concord, aged 76 years.
Nathan Durgey, Concord, aged 76 years.
Norman Webster, Concord, aged 80 years.
Frederick H. Loder, Concord, aged 62 years.
Wm. Rath, Concord, aged 76 years.
Don C. Scranton, Concord, aged 63 years.
Wm. R. Potter, Pulaski, aged 75 years.
Peter B. Vronan, Pulaski, aged 80 years.
William Nowlin, Pulaski, aged 80 years.
William Condon, Pulaski, aged 80 years.
Wm. C. Hurd, Blackman, aged 70 years.
Daniel Harris, Rives, aged 62 years.
Charity Barns, Parma, aged 74 years.
Morris Dooley, Parma, aged 88 years.
Anna C. Smith, Parma, aged 74 years.
Ebenezer Gibbs, Parma, aged 71 years.
Alvira Johnson, Spring Arbor, aged 61 years.
Peter Carter, Spring Arbor, aged 76 years.
Amazrah Parder, Spring Arbor, aged 91 years.
David Houghstacker, Spring Arbor, aged 96 years.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

BY HENRY BISHOP.

Catharine Ulem, died March 19, 1884, aged 116 years.
Martin Heydenburk, died June 11, 1884, aged 85 years.
Jonas Allen, died —— —, 1884, aged 79 years.

Royal T. Balch, died September 12, 1884, aged 66 years.
David S. Bronson, died October 11, 1884, aged 80 years.
Sophronia Ann Vosburg, died October 11, 1884, aged 78 years.
Caleb Sweetland, died November 28, 1884, aged 82 years.
Lucius L. Clark, died December 15, 1884, aged 68 years.
Johnson Rix, died January 24, 1885, aged 94 years.
John Millham, died February 7, 1885, aged 80 years.
Albert G. Towers, died February 7, 1885, aged 78 years.
Capt. Rollin C. Denison, died March 4, 1885, aged 63 years.
Judge Hezekiah G. Wells, died April 4, 1885, aged 73 years.
Alexander Buell, died April 17, 1885, aged 78 years.
Allen Potter, died May 8, 1885, aged 66 years.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Died, in the township of Alamo, March 19, 1884, Catharine Ulem, aged one hundred and sixteen years, three months and nine days. The supervisor who made the return of Mrs. Ulem's age informed the county clerk that the daughter was in possession of well authenticated records to prove her age.

Martin Heydenburk was born in Hampton, Queen's county, New York, September 19, 1798, and came to Michigan, November, 1824. He died at Marshall (on his way to Lansing to attend the State Pioneer meeting), June 11, 1884. His first residence in Michigan was at Mackinac, where he labored for some years as a missionary among the Indians. He was very zealous through life in the cause of temperance and Christianity.

Jonas Allen was born in Chester, Winsor county, Vermont, October 21, 1805. He settled in Schoolcraft, Kalamazoo county, Michigan, June 24, 1837. He was for a number of years the principal worker in iron; in his shop was made the first scalloped edged straight sickle for cutting grain for Moore's large harvester, supposed to be the first successful cutter used in the United States. He died respected by all who knew him.

Died, in the township of Oshtemo, Kalamazoo county, September 12, 1884, Royal T. Balch, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was an earnest Christian, a good citizen and a pattern farmer.

David S. Bronson died in the township of Comstock, Kalamazoo county, October 11, 1884, aged eighty years. He was one of Michigan's worthy pioneers.

Sophronia Ann Vosburg died in the township of Charleston, Kalamazoo county, October 11, 1884, aged seventy-eight years. She was one of the early pioneers.

Died, in the city of Kalamazoo, November 28, 1884, Caleb Sweetland, aged eighty-two years and seven months. He was born in Cazenovia, N. Y., April 30, 1802; settled in the township of Portage, Kalamazoo county, May, 1831, and resided on a farm for a few years, when he was elected sheriff and served one term. He also served two terms as treasurer of the county; afterwards engaged as a merchant and lumber dealer. He died respected by all.

Lucius L. Clark died in Kalamazoo, December 15, 1884. Mr. Clark was born in Hawley, Mass., November 29, 1816. He came to Michigan and settled in Kalamazoo, June 5, 1839, as a dry goods merchant, which business he continued until the day of his death, being the oldest continuous merchant, at the time of his death, in the county of Kalamazoo; and one who always enjoyed his full share of the trade.

Johnson Rix died in the township of Texas, Kalamazoo county, the 24th day of January, 1885, aged ninety-four years.

John Millham died in the township of Portage, Kalamazoo county, February 7, 1885, aged eighty years. He was one who did his full share in converting the wilderness into fruitful fields.

Died, in the township of Texas, Kalamazoo county, February 7, 1885, Albert G. Towers, aged seventy-eight years. He was a farmer by occupation and one that was always contented with farm life.

Capt. Rollin C. Denison was born January 28, 1823, and died March 4, 1885; was commissioned as a captain in the Tenth Cavalry, August, 1861. He resigned from the service on account of disability, April 23, 1863.

Alexander Buell died April 17, 1885. He was born in Killingsworth, Connecticut, December 24, 1807, and settled in Kalamazoo, November 24, 1834.

Hon. Allen Potter was born in Galloway, Saratoga county, N. Y., October 2, 1818, and died at Kalamazoo, May 8, 1885. He was one of nature's noblemen, the poor man's friend in time of need, a man of the people and for the people in the best sense of that term; it is but simple truth to say that he was loved by thousands, and esteemed and respected by the entire community.

JUDGE HEZEKIAH G. WELLS

was born at Steubenville, Ohio, June 16, 1812, and died April 4, 1885, at his residence in Kalamazoo. As a personal friend and from an intimate acquaintance of his for forty-four years, I deem it not amiss, in my poor way, to say a few words regarding him. Judge Wells commenced the practice of law in Schoolcraft and in acting as the agent of foreign real estate

owners and money lenders. So much was he in sympathy with the pioneer settlers of his town and county, that instead of counseling litigation, he was their friend and adviser, in preventing them from foolishly squandering property they had endured so much to obtain; he was an excellent office lawyer; no man, however poor, failed, on calling on him, to get friendly advice, and for whom he always drafted all papers necessary in settling difficulties between man and man that was seldom appealed from, and a very large amount of this kind of service was rendered gratuitously. He was a marked man in whatever place he was called to fill; he was fearless in the right; a man of temperate habits, of good moral and Christian character, whose everyday life was devoted in trying various ways to better the condition of the present and the rising generation, by aiding and assisting in devising a good code of laws for town, county and State. He was an active, working member in framing the constitution of the State, and devoted gratuitously a large portion of his active life in various ways for the good of the public. He rendered much valuable service in this way to the town of Schoolcraft, and since his residence in Kalamazoo he has served as president of the village a number of years, and many of our most important public improvements were devised and carried to completion under his administration. Our public school system is largely indebted to his untiring perseverance in laying the foundation of what we now feel so justly proud of, in seeing its benefits equally enjoyed by the poorest citizens as with the rich. The Michigan Female Seminary is largely indebted to him for his valuable services in giving of his own means and inducing others to become its patrons. He was president of the Agricultural College for a number of years, and was of great assistance to that valuable school in making it a model institution of which the people of the State of Michigan feel so justly proud; he has also acted very intelligently and acceptably as president of the county and State Pioneer Societies, and has left many valuable items of history on record as such presiding officer.

Judge Wells has held some public trust almost continuously for over fifty years, since his residence in the State, and most of the time his valuable services were either gratuitous or performed for a very small salary. The writer has been intimately acquainted with him for the past forty-six years and never knew him to refuse his services where the public demanded them, however undesirable the office may have been. I have never known him to obtain any office where he received a compensation adequate to the service rendered until he received from President Grant, and subsequently from President Arthur, the appointment of Presiding Judge of the Court of

Alabama Claims. This was to him and his many friends a very gratifying appointment, as it placed him in circumstances that enabled him to enjoy a competence to the close of life and fully meet his ambitious desire to occupy some higher position than he had heretofore held as a public servant.

Judge Wells has left a widow (but no children) whose devotion to him through life, and particularly so during his last sickness, was richly shown in her watchful and painstaking care of him. His many friends condole with her and deeply sympathize for her in this great bereavement. May He who doeth all things well sustain her in her loneliness.

KENT COUNTY.

BY W. L. COFFINBURY.

[For Robert Hilton.]

Heman Leonard, died February 21, 1884, aged 72 years.
Bradley C. Weaver, died June 23, 1884, aged 62 years.
Elisha M. Adams, died June 27, 1884, aged 82 years.
Solomon Wright, died June 24, 1884, aged 68 years.
Mrs. Eliza Davis, died January 22, 1885, aged 79 years.
Thompson Sinclair, died January 23, 1885, aged 67 years.
Andrew DeWitt Stout, died January 28, 1885, aged 84 years.

HEMAN LEONARD.

Mr. Heman Leonard, well known throughout Grand Rapids and vicinity, died at the family residence at 4 A. M., February 21, 1884. The deceased was born in Parma, N. Y., April 15, 1812. At the age of twenty-one he went to Canada, where he spent two years, from 1833 to 1835, working at the carpenter's trade. In 1836 he came to Michigan, settling near Adrian on a farm, where he remained about a year; then moved to Sturgis. From the latter place he came to Grand Rapids in 1842, kept the Eagle hotel for a time, and in 1844 engaged in the grocery trade at 31 Monroe street, changing gradually from the grocery to the crockery business about 1863, in which he continued during his life. About 1868 he replaced the original wood building with a fine brick block. He was twice married, his second wife dying a few months ago. A man of great energy of character, Mr. Leonard was identified largely with the local interests of this city for a long term of years,

and will long be remembered as one of the most estimable of the army of pioneers who did so much to lay the foundation for a great city. Mr. Leonard had been in poor health for about twelve years. In 1872 he suffered a paralytic stroke, which was followed in 1875 by partial nerve paralysis, and since 1879 had been a confirmed invalid. He retained his consciousness till within a day or two of his death. His sons, Chas. H., Frank E. and Fred H., are well known citizens, of late years associated with him in business.

BRADLEY C. WEAVER.

Mr. Bradley C. Weaver, one of the most respected of the early settlers of Byron township, died at his home on Monday, June 23, 1884, of liver complaint, age sixty-two years, nine months and three days. He had been ill for several months and his death was expected by his friends, who gave up hope of his recovery weeks ago. He did not suffer severely during his illness, or at least did not complain of pain, but continually complained of a tired, exhausted feeling that clung to him to the last.

Mr Weaver was born in Tolland county, Connecticut, Sept. 20, 1822. In March, 1846, he married Miss Sallie Butler of Darien, Genesee county, New York, and in the same year they moved to their new home in what was then a Michigan wilderness, and began the struggles incident to pioneer life. Being frugal, honest and industrious they were successful from the first, and Mrs. Weaver is left with a competency in the shape of one of the best farms in Kent county. Their only surviving child, Wallace C., who is married, will move to the old homestead and take charge of its affairs.

Five brothers and two sisters survive Mr. Weaver. Two of his brothers settled in Byron on farms adjoining his about the same time that he came to Michigan. Two others came later, and all live there yet. The oldest brother and a younger sister live in Genesee county, N. Y., and the other sister, Mrs. Mary Grover, lives in Dorr, Allegan county, and with her his father, Sebra Weaver, who is now almost ninety years old.

Bradley C. Weaver was a plain, honest, open-hearted, social man. He was a generous, kind-hearted husband and father, a true friend and neighbor, and his death is sincerely regretted by hundreds of friends and acquaintances.

ELISHA M. ADAMS.

Another old settler passed away, Friday morning, June 27, 1884,—Mr. Elisha M. Adams, of 144 North Division street, Grand Rapids. Mr. Adams was a native of Duchess county, New York, where he was born June 2, 1802. He came to this city in 1851, and ever since was a familiar personage upon

our streets, pursuing the even tenor of the way of a man chiefly absorbed in business and wasting no time. He was a careful, cautious man, conscientious and exact, with strong religious feelings, an esteemed citizen who will be missed from the circle of the older residents. A man of temperate and regular habits, he attained great age, and passed away quietly to the common home of mankind. He was a member of the Old Residents' Association.

SOLOMON WRIGHT.

Mr. Solomon Wright, for nearly 50 years a resident of this county, died Sunday morning, June 29, 1884, at 10 o'clock, at his residence in Paris township, of apoplexy. He rose that morning apparently as well as usual and went out to milk. He was found shortly afterward unconscious, and was carried into the house. He did not recover consciousness, and died at 10 o'clock. He was born in Wayne county, N. Y., March 18, 1818, and in November, 1837, come to the town of Alpine, this county, where he became one of the most prominent farmers of the community. About a year ago he removed to Paris township. He leaves a wife, three daughters, and a son. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity and of the Old Settlers' Association.

MRS. ELIZA DAVIS.

Mrs. Eliza, wife of Ebenezer Davis of Wyoming, died January 22, 1885, of heart disease, aged seventy-nine. Her death was very sudden, she being apparently as well as usual up to the last fifteen minutes. Mrs. Davis was one of the pioneers, the family having come to Grand Rapids in 1836 from Wilson, Niagara county, N. Y. She was a native of Burlington, Vt. Her husband, Mr. Ebenezer Davis, who survives her, is about eighty-five years old, and she was the mother of Supervisor James N. Davis and Ex-Deputy Sheriff Horace Davis of this city, and Reuben E., Jerome G., Eliza S. and Emeline B. Davis of Wyoming township, and Mrs. J. A. Knowles and Mrs. Lucy J. Moody. The family has been almost absolutely free from deaths during fifty years. Mrs. Davis leaves behind her children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and hosts of warmly attached friends.

THOMPSON SINCLAIR.

By all of the old settlers of Grand Rapids and vicinity, as well as a host of other warm friends, the announcement of the death of Mr. Thompson Sinclair, which occurred at the family residence on Lyon street, January 23, 1885, was received with the profoundest sentiments of regret and sadness. Mr. Sinclair was one of the pioneers of Western Michigan, and in his long

residence here, alike as an individual and in his official capacity of justice of the peace (which responsible office he has filled for about thirty-five consecutive years), he has maintained an invariable reputation for kindliness, courtesy, and a most conscientious discharge of every responsibility. Always cheerful, accommodating, regular at his post of duty, and prompt, intelligent and impartial in his rulings and decisions, he was a model officer, and as a citizen, in all the long course of his residence here, he has only added to the long list of his friends, and leaves behind him a record spotless in its purity. In his family relations, no man could be more devoted and tender as a husband or affectionate and indulgent as a father than Mr. Sinclair. He was the father of five children, Messrs. A. Porter, Thompson, W. Fred and David Sinclair and Mrs. Stewart Johnson, all of whom are now living and nearly all reside here, and is also survived by his wife, a most estimable lady, *nee* Miss Eunice White, to whom he was united in marriage at Clinton, Michigan, October 17, 1843. Col. R. P. Sinclair, one of our best known settlers and most prominent citizens, is a brother of the deceased.

Mr. Sinclair was born in Romulus, Seneca county, on the 18th of June, 1819, and was therefore sixty-six years old at the time of his death. He had a thorough college education. In 1840, in company with his father and brother Samuel, he removed to Ann Arbor, Michigan, where he and his brother embarked in the dry goods trade. At the same time he conducted a flouring mill located at Dixborough. As above stated, he was married in 1843. In 1845, still retaining his business connections in Ann Arbor, he came to Grand Rapids with his family, and opened a dry goods store on Monroe street. In 1850 he was elected justice of the peace, which office he has held, with the exception of a single year, ever since. Very few of his decisions have ever been reversed. He was admitted to the bar in 1878. Mr. Sinclair has been in delicate health for three years past, suffering from catarrh of the throat. About a year ago he had an attack of paralysis, from which he never recovered. He has managed to be about and has attended to all the details of his business with his accustomed fidelity, but has in reality been an invalid all the time. Yesterday morning he arose as usual about 9 o'clock, and while dressing himself, fell over upon the bed, and remained unconscious until his death, which was painless, and occurred about 6:45 o'clock in the afternoon. Dr. Johnson, the family physician, and Dr. Brady, who was also in attendance yesterday, state that the immediate cause of death was the bursting of a blood vessel of the brain. Justice Holcomb was present with the family at the final moment, and says that he never witnessed a more peaceful passing away, and never knew an abler, purer magistrate.

ANDREW D. W. STOUT.

Died, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Samuel Stevens of Ottawa, January 28, 1885, Andrew De Witt Stout, aged eighty-four years. The death of this man deserves more than a passing notice. He was born in Huntington county, New Jersey, February 12, 1801, and removed to Seneca county, New York, in 1825. In 1827 he was married to Miss Phœbe Quick. He was a blacksmith by trade, and was known far and near for his athletic feats. He removed to Northville, Mich., in 1832, and in July of 1834, after a long and perilous journey over poor wagon roads, he, together with his family, reached Grand Rapids, and on what is now Monroe street, built the first blacksmith shop of this flourishing city. In 1837, as the northern part of Kent county began to be settled, he was appointed to take charge of the ferry boat at Plainfield, and built a hotel and blacksmith shop in connection with it. Several years after he exchanged his hotel for a farm in Courtland, and that in turn for a farm near Plainfield, which he owned at the time of his death. His house was always a home for friends and relatives, and his door was ever open to the stranger. His benevolence was proverbial. He was a Democrat of the old school, having cast three votes for Gen. Jackson. He was the father of eight children, six of whom live to mourn his death,—Mrs. Samuel Stevens of Ottawa, Andrew and John Stout of Courtland, Mrs. Emma Clark of Kansas, Samuel Stout of Plainfield, and Mrs. Alice Hinman of Sparta. He was a kind husband and an indulgent father. He was buried in Plainfield cemetery, on the 30th of January last, beside his wife, who had gone before.

"So let his children's children go their way;
Go and do likewise, leaving neath the sod
An honest man—the noblest work of God."

LENAWEE COUNTY.

BY F. A. DEWEY.

(For F. R. Stebbins.)

Pioneers of Lenawee county who have died during the year beginning June 10, 1884, and ending June 15, 1885:

Deaths in June, 1884:

Mrs. Philo Wilson, Fairfield, aged 82 years.

James Tourner, Adrian city, aged 71 years.

Phebe Skinner, Macon, aged 80 years.

Sirrel C. Lebaron, Tecumseh, aged 76 years.
Lambert L. Bouck, Adrian city, aged 76 years.
John Butrick, Franklin, aged 78 years.
Maria Brewer, Tecumseh, aged 63 years.
Mr. Johnson, Clinton, aged 72 years.

Deaths in July, 1884:

Mrs. S. B. Crane, Blissfield, aged 77 years.
Alvin Joslin, Woodstock, aged 63 years.
Stephen Aldrich, Raisin, aged 82 years.
James Hurley, Adrian city, aged 72 years.
Samuel L. Rice, Ogden, aged 75 years.
Price Mann, Seneca, aged 68 years.
Wm. A. Clark, Blissfield, aged 68 years.
Orlando S. Stevens, Clinton, aged 78 years.
Mrs. J. A. Chandler, Adrian city, aged 81 years.
Mrs. L. Ormsby, Deerfield, aged 71 years.
Mrs. Polly D. Eddy, Tecumseh, aged 66 years.
Mrs. Harriet M. Smith, Dover, aged 78 years.
John T. Comstock, Rollin, aged 77 years.
Phebe Chatfield, Raisin, aged 74 years.

Deaths in August, 1884:

John Skinner, Macon, aged 81 years.
Elizabeth R. Stebbins, Adrian city, aged 67 years.
Asa Rosacrans, Tecumseh, aged 72 years.
Agnes Campbell, Franklin, aged 79 years.
Mary Turner, Woodstock, aged 91 years.
Philop Hathway, Ridgeway, aged 96 years.

Deaths in September, 1884:

John Dowling, Cambridge, aged 82 years.
Prudence Snedicor, Tecumseh, aged 63 years.
Henry Williams, Addison, aged 80 years.
Ansel Main, Hudson, aged 83 years.
Robert Brighton, Cambridge, aged 80 years.
Asa Day, Adrian city, aged 91 years.
Wm. F. Pierce, Madison, aged 82 years.
Emeline Wilcox, Blissfield, aged 76 years.
Abram Avery, Woodstock, aged 80 years.
Kern Avery, Woodstock, aged 76 years.
Wm. King, Rollin, aged 75 years.

Stephen Power, Hudson, aged 80 years.
Edwin Johnson, Hudson, aged 60 years.

Deaths in October, 1884:

Wm. H. Montgomery, Hudson, aged 77 years.
Mrs. Sherard, Cambridge, aged 87 years.
Mrs. Elsie Camburn, Franklin, aged 82 years.
Horatio Bartlett, Clinton, aged 55 years.
William Colyer, Blissfield, aged 76 years.
Wm. Dutton, Adrian city, aged 72 years.

Deaths in November, 1884:

Mrs. Saviers, Franklin, aged 70 years.
Adeline Hatheway, Blissfield, aged 90 years.
Lucretia Parks, Clinton, aged 90 years.
Mrs. Aaron Brooks, Clinton, aged 68 years.
John Keeney, Franklin, aged 74 years.
Jane Gifford, Morenci, aged 58 years.
Permelia Vale, Fairfield, aged 66 years.
Mrs. J. C. Grant, Dover, aged 66 years.
Henry Burns, Rome, aged 71 years.
Abraham O. Berry, Fairfield, aged 89 years.
William Wilber, Fairfield, aged 95 years.
Mrs. J. R. Severns, Clinton, aged 75 years.

Deaths in December, 1884:

Catherine Rose, Hudson, aged 79 years.
Calvin Lawrence, Tecumseh, aged 79 years.
Israel Phelps, Medina, aged 71 years.
William Bennett, Hudson, aged 70 years.
Wm. B. Schermerhorn, Hudson, aged 51 years.
Benjamin Drew, Adrian city, aged 77 years.
T. D. Jermain, Adrian city, aged 61 years.
Hila Morley, Woodstock, aged 79 years.
Betsy Wilsey, Woodstock, aged 79 years.

Deaths in January, 1885:

John Wooster, Woodstock, aged 72 years.
David H. Goodale, Adrian city, aged 75 years.
Thomas More, Madison, aged 63 years.
James W. Foot, Seneca, aged 80 years.
Mrs. Joslyn, Medina, aged 90 years.
Geo. Ormsted, Rome, aged 73 years.

Mrs. Frank Bowen, Adrian city, aged 42 years.
Ira Camburn, Franklin, aged 73 years.
Jesse Powell, Seneca, aged 60 years.
Henry Skinner, Fairfield, aged 94 years.
Jacob Bovee, Hudson, aged 76 years.
Sally Upton, Medina, aged 70 years.
Lucy Ross, Rome, aged 80 years.
Lyman Lane, Fairfield, aged 80 years.
Mr. Flowerley, Palmyra, aged 80 years.
R. J. Bradley, Adrian city, aged 70 years.
Daniel Clark, Deerfield, aged 77 years.

Deaths in February, 1885:

James Keegan, Deerfield, aged 79 years.
Elihu Ford, Deerfield, aged 87 years.
Isaac L. Hayward, Adrian city, aged 70 years.
Nathaniel S. Wheeler, Adrian, aged 77 years.
Allan Everett, Tecumseh, aged 78 years.
Amanda Keeney, Cambridge, aged 63 years.
Sanford Hause, Ridgeway, aged 80 years.
Thomas T. Romeyn, Clinton, aged 86 years.
Thomas Hendershot, Clinton, aged 48 years.
Catherine Crane, Madison, aged 71 years.
Alfred Crane, Madison, aged 75 years.
Edwin P. Wood, Tecumseh, aged 60 years.
E. D. Allen, Morenci, aged 62 years.

Deaths in March, 1885:

L. D. Dewey, Tecumseh, aged 77 years.
Mrs. E. Harmon, Lake Ridge, aged 75 years.
Crowell Eddy, Franklin, aged 68 years.
Lydia S. Wooden, Cambridge, aged 72 years.

Deaths in April, 1885:

Mrs. F. S. Dunkam, Petersburg, aged 79 years.
Mr. Fowler, Palmyra, aged 84 years.
Mrs. Fowler, Palmyra, aged 82 years.
Mrs. I. Lowe, Fairfield, aged 73 years.
Margaret Fellows, Cambridge, aged 72 years.
Luther Scoot, Medina, aged 76 years.
Henry Langdon, Franklin, aged 78 years.
Mrs. Bagley, Hudson, aged 104 years.

Charles Broops, Clinton, aged 70 years.
Jesse Russell, Cambridge, aged 88 years.
Clarissa Drake, Cambridge, aged 70 years.
James H. Linesay, Fairfield, aged 74 years.
Alonzo More, Palmyra, aged 82 years.
William F. Doke, Tecumseh, aged 73 years.
W. J. Boulton, Palmyra, aged 75 years.
Thomas Smith, Blissfield, aged 73 years.
Almyra Cleveland, Raisin, aged 83 years.
Sumner F. Spafford, Tecumseh, aged 77 years.
Maria Spafford, Tecumseh, aged 82 years.
Mrs. C. K. Spafford, Clinton, aged 44 years.
Patrick Derby, Hudson, aged 84 years.

Deaths in May, 1885:

Timothy Duel, Tecumseh, aged 75 years.
Peter Vandewater, Adrian city, aged 96 years.
Daniel S. Edwards, Adrian city, aged 78 years.
Mrs. Rollin Robertson, Palmyra, aged 72 years.
Mrs. Sarah Rogers, Macon, aged 96 years.
Andrew Van Sickle, Seneca, aged 85 years.
Mrs. Robert Boyd, Tecumseh, aged 73 years.
Phebe Johnston, Cambridge, aged 85 years.

Deaths in June, 1885:

Emily Bond, Rome, aged 70 years.
Mrs. John Johnson, Rome, aged 88 years.
Amos Stocking, Tecumseh, aged 85 years.
Peter Waldron, Clinton, aged 70 years.
Mrs. Melora Brown, Adrian city, aged 93 years.
Elizabeth Turner, Tecumseh, aged 74 years.
Peter Trexler, Morenci, aged 80 years.
Mrs. S. Wolf, Seneca, aged 58 years.

The whole number that died during the year was 138, the average age being seventy-five years. Of these 69 were over seventy years of age, 46 were over eighty years, while one (Mrs. Bagley of Hudson) had reached the advanced age of one hundred and four years. All had been residents of Lenawee county twenty-five years or more.

L. D. DEWEY.

As the sturdy oaks of the forest fall before the woodman's ax, so the honored pioneers of the county fall before the sickle of Death. One by one

they leave the pleasures and hopes, together with the sorrows and disappointments of this life and take up their abode in the silent city of the dead. They are gone but not forgotten. Though their forms may crumble to dust, the works of their hands will live after them, and when these have also passed away, their memories will still survive, fondly cherished by future generations.

On Thursday, March 5, 1885, many of the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last sad rites to one whom they shall see no more upon earth, Lorenzo D. Dewey. During the solemn funeral service which was held at the residence of the deceased, the minister, Rev. Geo. W. Hudson, read by request the following brief history of the life of the departed:

Lorenzo Dow Dewey was born in Hanover, New Hampshire, April 29, 1808. He there learned the first rudiments of the English language. In the year 1820 he was a pupil at that celebrated seminary of education, Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., where he graduated with honor. A few years later he was a student at Dartmouth Medical College, Hanover, and after two years diligent study at that institution, he received from the hands of President Mussey a diploma, but he never practiced medicine. During the year 1828 he was in Florida and was engaged in a store at St. Augustine for a year.

A little over fifty-five years ago he came to Tecumseh, driving two horses and a carriage from Buffalo over the wilderness roads. Three years later he was general manager of all the mail routes and stages which left Detroit. A large and successful business was carried on under his management. The office controlled the routes to Ohio, Pontiac, Ann Arbor, and Chicago. After holding this position about four years he gave it up on account of ill health and by the advice of his physician returned to Tecumseh. In 1833 he was married in Detroit to Miss Maranda Olmstead. For several years he was successfully engaged in the hardware business in Tecumseh.

In the month of September, 1876, while in usually good health, he was stricken down with paralysis. From that day until the day of his death he has been confined to his house a greater part of the time. Mr. Dewey was the father of three sons and three daughters, all married. During the eight years of ill health all that could be accomplished by a kind, devoted wife and willing children to relieve his wants was done. He died at his farm residence, March 1, 1885, at eight o'clock P. M., aged seventy-six years and ten months.

He has obeyed the Savior's injunction, gone to be here no more. Strong integrity of character supported him in the active duties of life and did not

fail him as the shades of night gathered around and death quietly cut the silver cord. His labors are finished and the best eulogy that can be said or written concerning his life is the sweet memories of a kind, good husband and father, which are embalmed in the hearts of the now bereaved wife and children. Also a large circle of friends will cherish his memory as that of a good citizen gone to the silent tomb.

MARQUETTE COUNTY.

BY HON. PETER WHITE.

HON. J. P. PENDILL.

Monday afternoon, March 9, 1885, about two o'clock, Mr. J. P. Pendill, while back of his store, in some manner overstrained himself in lifting. Shortly after he entered his house and complained of severe pains in the chest and abdomen. Dr. Thiell was summoned, but he did not think there was anything serious the matter, and, after giving him an opiate to allay the pain, left. Immediately after, the pains increased in severity and spread over all the body, and he died a few minutes after. His son, James Pendill, Jr., had summoned Dr. Northrup, but before the physician arrived Mr. Pendill had passed away from earth. He was aged seventy-three years.

Mr. Pendill was born in New York State, near Batavia. He came to Michigan in 1845 and located at Sault Ste. Marie, from which place he moved to Marquette ten years later, and to Negaunee in 1867, living there seven years, after which he located in this city, where he has resided ever since.

In 1872 he was elected mayor of Negaunee, and reëlected in 1873. In 1879 he was elected mayor of Marquette and filled the office for three successive terms.

In the administration of public affairs, Mr. Pendill displayed the same life and activity that characterized the conduct of his own business. He was the first mayor of Negaunee, and during his incumbency instituted reforms and improvements that will long remain. While mayor of this city, his administration was energetic and progressive, and will be long remembered by the citizens.

Personally, Mr. Pendill was scrupulously honest, and although blunt in his manner at times, he was generous and charitable, and was extremely popular in this community.

He was quite wealthy at the time of his death, and most of his property is located here and in Negaunee. During his residence in the two cities he did a general merchandise business, and accumulated his wealth by strict integrity and attention to business.

He leaves a wife, three sons and a daughter, all of whom have the sincere sympathy of a wide circle of friends.—*Marquette Mining Journal*, March 10, 1885.

The shock caused by the unexpected and sudden death of Hon. James P. Pendill, on Monday afternoon, to us, and in fact this whole community, was so great that in the hastily written obituary notice given Tuesday morning, we did not as fully cover the subject as we desired, or as his worth merited. Yesterday we interviewed several of the older citizens as to Mr. Pendill's life, and there was but one expression, that of intense sorrow and regret, at his sudden "taking off." Said one: "I first made Mr. Pendill's acquaintance in the summer of 1849. He was then keeping a large store opposite the Van Auden House at Sault Ste. Marie, and was doing a good business. In the early spring of 1855 he sent the late J. W. Watson to this place with a stock of goods, to open a store, and later in the year he came himself, accompanied by his wife, to settle and live in Marquette, he having closed his business at the Sault.

He expressed great faith in the future of Marquette, and of the whole iron region. His first place of business here was on the north side of Superior street, near the corner of Third, but after a few months spent in that location, he purchased the dwelling where his family now reside, on the south side of the same street, and erected a store just east of it, where he continued to do business to the hour of his death.

In the spring of 1856, and for several years subsequently, he was elected supervisor of the then township of Marquette, and for many years he was chairman of the board of supervisors. As supervisor he rendered intelligent and valuable services, and would never consent to receive any compensation therefor. Later on, he served in the State Legislature as a member from this representative district, with honor and credit to himself, as well as to the advantage of his constituents. He procured an amendment to the mining law, by which one-half of all specific taxes paid into the State treasury by mining companies of the upper peninsula should be paid back to the counties from which they should be derived, and we are still enjoying the benefits of that wise and just legislation. He has many times held the position of school trustee, and always took great interest in all that tended to advance and improve our common schools, but it was as mayor of this city

for several successive terms that he rendered valuable and never-to-be-forgotten services.

Touching on this point, Mr. Peter White said to the reporter: "If I were to recapitulate to you all the work and achievements of his mayoralty, it would fill two pages or more of your paper! I could recite to you anecdotes, peculiarities, eccentricities and good deeds that would fill a good-sized volume and be quite interesting, but I forbear for the moment.

"He was always a kind and generous friend of the poor. He has ever been proud of the city or town where his home was, whether it was Negaunee or Marquette, and if the public would not make good roads and streets he would have them made at his own expense. In this connection I must relate a characteristic anecdote: It was several years ago, he was mayor of the city, and in spite of his opposition, a certain member of the council had, by hook or by crook, log-rolled a scheme through that body by which the sum of $100 was appropriated to be expended under direction of said councilman to repair a certain bad piece of road about a mile from the center of the city. Early next morning the mayor and his son and two of his men, with his span of horses and wagon and tools, could have been seen wending their way to the aforesaid 'certain bad road,' and in less than half a day it was repaired, and well done, too, and *without taking a cent out of the city treasury.*

"Mr. Pendill was born in Batavia, in western New York, and moved to Michigan almost fifty years ago. He first settled in Niles, but did business in Michigan City, Ind., as well as Niles. Chauncey Blair, who in those days lived in that part of Michigan, but is now a wealthy banker in Chicago, has told me that he 'knew Jim Pendill in Niles in 1837, and a right lively boy he was, too.' He had often seen him driving his 'four-in-hand,' with broadcloth suit on and in snow-white gloves, but he added: 'Jim always paid his debts, and was a good citizen.' He has always been a man of sterling integrity, truthful and reliable in all his statements, vigorous in denouncing wrong, and ever willing to laud and praise a good act. I have never heard him accused of being two-faced or double. To speak words of praise of him in this community, where everybody knew him so well, seems a work of supererogation, and reminds me of the sermon preached by the great Dr. Muhlenburg over the remains of that splendid philanthropist, Robert B. Minturn, of New York City. The preacher ascended the pulpit, and standing before the vast audience assembled to pay the last token of respect to the departed, in solemn, measured tones, and in a vividly impressive manner, never to be forgotten by those present, said: 'A good man hath gone to his

rest; let us pray.' I had almost forgotten to mention that Mr. Pendill was the first mayor of Negaunee, and in that capacity rendered that city services that were handsomely appreciated by its people.

"'A good man hath gone to his rest.' All honor to his memory."—*Marquette Mining Journal,* March 11, 1885.

MONROE COUNTY.

DR. JOHN W. MASON.

Dr. John W. Mason died at Dundee, Mich., December 22, 1884, aged fifty-five years. At the reunion of the Sixth Michigan Heavy Artillery, held at Benton Harbor, August 26, 1885, Major Harrison Soule, of Ann Arbor, spoke of Dr. Mason as follows:

John W. Mason was born in Barry, Orleans county, N. Y., January 6, 1829; came to Michigan in 1832, and lived at Saline, passing his boyhood there. In 1851, at the age of 22 years, he entered the University at Ann Arbor in the medical department, his tastes inclining to that science. He remained in college but one year, when he went to Louisville, Kentucky, and studied under a private preceptor one year, after which he returned to Michigan and began the practice of medicine at Petersburg. In the year 1862 he again entered as a student of the University, wishing to attain to higher honors in his chosen profession, and in that year he graduated, being among the brilliant list of surgeons who shed high honors on their profession on the tented field.

Surgeon Mason entered the service in our own Sixth Michigan. We all remember our comrade when he joined us, relieving Ass't Surgeon French who had by his kindness endeared himself to us all, and who had been promoted to other fields of duty as surgeon of another regiment. We had no misgivings when we looked into the happy face of our new comrade. The cheerful smile and brotherly grasp of the hand greeted us, and we took him directly to our hearts. Comrades, you need no reminder from me to follow him through the service. He was always with us, whether in the long, toilsome march through the cypress swamps, accross the deep lagoons of Louisiana low lands, or on the lonely watch at our hastily impressed hospital tent on the field, giving such care and consolation as only his big brotherly heart could give.

Many of our fallen comrades have been cheered and many a long, weary

hour made shorter by the kind and pleasant voice which whispered words of duty to brave hearts. Frequently solicited by promotion to other fields, his affection for his old first love prompted him to remain with us, and with the exception of the short time in which as a prisoner, being captured with our small-pox hospital, which we all well remember, he was with us. On the retirement of Surgeon Motram, Mason was made full surgeon, and as such remained on constant duty until mustered out with the regiment at the close of the war, August 20, 1865. Except a short time in Detroit, and nearly a year spent in traveling, Surgeon Mason has resided in Dundee, Michigan, and in the practice of his profession has gained considerable renown and hosts of friends who with us mourn his early death. About two years previous to death he began to feel that the seeds of disease had gained a foothold on him which, together with a chronic diarrhea that had troubled him more or less since his army life, were rapidly gaining mastery. For a time he rebelled against the grim monster disease, but soon discovered that he was out-generaled on all sides. Occasionally he would feel that all hopes were not gone, but a few weeks would determine he was the loser in both health and confidence, and so until about the reunion at Battle Creek. On receiving our annual notice to meet once more with the boys, the Doctor braced up and the anticipation of such meeting cheered him. I can, my comrades, no better describe the situation than by giving the words of his beloved wife, who says: "A little more than a year ago he was receiving letters from Major Soule, Surgeon Chase and other comrades, asking him to meet them at Battle Creek reunion in August. At first it seemed as if impossible for him to do so, but the thought of again meeting with old comrades acted as a tonic on both mind and body, and for a few days previous to going and while there he seemed so much stronger than he had done for months, we trusted the change might be permanent and health again be his, but our hopes were soon disappointed. Within forty-eight hours from the time he bade you good-bye on the tented grounds he was being watched over in his home by physicians and friends, with fear in their hearts that he was to be with them but a few days. From that attack, however, he rallied and lived for months, suffering intensely unless under the influence of opiates. Many times he spoke of his pleasant meeting with you all, and one day, soon after our return, he said to me, 'Oh, I am so glad I attended the reunion, for it is my last on earth. I will soon be called to a reunion where no good-byes are said.'"

Major John W. Mason, surgeon of the Sixth Michigan Heavy Artillery, died December 22, 1884. Comrades, while we shall not meet together long

and shall, as the years go by, miss first one, then another from our midst, let us continue these reunions; let us year by year meet and see how the battle of life goes with each other. Let us live good citizens, and when the last drum beats our tattoo let us be ready and in good mustering order to join the ranks of our Grand Army who are tenting on the other shore.

MONTCALM COUNTY.

BY JOSEPH P. SHOEMAKER.

CAPT. D. L. COON.

Capt. Druby L. Coon, a resident of Greenville and vicinity for thirty years, died at his residence, in that place, on Friday, December 5, 1884, after a lingering illness of three months, of necrosis of the bones of the foot, aged sixty years. Capt. Coon was well known throughout the State as a hotel proprietor, having owned the Exchange and Webster House at Greenville for a number of years. He also built and operated Coburn's Exchange at Howard City for a number of years. He was born in the State of New York and at an early age came to Michigan, and for a number of years prior to his becoming a resident of Greenville, ran the old steamboat, Porter, between Grand Haven and Ionia, from which he derived his title of captain. He was an adjutant in the Third Michigan Cavalry, Company L, during the war, and was a charter member of Wm. A. Kent Post, G. A. R., of Greenville. He was also a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity, having held the office of King in the chapter for a number of years. Until 1878 he was an active Republican, after which he became prominently connected with the Greenback party, and took an active part in the last campaign as a member of that party.

MRS. HANNAH WATERBURY.

Mrs. Hannah Waterbury died at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. U. H. Kendall, January 6, 1885, aged ninety-five years. She was born in Stamford, Conn., November 14, 1789. Her maiden name was Scotfield. She was married to Solomon Waterbury, a soldier of the War of 1812, in 1812. She lived with her husband almost long enough to see her golden wedding, when he died, twenty-three years ago. She was the mother of ten children, seven of whom are still living, viz: Messrs. Isaac, Alonzo and Willis Waterbury, of this town; Mrs. Elisha Barber, of Ward, Kan.; Mrs. U. H. Ken-

dall, of Prairie du Sue; Mrs. C. Dantforth, of Charles City, Iowa, and Mrs. O. S. Knapp, of DeLand, Florida. She has been the grandmother of forty-three grandchildren, thirty-nine great grandchildren, and four great-great grandchildren, ninety-six descendants in all. For sixty years she was a stanch and consistent member of the Baptist Church. An old resident, she leaves a large number of friends, as the numerous attendance at the funeral showed, to whom her memory will be blessed. She was buried in the country, from the residence of U. H. Kendall, on Yankee street, Thursday morning, January 8, Rev. C. R. Burdick officiating. "Blessed be the dead which die in the Lord."—*Carson City Record.*

MRS. ESTHER MANN.

Mrs. Esther Mann, familiarly known as "Grandma Mann," died at the residence of her son, in Montcalm, on Wednesday, February 11, 1885, aged eighty-seven years, four months and nineteen days.

The deceased was born in the State of New York, September 23, 1797, or two years before Washington died. Having been permitted to live beyond the allotted age of man, she had seen many changes since her acquaintance with the world. She came to Michigan thirty-eight years ago. Although her life had been one of struggle with the toils of pioneer life, her last days were quiet and peaceful. She often expressed herself as willing to go when the messenger called. Her illness was brief, and her death as quiet and peaceful as though she simply sank to rest in sleep.—*Greenville Democrat.*

I. J. MERRITT.

I. J. Merritt, who had been troubled with dropsy of the heart, died February —, 1885, after a long and severe sickness, aged sixty-seven years. He was born in Newcastle, Westchester county, New York, where he remained until able to start out on life's journey for himself. On his journey around he landed at Greenville on the twenty-fourth day of April, 1861. The place suited him and he erected the first steam saw mill in the city (then a village) of Greenville. It was situated on the south side of the river in the west part of the town. When not busy he used to take his gun and go hunting after game, which was plentiful in those days.

About seventeen years ago he built the hotel known to our old residents as the Merritt House, which was one of the finest in this part of the country when completed. One cold night, fourteen or fifteen years since, the flames seized it and made ashes of the entire building. Then he went to South Lyon and became a farmer. After a time he went to Lakeview to live, so as to be near his daughter. There he remained until about two years since,

when he came back to his old camping ground,—Greenville. He was an honored member of the Masonic fraternity, under whose auspices he was buried. Mr. Merritt has left a wife and a daughter, by a former marriage, and many friends who unite in mourning his departure.

S. W. CROSBY.

Seth Wakeman Crosby died March —, 1885, at Keith's Exchange, aged seventy-two years and three months.

Mr. Crosby was born in the town of Southeast, Butman county, N. Y., where he was raised. When a young man he moved to New York city and served his employer faithfully and well as a clerk for many years. After a while he moved to Phelps, where he opened a store and thrived so well that in 1848 he bought a farm with his accumulations, in Gorham, where he tilled the soil until 1868, when he came west and located in the pineries of Montcalm township, Montcalm county. Here he built a mill and lumbered, being assisted by his sons until 1881, when Clarence, his son, determined to make Greenville his home, so he came here to live and has resided among us ever since.

Mr. Crosby lost his wife seven years ago; he has left two sons, Clarence and Henry, and a daughter, Mrs. F. Hill of McBrides, to mourn the loss of a devoted and loving father, besides a large circle of relatives to mourn his departure and miss his mature advice and wise judgment in all matters of business.

Mr. Crosby was a member of the Presbyterian Church, having joined when a young man, and he has been a consistent member of his church and a humble follower of his Lord for over half a century. He was well known by all for miles around, and all will miss his cheerful countenance and pleasant manners.—*Greenville Democrat.*

OAKLAND COUNTY.

BY O. POPPLETON.

The following persons, whose names appear in the list of members of the Pioneer Society of Oakland county, have died since June 1, 1884, and this report includes the place of their birth, the date and place of their settlement in Oakland county, the date of and age at death. I am indebted to Edward W. Peck, secretary of the Oakland County Pioneer Society, for this list:

List of Deceased Members.

Names.	Where Born.	Place of Settlement.	Year.	Date of Death.	Age.
Abram A. Axford	Oxford, N. J.	Oakland	1832	January 25, 1885	83
Elkanah B. Comstock	Berne, N. Y.	Pontiac	1835	September 9, 1884	76
Charles H. Frost	Marcellas, N. Y.	Pontiac	1835	December, 1884	63
Erastus M. Francis	Pittsfield, Mass.	Troy	1833	August 8, 1884	73
Elijah B. Clark	New London, Ct.	Orion	1831	July, 1884	91
Cyrus A. Chipman	Richmond, N. Y.	Avon	1821	August 2, 1884	83
Isaac Butterfield	Paris, Me.	Pontiac	1844	July 9, 1884	79
Charity B. Grow	Pittstown, N. Y.	Springfield	1834	May 6, 1885	70
George Hopkinson	Westmoreland, N. Y.	Avon	1821	April 13, 1885	76
Caroline Hubbell	Fairfield, Ct.	Pontiac	1839	October 2, 1884	78
Elizabeth James	Buffalo, N. Y.	Royal Oak	1838	October 4, 1884	75
Almon Mack	Danbridge, Vt.	Pontiac	1822	January 20, 1885	80
Willard M. McConnell	Floyd, N. Y.	Pontiac	1836	April 13, 1885	72
Samuel H. Norton	Canandaigua, N. Y.	Commerce	1830	April 26, 1885	61
Simon Hough	Warrensburgh, N. Y.	Highland	1836	March 23, 1885	85
Polly Sprague	Canandaigua, N. Y.	Avon	1827	November 3, 1884	79
Minerva Toms	Monmouth Co., N. J.	Troy	1833	January 8, 1885	94
Joseph W. Shurter	———, N. Y.	Brandon	1836	May 17, 1885	80
Chester Webster	Westfield, N. Y.	Pontiac	1823	August 28, 1884	90
John Swan	Fleming, N. Y.	Bloomfield	1823	December 5, 1884	73
Charles Coder	Pennsylvania, N. Y.	Southfield	1837	December 8, 1884	77
Benjamin P. Smith	———, Vt.	Novi	1830	October, 1884	67
Norman Lee	West Bloomfield, N.Y.	Farmington	1335	December, 1884	71
Ann M. Anderson	Bennington, N. Y.	Springfield		May 9, 1885	64
Emmons H. Taft	Hamilton, N. Y.	Waterford	1846	May, 1885	61

The total number of deaths reported is 25, the average age being 80 years.

OTTAWA COUNTY.

BY HENRY PENNOYER.

Mrs. Emily P. Marshall, died January 13, 1883.
James M. Patchin, died June 9, 1883.
Mrs. Hannah Gibbs, died October 22, 1884.
Mrs. Catherine Kilpatrick, died January —, 1885.
Patrick Malone, died May 31, 1885.
Hon. John Roost, died May 31, 1885.

MRS. EMILY P. MARSHALL.

Mrs. Emily P. Marshall died January 13, 1883, in Polkton, of heart disease. She was the widow of the late F. A. Marshall, who was killed by the falling of a tree, December 12, 1859. They settled on a new farm in Polkton, in November, 1854. She was an enthusiastic member of the Free Methodist Church, and in every way a worthy member of society.

JAMES M. PATCHIN.

James M. Patchin died June 9, 1883, at his home in Grand Rapids, where he had lived for about two years, aged eighty-three years. He was born in Vermont in 1800, and came to Michigan with the late Julius C. Abel, of Grand Rapids, in 1836. He settled in the town of Norton, and was a resident of Ottawa county for more than forty years. He was several years a resident of Spring Lake.

MRS. HANNAH GIBBS.

Mrs. Hannah Gibbs, wife of Mr. Charles Gibbs, of Polkton, died at her residence, October 22, 1884, of pulmonary consumption, aged fifty-nine years, ten months, and five days. She was born in the county of Limerick, Ireland, December 17, 1824; accompanied her parents to Canada at the age of six years; thence to Grand Haven, Mich., in 1837, and was married to her husband by Timothy Eastman, Esq., January, 1839. Of her twelve children, six are now living—all married except one—and all exemplifying in their everyday life the care and careful training of a true Christian mother, who in early life was educated in the tenets of the Catholic faith, but in later life, with her husband, became an active member of the Congregational Church. She also leaves on this side of the river sixteen grandchildren and eleven great grandchildren. She was, indeed, a model mother, neighbor and Christian, active in every good and noble work, and will be greatly missed at home, in society, and in the church. Her funeral was attended by a very large concourse of friends and neighbors who truly sympathized with husband and family in their affliction and loss, and feeling truly that, though dead, she yet lives.

MRS. CATHERINE KILPATRICK.

Mrs. Catherine (Pickle) Kilpatrick died January, 1885, in the town of Wright, aged ninety-six years. She was born in Kentucky, October 3, 1788, where she lived until she was thirty-two years old, when she married a man by the name of Harris, and they, with two of her brothers, removed to Ohio. Mr. Harris died soon after, and she afterward married William Kilpatrick,

a soldier of the War of 1812. They came to Michigan in 1850, to Ottawa county, where she lived the remainder of her life. In her later years she was supported and cared for by the poor authorities of the town of Wright. She had two children—a son by her first husband, and a daughter by her second. Her funeral was attended by Rev. Mr. Jordan, of the M. E. Church.

PATRICK MALONE.

Patrick Malone died May 31, 1885. He was born May 14, 1821, in the county of Westmeath, Ireland. He emigrated to America and settled in the town of Polkton, in November, 1849, and cleared a new-land farm. He married, February 14, 1856, Katie Golden. The fruits of this union are five sons and two daughters, all left in easy circumstances through the hard, honest work of the parents. He was a good man in every sense of the word, and his death is regretted by all who knew him.

HON. JOHN ROOST.

Hon. John Roost died at Holland, Sunday, May 31, 1885. He was born in the Netherlands, October 9, 1823, from whence he emigrated to the United States in 1847, and settled in Holland shortly after his arrival, where he has since resided. He was by trade a wagonmaker, but as years rolled by he drifted into politics, and has been elected to many offices of trust. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the Michigan Legislature in 1871, and of the Senate in 1883; was mayor of Holland in 1881, and has been treasurer of Ottawa county. At one time he held the office of postmaster, but when Johnson became President, in place of Lincoln, he was removed on account of his strong abolition sentiments. He will be remembered by all the old residents of the Holland colony and by the county at large for his active, self-sacrificing life.

SAGINAW COUNTY.

BY CHARLES W. GRANT.

Henry S. Edgett, died September 7, 1884, aged 75 years.
Rev. John S. Goodman, died November 12, 1884, aged 62 years.
S. Bond Bliss, died November 12, 1884, aged 56 years.
Mrs. Theresa Campau, died December 22, 1884, aged 72 years.
Augustus H. Mershon, died May 15, 1885, aged 58 years.

HENRY S. EDGETT

Died in Bridgeport, Sunday afternoon, September 7, 1884, aged seventy-five years. Mr. Edgett had his birthplace near the beautiful Hudson, in the State of New York, November 16, 1810. In 1844 he sought a home in Michigan, locating for a time in Flushing, Genesee county. In 1854 he came to East Saginaw, where he resided until 1879, at which time he removed to Bridgeport, remaining there until his death. Deceased was the father of John A. Edgett, the well known attorney of East Saginaw.

REV. JOHN S. GOODMAN.

Once more it becomes the painful duty of the *Herald* to chronicle the death of a well known and much respected citizen, Rev. John Story Goodman, who died at his residence on Millard street at 1 o'clock yesterday afternoon, November 12, 1884. Mr. Goodman attended the marriage of his son on Tuesday afternoon, and retired that night about 11 o'clock, and was seized soon after with a paralytic stroke. Medical aid was at once summoned but it proved of no avail, as the striken man never regained consciousness, but lingered until the hour above stated, when he passed away, surrounded by his loved ones. He was born in England, October 2, 1822, and was therefore sixty-two years, one month and ten days of age when he died. In company with his parents he came to this country in 1830 and settled at Saline, this State. His father, the Rev. Stephen Goodman, was one of the first pioneer ministers of Michigan, and brought up his son to the Baptist persuasion. He sent him to Ann Arbor college, and afterward he graduated at Madison University in 1850, and the same year was ordained pastor of the Baptist Church in Lockland, O. He preached there for two years and then left to work as a missionary in West Africa, where he remained for three years, performing his duties faithfully and entering with enthusiasm in the conversion and civilizing of the natives. He then returned to Michigan and shortly after took charge of the First Baptist Church in this city, and became, later on, pastor of the first one organized in Saginaw City. He has often said that he remembered when there were only five Baptist churches in this State and watched them as they multiplied into three hundred and eighty or more. His last charge was at Ithaca, Gratiot county. He served as county superintendent of schools for eight years, in which capacity he did much to build up the educational interests of the county. He also served as a member of the Michigan State Board of Health. For many years he was prelate of the St. Bernard Commandery, No. 16, K. T., of this city, and held other high offices in that order. He was also a member of the State Pioneer Society.

He was married twice and now has living a wife and five children. For the past few years he has not been regular pastor of any church but has acted as a supply. His father died with a stroke of apoplexy some years ago, and Mr. Goodman has of late felt now and then the premonitory symptoms of a shock of this kind. He had his valise all packed and was to have started yesterday morning to deliver a lecture last night in some place out of town on his experience as missionary in Africa.

Mr. Goodman filled every place of trust to which he was called in a thoroughly satisfactory manner to all and with credit to himself. He was a ripe scholar and a conscientious Christian gentleman, who enjoyed the confidence and esteem of a large circle of intimate friends, and was respected by all with whom came in contact. He was a man of whom it could be truthfully said that the world was better for his having lived in it. He died the death of one fully ripened for the garner house above.—*Saginaw Herald*, November 13, 1884.

S. BOND BLISS.

Another of East Saginaw's old and esteemed citizens passed away last evening, November 12, 1884; S. Bond Bliss died at 9:20 of typhoid malarial fever. He had been ailing for two months, and dangerously ill for three weeks past. For several days it has been known that Mr. Bliss could not recover, and yesterday afternoon anxious friends waited hopelessly for the inevitable summons which should call him from them. He has been closely identified with the interests of this city for the past thirty years, and has been an energetic and respected citizen.

Mr. Bliss was born at Bennfield, Mass., April 17, 1828, and was, therefore, in his fifty-seventh year. He was the oldest of a family of five, four sons and one daughter. He did not have the educational advantages accorded to the boys of to-day, as he left school at the age of twelve years and went to work, being employed at Springfield and Boston until he was sixteen, when he went to Ohio, where he remained about a year, returning on horseback and arriving at his home on his seventeenth birthday. The same year he went again to Ohio, settling first at Wellington, and going thence to Elyria, where he met his wife, a daughter of the late Dr. O. L. Mason, to whom he was married in 1850. He then resided in Cleveland until 1854, in the spring of which year he came to this city to transact some lumber business for his father-in-law, O. L. Mason, and in the fall moved his family here. He engaged in the grocery business with Curtis Brothers for two or three years, when Mr. Bliss purchased the interest of his partners and extended the business to that of a general character.

He also engaged in banking and the lumber business, and built the Bliss block, corner of Washington and Genesee avenues. He was elected to the Legislature in 1862, and also served as postmaster of the city under President Johnson. Of late years Mr. Bliss has not engaged as extensively in business as formerly. He was identified with the temperance movement. being president of the Reform club. Of late he also engaged in lumbering and the clothing business, being succeeded in the latter business by Seeley & Spencer. He superintended the construction of the S., T. & H. R. R. He was a member of the Pioneer Society and of St. Bernard's Commandery, Knights Templar, and was one of the charter members of the Unitarian Church; he was also at one time a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

Mr. Bliss was a genial gentleman, who always had a smile and a kind word for all acquaintances; to know him was to esteem him. His loss will be deeply felt by all, particularly by the older citizens, with whom he has shared the struggles, trials and final triumphs of a pioneer's life. He leaves a wife and son to mourn his loss, who will receive the sympathy of the entire community in their bereavement.—*Saginaw Herald*, Nov. 13, 1884.

MRS. THERESA CAMPAU.

Mrs. Theresa Campau, wife of Joseph Campau, died very suddenly Monday afternoon, December 22, 1884, at 5:30 o'clock, of apoplexy, aged seventy-two years. Mrs. Campau was quite active for one of her age, and Monday morning was feeling exceedingly well until 11 o'clock, when she was taken suddenly ill and never spoke again.

Deceased was one of the oldest settlers in Saginaw Valley, coming here with her father's family in 1823, when this country was a wilderness, the family coming in a birch bark canoe and breaking the ice as they went. Her father's name was Mashieo, and for a number of years he ran a ferry at South Saginaw. In 1836 she was married to Joseph Campau, who came here from Detroit as an Indian trader, with whom she has lived for the past forty-eight years. She leaves a husband and two daughters, Mrs. John Evon and Mrs. Elgin Milligan, both of whom reside in this city, besides a number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren.—*Saginaw Herald.*

A. H. MERSHON.

At 5 A. M. yesterday morning, May 15, 1885, the spirit of Augustus H. Mershon left the body, life's journey for him was at an end, and another

pioneer of the Saginaw Valley was numbered among the silent multitude. He was aged fifty-eight years.

A. H. Mershon was born in Rochester, N. Y., May 27, 1827. His parents were E. J. and Hannah Mershon. At an early age the family removed to Trenton, N. J., in which city they remained until he was twelve years of age. From Trenton they moved to Mt. Morris, Livingston county. At the age of seventeen Mr. Mershon entered into the employ of a Mr. Bronson, at Rochester, N. Y. There he commenced his career as a lumberman, which vocation he followed up to the time of his fatal illness. After leaving Bronson's lumber yard, he went to Port Burwell, Ont., there taking charge of a saw mill. In the spring of 1852 he came to East Saginaw, soon after becoming associated in the lumber business with the late Jesse Hoyt. He erected the first planing mill in this city, and had branch yards in Chicago, Ill., and St. Joseph, Mo. For several years a large and prosperous business was conducted, but in the panic of '57 Mr. Mershon met with financial reverses and the business was closed up. He afterwards built a planing mill on the site of the present Chas. Lee mill, which was run for a few years. He also had charge of the Haskin, Martin & Wheeler saw mill and salt works opposite this city. These being destroyed by fire, he assumed charge of the Rochester Salt and Lumber Company's works in Carrollton, and in 1861, together with Dr. A. G. Bissell, built the planing mill and box factory now owned by his sons. He was inspector general of lumber under the old state inspection law for one term, and had been connected with the lumber business, with which interest he was identified in various ways, for nearly twenty years. He was stricken about a year ago with softening of the brain, had been confined to his bed for the past four months, and died in the midst of his family yesterday, as stated. He leaves a widow, two sons and two daughters.—*Saginawian*, May 16, 1885.

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY B. O. WILLIAMS.

Roger Haviland, died September 24, 1884.
Mortimer Bradley Martin, died September 26, 1884.
John J. Gaylord, died September 27, 1884.
William Frain, died October 3, 1884.
Mrs. William Warner, died October 11, 1884.

Ezra L. Mason, died December 15, 1884.
Daniel P. Austin, died March 23, 1885.
Nellie V. Gould, died April 5, 1885.
Cephas W. Clapp, died April 8, 1885.
Adam H. Byerly, died April 12, 1885.
Mrs. Harriet Bogue, died April 27, 1885.
Mrs. Amanda M. Wadsworth, died April 28, 1885.
Mrs. Lydia Marsh, died April 29, 1885.
Mrs. Irene Gould, died May 2, 1885.
Don Carlos Wight, died May 20, 1885.
Mrs. Jane Bortels, died May 27, 1885.
Mrs. Eveline E. Turner, died June 4, 1885.

PREFATORY.

Since becoming a member of your society nothing has caused me such heartfelt sorrow as having to report the deaths, during the past year, of a large number of the earliest pioneers of Shiawassee county. And preëminently among them, it is my painful task to announce that of our late honored vice president, Roger Haviland, of the township of Burns. Although his genial smile and honest, hearty hand-shake will be seen and felt no more at our annual gatherings, yet his good works continue to live, and nothing short of total destruction of all history of our county can obliterate his truly noble works. As I can add nothing to the eulogies that have been paid to his memory, I have appended the printed account of ceremonies and tributes of respect that were paid by a large number of friends gathered from all over the county.

Perhaps I should stop here; but I cannot feel that I have discharged my duty without a protest against the condition of medical and surgical skill that will cause or permit the death from a simple dislocation of the shoulder of a strong, vigorous, temperate, healthy man. I know not who was to blame; but if death must, or can, result from such causes, our lives are suspended indeed upon very slender threads. It seems to me, and I well know to many others, that his death was the result of culpable ignorance in those undertaking the reduction of the dislocation.

ROGER HAVILAND.

(From Owosso Press, Oct. 1, 1884.)

"Roger Haviland is dead!" Thus rang the sound from ear to ear last Thursday morning, as the startling announcement was made from friend to friend. The sad intelligence was so sudden it could not be realized as true.

As was stated in the *Press* at the time, on the first of August last, Mr. Haviland was walking on a log across a wet place in his field; he slipped, threw up his arm to save himself, and fell, dislocating his left shoulder. The shoulder, it appears, was not properly set, and in the early part of last week he went to Detroit for consultation. It was decided to have the shoulder reset, and in the operation, which took place at St. Mary's hospital—whether from the operation or the effects of chloroform we do not learn—his death occurred September 24, 1884. It was a terrible shock to people throughout the county. On the fair ground it was the chief topic, as one friend met another.

A good man has gone—a man of sterling character and integrity who was honored and trusted throughout Shiawassee county. To us, personally, his death is that of a long-tried, true and honored friend—both politically and socially—whom we shall ever mourn. The funeral took place last Sunday, Hon. B. O. Williams, Hon. J. W. Turner, Mr. Geo. Carpenter, and perhaps others from Owosso, were present.

An obituary sketch, a copy of the sermon preached at the funeral, and an address by Hon. J. W. Turner, have been furnished us, which will be printed in the *Press* next week. We give below a sketch printed in the county history of 1880:

Roger Haviland was born in Londonderry, Ireland, December 12, 1812. Bernard Haviland, his brother, was born in the same place, February 2, 1808. Both, when of sufficient age, were apprenticed to a shoemaker, and served seven years at that trade. In 1832, Bernard landed in Philadelphia, Pa., and went to work at his trade. The year following Roger left the old home of his parents (for they, too, were born and brought up in the same town), and came to America, reaching Philadelphia October 25, 1833, and the two brothers continued diligently to attend to business until the next year, when they moved to Canada, where they remained two years. In April, 1836, Bernard came to Michigan and bought land in Washtenaw county, and in July Roger followed him to the new settlement. In the fall, having sold their land in Washtenaw county, they came to Burns, and located part of section 2. They then went back to Washtenaw county, Roger working at his trade until 1839, when he returned to Burns and built a log cabin on the site now occupied by his residence. He then broke and sowed five acres of wheat. On February 16, 1837, he married Miss Catherine Ferry, who was third in a family of four children, and born in Wilton, Fairfield county, Conn., April 21, 1821. Her parents, both of whom were natives of Ireland, moved to Michigan in 1832, and settled in Scio, Washtenaw county. Roger Haviland, with his wife, moved to Burns, February 9, 1840, and occupied

the cabin already spoken of. Bernard came to the township soon after. The brothers worked together and accumulated a large property. Upon the death of Bernard, which occurred May 27, 1864, from consumption, Roger inherited his property. Bernard, though not a member of any religious denomination, died in perfect faith of a better life. His plain and unostentatious ways, his kindly disposition, coupled with sterling honesty, won the esteem and respect of all who knew him. No children have blessed the union of Mr. and Mrs. Haviland, but five orphan children have borne their name by adoption, and grown to maturity, loving and honoring them. Mr. Roger Haviland has filled all the more important offices in the township, as is indicated by the records given in the history of this county. He has large business interests in Corunna, being president of the First National Bank of that place, and is also president of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Shiawassee county. We might add to this brief sketch many encomiums on the life and character of Mr. Haviland which would be heartily endorsed by his many acquaintances and friends, but we feel assured that his unassuming nature and sterling common sense will be better pleased with this plain statement of facts.

Action of the Masonic Lodge.

It has pleased the Almighty God in his providence to remove from us our worthy brother, Roger Haviland, by death. At the time of his death he was one of the oldest pioneer settlers of the township of Burns. He was highly respected for those noble and generous impulses which mark the man and the Mason. Whatever it was necessary for him to do, he believed he should do as worthy his best effort. Although the age which the poet has called "dark and unlovely" was upon him, yet to those who knew him best his eye was not dim, nor was his natural force abated. That ambition which nerved him for the strong conflicts of pioneer life continued his inspiration down almost to the hour of his death. There is nothing accidental in the success of such men. They snatched victory from the very jaws of defeat. They build as our brother built, not only happy homes, large business and strong characters, but they build for themselves friendships stronger than death, and a good name which the world will not willingly let die. Of faithful friendship shown in word and thought no man has a better record than he whom we cannot hope to honor now by aught we can say. We turn over the pages of a man's public record in vain to find his true worth. Although Brother Haviland was chosen to positions of trust and responsibility by his friends and neighbors, yet his worth can in no sense be measured by these expressions of esteem from those who knew him as a true citizen and a faithful servant; but only by those who have been with Brother Haviland under some of those circumstances which bring out the finer feelings of the human heart, will his true worth be known. Your committee, therefore, offer the Lodge the following resolutions and recommend their adoption:

Resolved, That in Roger Haviland our order has lost a Brother of eminent worth and ability.

Resolved, That we tender to his family our deepest sympathies in their bereavement.

Your committee would recommend that a memorial page in our proceedings, suitably inscribed, be set apart and dedicated to his memory.

All of which is fraternally submitted,

THEO. M. EULER,
A. E. RICHARDS,
E. D. WILTSE,
Committee.

Funeral Services and Tributes.

[From the Owosso Press, October 8, 1884.]

According to promise in last week's *Press* we give below the tributes paid to the lamented Roger Haviland, on the occasion of the funeral, Sunday, Sept. 28. There was a large concourse of friends present from Owosso, Vernon, Corunna, Byron, Bancroft, Gaines, and other places. Among floral tributes were a pillow bearing his name, presented by the directors of the First National Bank of Corunna, of which Mr. Haviland was president; a broken column from Mr. H. F. Bush of Gaines, and a basket of flowers from Nellie McKerron of Detroit. The funeral cortege reached nearly from the Haviland home to the Byron cemetery. The sermon, by Rev. Isaac Horton, was as follows:

"And thou shalt be missed because thy seat will be empty."—I SAMUEL, XX, 18.

These are the words of the loving Jonathan to David after the solemn covenant between them had been made and when they were about to be separated. The empty seat had reference to the royal seat at the king's table. "Thou shalt be missed" are words of the strongest affection and the deepest sympathy. David was the light of Jonathan's eyes, his well beloved for whom he was willing to give up the prospects of becoming king. David was missed as the companion and friend of Jonathan.

There are many missing ones, many empty seats, many divided families, many separations and great sorrow. The man of great power and influence in the nation is missed from the highest seat in the gift of the people, from the halls of congress and from the councils of the republic. The giant in intellectual gifts, in wisdom and in knowledge is missed from the world of literature. The man of great wealth is missed in commercial enterprises, in railroad corporations and in business centers. The orator is missed by the multitudes who hung upon his lips and were swayed by his will. The earnest Christian is missed by those who knew of the good work, the gentle words and the unselfish life. The citizen is missed who has been honored with offices of trust, who has been a benefit to many in commercial relations and in social life. The husband is missed by the wife and children as they look upon the empty seat at the table, as they miss the protecting and providing care and the presence of the loved one. The wife is missed by the motherless children in their isolation and in their lack of her thoughtfulness and unwearied care. The child is greatly missed as the parents, brothers and sisters look upon the vacant chair. The missing ones are many in the land, the separations many, and the sorrow great.

The missing ones are many in this vicinity. We look about us, and we see a vacant seat here and there, many familiar faces are missed, and the loved ones are gone to their reward.

The sisters of Lazarus missed the brother who was stricken down in his manly pride, whose chair was empty, for he was laid in the tomb. The Master came, the tomb was opened, and at the sound of His voice the dead came forth alive. The dark tomb was despoiled of its victim by Him who is the resurrection and the life. Jesus loved this family, and by His supernatural power reunited the brother and sisters. The resurrection of Lazarus is the sign and seal of the promise that Jesus will call forth all His loved ones to be united to Him forever. All His disciples, separated by death, shall be united at last, and the empty seat in the heart's affections shall be filled. In Christ the missing ones shall be united, where there are no partings, no grief and no pain.

The missing ones are the honored, the respected and the faithful. They are the ones who have been known for their good works, for unselfish lives, and for righteousness. The missing ones are men of sound judgment, decision, and energy. They are the leaders, enterprising, thoughtful, prudent and trustworthy. The missing ones are the men you can trust without fear of betrayal, the ones you can lean upon without fear that they will prove to be broken reeds, the heroic in time of danger, and the courageous to defend the right. They are truly the lights that cannot be hid, the salt of the earth, the pillars of strength.

Abraham, the friend of God, was missed by his son of promise and by the many who were dependent upon him. Moses, the lawgiver, was greatly missed by a people who had been led from Egyptian bondage into the wilderness and from the deserts of Arabia into the land flowing with milk and honey. Moses shared with them in all the trials, privations and fierce contests with the enemy. The people received from his hands the commandments of God, from his lips the laws of health, the just judgments and the words of trust in Jehovah. He was truly missed by Israel as he passed from their sight in his ascent of Mt. Nebo. No more did they look upon his commanding presence, no more hear his voice in sweet counsel and his thrilling words on the eve of battle. David, the man after God's own heart, who was anointed king in his boyhood, but passed through a test of faith in God and a severe discipline before he became king over all Israel, who extended the kingdom from the sea to the river Euphrates; who subdued the surrounding nations; who aided to enrich Israel in gold, in precious stones, and in building cities; and who lived a righteous life, was

missed even in his old age. Paul, who preached unto the Gentiles; who established churches; who laid broad foundations for the church of Christ; who left a noble record of good accomplished, was missed by those who had learned to love the man of God, listen to his words, imitate his example and follow in the steps of Jesus.

The missing ones are those who can be least spared. Death loves a shining mark. They are missed because of their usefulness, as David was missed by the king for his skill on the harp, and by Jonathan on account of his great love for his friend. They are the strong men and women who are known for their deeds of kindness; who are the stay and support of the community in which they live; the ones who are listened to for their wisdom; who preside at the public gatherings; who sit at the gates and who make the path straight to those who are troubled and perplexed. They are the ones whom the church can least spare; who are willing and obedient, ready for every good work and word; who will not shrink duty or turn aside from responsible offices of trust. Many Christians are crippled by the loss of the faithful. A community loses its power and strength when a strong man has fallen in their midst. Often the progress of a village or town is greatly dependent upon one man's executive ability.

The missing are the successful ones, for they have nobly and bravely fought life's battles and won many victories. They have gained a reputation for honesty, for fidelity and for strength. The men who win are men of a purpose who build upon the foundation of truth and honor, who are keenly alive to their own powers, and are willing to work and to wait. The men who truly win, build on Christ, the foundation, a holy temple of truth, filled with good deeds, adorned with meekness, simplicity and strength, and reaches heavenward. By energy and perseverance the missing one has earned for himself a reputation for strict integrity and a right to places of trust. The missing ones are the bright stars that give direction to all who are acquainted, who know their sterling worth and honesty of purpose.

The missing ones are with us as David was with Jonathan, in his thoughts, in his prayers, and in the invisible presence of his love. We miss the voice, the footsteps, the visible presence, but the empty chair is there in its accustomed place, the work of the hands is seen in every direction, the well tilled farm, the house and the barns, the work of the active brain in the many plans, and the forethought for the future. The dead who fell in the great rebellion are missed from the ranks of the army, from the places of honor and trust, from the schools of learning, from the workshop, from the professional office and from the farm, and yet they live in the hearts of the

nation, in the hearts of wives, brothers and sisters, and in the hearts of children who cherish their memories, weep over their graves and adorn them with flowers. They live in the hearts of a grateful people north and south who have been freed from the curse of slavery, the darkness of ignorance and superstition and the blighting effects of a thralldom of many generations. The missing ones live in the noble deeds, in the heroic daring, in the self-sacrifices that have brought peace, happiness and prosperity to the nation. The missing ones are with us in little things that bring up a flood of memories, the incidents of the everyday life, the photograph and the association of friends. The missing are ours in the pleasant memories, in the happy days, and in the sweet converse of friend with friend. The missing ones are not lost, for they are remembered for what they have done. The days of mourning are dark, the hand of death is heavy, the stroke is severe, yet the missing one is ours in the deep love, the sweet reminiscences of the past, and the blessed hope of an eternal reunion. The missing one is ours in the thought that there are only a few years of separation, only a few days of absence. That as David and Jonathan were finally united in the blissful immortality, so we may be united to the missing ones through faith in Jesus Christ. The flame of love burns brightly in our hearts for the missing, the star of hope gleams from afar, and the strong assurance that we shall see them again fills our being. As David and Jonathan trusted in God to be reunited, so we may trust Him to unite us in the family of God. We miss our friends for a few days to again receive their welcome, to look into their faces, and to walk with them the golden streets of the city of God. The missing are ours to cherish with warm hearts, with strong affections, and to put forth all our mental, moral, and spiritual powers to meet them with the glorified ones.

Nothing is our own; we hold our pleasures
Just a little while, ere they are fled.
One by one life robs us of our treasures:
Nothing is our own except our dead.

They are ours and hold in faithful keeping,
Safe forever, all they took away;
Cruel life can never stir that sleeping,
Cruel time can never seize that prey.

Justice pales; truth fades; stars fall from heaven,
Human are the great whom we revere;
No true crown of honor can be given
Till the wreath lies on the funeral bier.

When our joy is lost—and life will take it—
Then no memory of the past remains,
Save with some cruel stings that make it
Bitterness beyond all present pains.

Death, more tender-hearted, leaves to sorrow
Still the radiant shadow—fond regret;
We shall find in some far, bright to-morrow,
Joy that he has taken, living yet.

Is love ours, and do we dream we know it,
Bound with our heart-strings, all our own?
Any cold and cruel dawn may show it
Shattered, desecrated, overthrown.

Only the *dead* hearts forsake us never;
Love, that to death's loyal care has fled,
Is thus consecrated ours forever,
And no change can rob us of our dead.

So when fate comes to besiege our city,
Dim our gold, or make our flowers fall,
Death, the angel, comes in love and pity,
And, to save our treasures, claims them all.

Roger Haviland was born in Londonderry, Ireland, Dec. 12, 1812. He was apprenticed as shoemaker seven years. He came to America with his brother Bernard, Oct. 25, 1833. In the fall of 1836 they came to Burns and located on Sec. 2. In 1839 Roger built a log cabin and sowed five acres of wheat. On February 16, 1837, he married Miss Catharine Ferry, born in Wilton, Fairfield Co., Conn., April 21, 1821. In April, 1840, he moved on his new farm to make it his future home. No children have blessed the union of Mr. and Mrs. Haviland, but five orphan children have been adopted by them, received their care, the wealth of their love and their instruction.

Roger Haviland has well filled many of the important offices of trust in the township and county. He was president of the National Bank at Corunna. Roger Haviland was identified with the interests of the people, he sympathized with those who struggled hard to gain a home, for he remembered his struggles when the country was new, when the privileges were few, and when the hardships were many. He was a man of sterling sense, great strength of purpose, noble in his nature, sympathetic, social and contented with what he had gained of wealth and position. He was a man of good judgment, kind and generous to the poor and ready to assist the unfortunate. A good man has fallen, a faithful citizen is missed, for his seat is empty and the suffering one from the accidental fall is at rest. He is missed by those who were connected with him in business. The men who who were associated with him will miss his presence in their meetings, his generous sympathy, his words of wisdom and his faithfulness to their interests. He is missed by those who trusted him most, who loved him best and who were deeply interested in his welfare. The seat of honor and trust in the bank is empty and he is greatly missed.

He is missed by all who knew him in the rural district, in the village, and

in the city, by those who looked into his face every day, by those who saw him on the streets, and by those who gave him friendly greeting in the society of which he was a member. His voice will not be heard in the public assemblies, in the social circle and in the family. He is missed, but not forgotten. He is remembered for what he has done; for the broad and comprehensive plans; for the foundations laid for the good of those who survive, and for the deeds of kindness. "He being dead, yet speaks to us" through his works and labors of love, and through the many relations he sustained to friends.

He is missed by his family, for the seat at the table is empty, the seat at the fireside and in the family circle. His voice is not heard by the loved ones. The wife misses the presence of the companion of forty-seven years, for she shared with him in the privations of a pioneer life, in the blessings of prosperity, and deeply sympathized with him in the sufferings of his last days. She misses the care for the loved one, the thoughtfulness of her companion and the strength of his will. He has taken a journey only for a few days, and you will soon see him again, for you shall go to him and dwell with him. You miss him, but you cannot forget him.

The children at home miss his kind advice, his fatherly counsel in the everyday affairs, and his words of wisdom concerning their future course. The children away from home miss his friendly greeting, his deep interest in their welfare, and solicitude for their health. You will miss his visits to your home, but you may greet him in the home above by faith in the Son of God.

Rev. Frederick Strong presented the following sketch:

Roger Haviland was born near Londonderry, Ireland, December 12, 1812. His parents were by no means wealthy, and as their children grew up they were obliged to seek homes for themselves. Two of the sons, Bernard and Roger, started out in life as shoemakers, and by their industry and frugality secured the means which enabled them to leave the old world. In the year 1832 Bernard Haviland came to this country, and after carefully looking over his surroundings, became satisfied that this new world offered advantages to those of limited means such as could not be found in the land of his nativity. Accordingly, he wrote his brother, advising him to come as soon as possible. In the fall of 1833 Roger Haviland landed upon the shores of America, and the two brothers commenced working at their trade as shoemakers, and continued at that employment until 1839, when they came to this part of the country and took up government land, and set to work at once to make themselves homes.

Two years previous to this, or in the year 1837, Roger Haviland was united by marriage to Miss Catharine Ferry, and the happy couple entered upon their life work in Ypsilanti, where they continued to reside until their removal to Byron. It was in 1839 that Roger, leaving his wife in Ypsilanti, started for his wilderness possessions, in order to make some improvements before bringing his partner.

A house of some kind must be built. A place for the future home was selected and cleared. Logs were in abundance and they were drawn to the spot, and soon the log house was erected and fit for occupancy.

The nails in that new home were carried upon the back of the owner all the way from the village of Dexter. After the building of the house, five acres of timber were cut down and burned and the land made ready for the first crop of wheat.

In the year 1840 Mrs. Haviland joined her husband in their new home, to share with him his toils and triumphs. Their stock at that time consisted of one span of horses, one pig and six hens. Their household furniture, all told, represented a cash value of less than $100. With these limited appliances, but with a determination that knew no such thing as failure, these heroic pioneers entered upon the work of subduing the forest and of making the waste places bloom and blossom as the rose.

During the first few years after moving upon this place Mr. Haviland labored hard to improve his circumstances. The trees were felled either by his own hands or by those he employed, while he worked at his trade to earn the means to pay them. The people needed boots. They brought their home-tanned leather to him, and he made it up into what they needed, receiving for making a pair of boots $1.00 or its equivalent in labor at 50 cents per day. From the earliest commencement of his work on this farm God blessed his labor, and before five years had elapsed he was in a position to pay his men from the products of his farm. In the year 1843 the brothers sent to Ireland for their parents, who arrived here sometime in July of that year. For five years Mr. Haviland, Sr., continued to live with his son Roger, when death came and severed their connection with each other. The widow and mother still found a comfortable home and abundant support in the family of her faithful and loving son for twelve years after the death of her husband, when she too was called away, to the inheritance beyond.

The years roll by, and with each passing year we only witness the temporal prosperity of this noble man. Never, perhaps, in the experience of any man has been exemplified the truthfulness of that declaration, "The diligent maketh rich." But we need not trace simply the temporal prosperity

of our deceased friend, for if this were all that could be presented to challenge our admiration or incite our love, many might turn away dissatisfied and say, that perhaps circumstances had more to do in the accumulation of property than anything else.

No, wealth itself, no matter how acquired, does not make the man. We may surround ourselves with broad acres stretching out in every direction; we may be able to count our gold by thousands; or revel in the accumulation of bank stock and other securities, and yet our names be a by-word and reproach in our families, the church or the neighborhood in which we live. Thank God it takes something more than gold to buy the esteem of our race or else many of us would be deprived of this boon. How was it then in reference to that man whose mortal remains now lie before us? Was he popular because he was rich? Was he loved because he could offer gold in return for that love? By no means. Had Roger Haviland been poor he would have been esteemed for his very works' sake, for within there beat a heart as true as steel to every interest of fallen humanity.

Did the widow or orphan come to him in the day when the cloud rested upon their hearts and deep darkness was in their home,—they went away with the tears wiped from off their faces, and felt hope spring up within them as they listened to the words of cheer spoken by those lips now closed in death. Those hands now still have ministered to the necessities of the destitute and needy. Hundreds of dollars annually have slipped from those fingers into the hands of those, who, by force of circumstances, had been unable to meet the pressing wants of dear ones around them. Never did man more fully obey the words of our risen Saviour, viz: "But when thou doeth alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." Thousands upon thousands of dollars have been placed in his hands by widows and others, who, relying upon his integrity, have sought to use his business capabilities to further their own interests, and thereby increase their little capital.

Does there come a single voice to-day, either from the living or the dead, to accuse our departed friend of trust betrayed or confidence misplaced? No, not a voice. Why? From the very fact that every mouth has been closed by the unblemished character of the man.

Look at the positions he has been called to fill in the business and political world. He was an officer of the Mutual Fire Association from its first organization. For years he was president of the Corunna Bank. He has been elected to fill almost every office in the gift of the people with whom he lived, and his entire public record has stood untarnished before the world.

Was it because he was ambitious that he filled so many offices? Did he seek, in the compromise of principles, to be popular with men? No, no. His elevation to the different positions he occupied was simply a just recognition of his work.

In his political history he has been a faithful and consistent adherent to the Democratic party, ever voting his principles, and embodying them in his actions. Every one that knew the man, knew him as a staunch temperance man, and had he lived a few months longer he would have cast his first vote for the Prohibition party.

But we have been looking at the man as he presented himself before the world, and his every public act has called forth our unqualified approval. But we would draw just a little closer. There is one spot to-day we would invade, viz: the privacy of the home circle. We cannot forget that here we enter a sacred spot, not with prying curiosity, but simply that we may follow the man we have learned to love. We want to know some thing of him in his character as husband and father. Weeping friends to-day will pardon us if we join the family circle, sit at the family board, or even kneel with them at the same altar, and breathe out our petitions with them to the same God. If the character of our deceased friend shone forth with peculiar brightness in all his public acts so as to win our admiration, it is not until we catch a glimpse of his home life that the whole force of our affections goes out after him. We enter the family circle and there we find, not the president of a bank, or an official of some other corporation, but we find the pure minded, loving, and simple hearted husband and father. 'Tis true he may never had children of his own, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, but he has gathered around him no less than five adopted children, to whom he has acted the part of a most devoted parent. The heart of Roger Haviland was too large to allow him to go childless to the grave. There must be some loved ones upon whom this man and his faithful partner could pour the full stream of a God implanted affection. Bnt his love for those about him was not of that nature that could not discover wrong on the part of those to whom he had surrendered the affections of his heart, but it was pure in its operations, ever leading him not only to present in his own conduct a model worthy their imitation, but by kindly words ever seeking to bring them to a higher and purer life. How much of love was mingled with his parental government, let the sighs and tears of these mourners answer. Some of us may find our happiest hours in the company of strangers. Roger Haviland found his in the society of his devoted wife and loving children.

Some men lavish all their smiles and acts of kindness upon those who are

mere casual acquaintances and leave their families starving for what they so freely give to others; with our departed friend it was home first, and after that those friends whose privilege it was to gather around the family circle. From the lips of one more deeply interested in this matter than any one else can possibly be, I learn that our deceased friend was all that a husband could possibly be. His presence never cast a cloud upon the bright sunshine of the family circle, thereby marring their enjoyments and interfering with their pleasures; but on the contrary, his very presence was always needed to give additional zest to the innocent amusements and festivities of the hour. As a husband he was faithful, loving and kind, and from the first hour of his union with her who now laments her loss, they seemed to grow up like the ivy and oak, each feeling the need of each other for support and usefulness.

What was he as a parent? Here we enter with profound respect, nor dare we say all that we feel prompted to utter on this subject for fear our very words of commendation might cause loved and loving hearts to bleed anew. We may simply say that the happiest hours in the home were those when the father was there to counsel, to encourage, or reprove. Further than that I dare not, I need not say.

The question may be asked, "What of his religious life?" "Was he a member of any church?" Too many, alas, look more to church membership than they do to godly living. The question is more frequently asked, "To what church do you belong?" than, "What is your religious life and conduct?" 'Tis true our departed friend never stood connected with any church organization. In infancy he was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church but he felt as he grew up that he could never subscribe to the dogmas of that church and therefore never associated with them. Of him it may be said that though a member of no church he was a friend to all. He was a full believer in all the doctrines of the Bible. He felt that he must be saved through faith in the blood of the Lamb. He had strong confidence in the efficacy of prayer as addressed to God through Christ Jesus. I enter the chamber of this man and I see the devoted husband and wife bowed together pleading with God for pardon and purity. The very day he left this home for Detroit, before leaving they go to the closet, they shut the door and ask God to give supporting and comforting grace. Was he a Christian? In reply I ask what constitutes a Christian, if it be not faith in Christ and an earnest desire to mold the life according to God's word.

Hon. Jerome W. Turner gave the following tribute:

At a recent pioneer meeting, after I had read a paper concerning my

deceased friend, Cortez Pond, I had, as usual, some conversation with Roger Haviland. During our talk he took my hand and said, "I think you would come to my funeral." I answered, "If you should die first, I will be there." It is not more to redeem that promise, than for my friendship to the deceased, that I am here. It is good old Scripture, "Thy friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not." The man who lies dead before us bore this double relation to me. He was a man of wonderful evenness and symmetry. Even his temperament seemed to be cast in a mold. He was calm, careful, and contained. He did not ignite at any touch of fire. Like a refined oil, he was non-explosive. Hot words seemed to chill when they reached his ear. In conversation he disappointed the enthusiast and filled the zealot with wonder. The bitter things that stir the blood of ordinary men and tempt the acquaintance of their tongues never hastened his life currents or cheated him into rant or raving. And all this did not come from self-imposed restraint. There seemed to be no labor of repression. It cost him nothing to refuse to leap and cry aloud. He was born with a sense of the brevity and absurdity of the passions. He had that most perfect coolness and conservatism, which is congenital.

And yet he had his deep indignations and heavy sense of personal injuries, like other men. He showed it differently. But under a quiet gentleness of manner he was positive and unyielding as iron. You could detect sometimes in the tone of his voice, the indomitable spirit and the tramp of the war horse. There was a pride and strength in his most trivial statements that couldn't be concealed. And yet how sweetly he carried it all!

He had great detestation of cant and humbug, and loved the real and the true. Like all such men he lived a good deal in the past. The honest and loyal heart has but to go a few days' journey along the selfish ways of life, before it is driven in as for a refuge upon itself and the early years, when law is a passion and is not an organization or an automaton. So it came to pass that he loved to speak of old pioneer days, and the homely but genuine goodness of old neighbors, who sat down with him in the wilderness. He was active in promoting by all means in his power those early experiences, and if the Pioneer Society of Shiawassee county had one true friend, it was Roger Haviland!

The latter part of last winter, having some legal business at Byron, I went on the cars to Gaines in the morning, expecting to find a connecting stage. There was none. I had just about made up my mind that I must walk the five miles that lay between Gaines and Byron, when I espied Mr. Haviland just getting into his cutter across the way. He said he had nothing in the

world to do except to carry me to my destination, and so he did — going about five miles out of his way. The conversation, I remember, had the hue of sunset. Its tone was of the curfew, that "knells departing day!" He said a good deal to me about Mr. Pond, my father, and B. O. Williams, who is here, and repeatedly returned to the statement: "We shall not be here long." Arrived at Byron, we went into Gulick's store—another of the pioneers—and he bought a paper of smoking tobacco, and three of us sat down and inhaled the years with the smoke! Many reminiscences of the old time came up as we sat together, and it seemed to me that a quarter of a century had rolled back!

And now he is dead—died away from home like his friend, Pond.

Of the little things that made up his life, you, his neighbors, are more cognizant than myself, and yet I am not afraid to hazard the statement that neither the township of Burns or Shiawassee county has for many years lost a more charitable and manly figure among the ranks of its citizens!

If it would cause a more robust and hearty social fellowship and civic virtue, it would please me to have the people set up a white stone on the people's ground at the seat of Justice, in memory of every such man.

At the edge of this grave the old question recurs: "Is the soul to the body, as the rower is to his boat?" As Joseph Cook puts it, "When the boat is gnashed to pieces on the tusks of the rocks, the swimmer may swim to a place of safety." When the body crumbles and decays shall the spirit also fail, or shall it, like the rower, go on to some other place and live in the yet to be? We find no answer in tooth and claw or the structure of the bird's beak. All our ologies are full of silence. If there is a farther shore we can neither hear ripple of wavelet or roar of billow. Night, dark as Erebus, settles down on the river. But if we think we ever feel the throbs of some infinite heart, in the chill and the shadow, and see one passing into it who is like our departed friend, it is easy to conceive that the mysterious heart will tell its head to reach a hand, and take him and keep him forever!

MORTIMER BRADLEY MARTIN.

An honored pioneer, Mortimer Bradley Martin, of Antrim, departed this life last Friday, September 26, 1884. He was the first settler in the north-eastern quarter of that township, and there he has resided nearly fifty years, a prominent citizen of the county. He was a genial, cordial man, of excellent qualities of character, and, as we can testify experimentally, a staunch friend; for we have known him personally ever since we have been in the county, and when such old friends depart we feel a sense of personal loss.

Mr. Martin was buried yesterday with Masonic honors. There was a very large attendance at the funeral. The Gould and Tillotson families, Col. Colt's and others from Owosso were present.

From a sketch furnished us we learn that Mr. Martin was born in the State of New York, October 18, 1806; spent his boyhood days in Avon, N. Y., and was a successful merchant in New York. In 1835 he came to Michigan and Illinois as agent of a wealthy land corporation, and settled in Antrim in 1836, locating on the hill where he has ever since resided. He was a nephew of Gov. Enos T. Throop, of New York. He was prominent in the early history of this State—was a Representative in the Legislature of 1848–50. Mr. Martin was a staunch Democrat and his home in those days was the political center of northern Michigan; he kept open house for Governors and members of the Legislature who stopped on their way to Lansing or Grand Rapids. He was acquainted with many prominent citizens of old Detroit, such as Lewis Cass, the Campaus, and Zachariah Chandler. Mr. Martin was a subscriber to the first paper published in the county, and has been a subscriber to the *Owosso Press* and *Detroit Free Press* from their first existence. In 1848 Mr. Martin was married to Mary Ann Beach, daughter of Lucius and Abbey Beach, and sister of Mrs. Irene H. Gould and Mrs. W. K. Tillotson. His wife died in a few years, and he subsequently married Martha Hoyt, sister of Henry C. Hoyt and Mrs. E. L. Lyman, who survives him. His children living are: John W., George B., Edward, and a daughter, Evalina. Mr. Martin was an educated, cultivated gentleman of the "old school" of New York fifty years ago, and he brought the first library into Shiawassee county.—*Owosso Press*, October 1, 1884.

Another pioneer of culture and of the old school of educated gentlemen, passed away and to a better and higher life, when Bradley Martin was called by the Great Architect of the Universe to labor in that mansion not made with hands. That his work upon inspection will be pronounced good work, none who knew him intimately, and were admitted to his confidence, ever had a doubt. He died Friday, September 26, 1884, at his farm, in township of Antrim, Shiawassee county, aged seventy-eight years, twenty-two days, where he had resided uninterruptedly for forty-eight years. His hospitality was proverbial. B. O. WILLIAMS.

JOHN J. GAYLORD.

John J. Gaylord was born in the town of Middletown, State of Connecticut, in 1808, and died Sunday, September 27, 1884. At the age of eight years his parents removed to an Indian reservation in the township of Stowe, Summit county, Ohio, where he resided until 1852. In 1838 he was married

to Hannah West of Guilford, Medina county, Ohio. In 1852 he removed to Burns, Shiawassee county, and was the first white settler on the Indian reservation of what is now known as Knagg's Bridge, purchasing his land from the government. A part of the farm at that time was occupied by the remains of an old Indian village, and an old log cabin which was used by them as a school-house, was used by himself and family, and the families of Leonard Gaylord and Henry Wolcott, who located in the neighborhood at about that time. After years of honest toil he made for himself one of the finest homes in the county. His life was one of which any one might justly be proud, for no man, or even animal ever received anything but kindness from him, and he died in the full assurance of his acceptance with God.

He was a kind husband, an affectionate father, and leaves a wife of his first choice, and two daughters, Mrs. T. H. Reeves of Burns, and Mrs. G. A. Parker of Bancroft, with a host of friends and neighbors to mourn his death.—*Bancroft Advertiser.*

WILLIAM FRAIN.

Died, at his residence in Laingsburg, October 3, 1884, William Frain, in his seventy-sixth year. Mr. Frain was born in Pennsylvania, June 25, 1809. From 1812 to 1827 he lived on a farm in Romulus, Seneca county, N. Y.; from that place he removed to Mt. Morris, Livingston county, where the father bought a farm and with whom he lived. He was married December 30, 1830; in May, 1833, came to Michigan and settled in Wayne county, twenty-five miles west of Detroit; from there he moved to the township of Superior, Washtenaw county, thence to Salem, same county, and in 1842 came to Shiawassee county, settling in Bennington, where he lived until April, 1872, when he made his home in Laingsburg, where his sons resided. Mr. Frain was a man of sterling qualities of character, generous, friendly, upright, well known throughout the county, and highly esteemed. He leaves a widow, three sons—Solomon, Lorenzo and Charles—and a daughter—Mrs. Henry Hartwell. Funeral services took place Sunday, and were largely attended. The coffin and the grave were adorned with beautiful flowers, arranged by the deft hand of Mrs. M. M. Weeks. A special train ran from Owosso to accommodate the friends. Mr. Frain was buried with Masonic honors, and few if any in the assemblage of friends and neighbors or among the brothers ever saw so large a Masonic parade.—*Owosso Press*, October 8, 1884.

Mr. Frain possessed a steadfast purpose and self-reliance, united with a

friendly, unaffected daily walk and honest dealing that endeared him to all his friends,—reserved, yet urbane and sincere, but not demonstrative. It were well if we had more such men,—and their places are scarcely ever filled. He lives in the hearts of all who ever knew him well. I feel assured that I shall again meet him. It is enough, and all will be well when life's fitful fever is past. So mote it be. B. O. WILLIAMS.

MRS. WILLIAM WARREN.

Mrs. William Warren, of Bancroft, died Oct. 11, 1884. She was one of the pioneer women of the county. Her husband, with his family, came to Shiawassee township from Rochester, New York, in the fall of 1836, coming to Detroit in company with Daniel Bales's colony of settlers. He purchased 120 acres of land on section 35; later he removed to section 36, where he still resides. She was universally respected by all who knew her. Very few pioneers of our county endured more privations and suffering, with more Christian and womanly resignation. Of the privations and hardships of this family, the following is from the county history:

"The country was entirely uncleared, and as there were no bridges he was obliged to ford the river ahead of the teams, and an infant child was carried by him from Detroit, a distance of sixty miles, in his arms or placed in a handkerchief which was suspended from his neck. He began the labor of clearing at once, and at the expiration of the year had built a log house and improved eight acres. A pilgrimage to Pontiac was made for supplies, and the prevailing prices were such as to appall the settler who did not possess a plethoric wallet. Pork was sold at $50 per barrel, while flour brought $15, and often more, per barrel."

EZRA L. MASON.

Mr. Ezra L. Mason, one of the early settlers of the township of Owosso, died at his residence in the city of Owosso, after many months of suffering from partial or intermittent attacks of insanity. He passed away Dec. 15, 1884, aged seventy-one years. He settled in Owosso township in 1839, and was a surveyor for the county many years.

DANIEL P. AUSTIN.

Daniel P. Austin, of the township of Perry, was born in Washtenaw Co., February 7, 1833, and died at Perry, March 23, 1885, aged fifty-two years.

CEPHAS W. CLAPP.

Mr. Cephas W. Clapp, of Owosso city, died April 8, 1885, aged seventy-six years.

ADAM H. BYERLY.

Mr. Adam H. Byerly was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, March 7, 1817, and died at Owosso, April 12, 1885, aged sixty-eight years. He settled in Owosso in the year 1855.

MRS. HARRIET BOGUE.

Mrs. Harriet Bogue was born in Rochester, New York, in the year 1807, and removed with her husband and family to Michigan in 1842, settling in the township of Rush, Shiawassee county. She died at the home of her son, Leonard L. Bogue, in the township of Owosso, April 27, 1885, aged seventy-eight years. She was an earnest, friendly, Christian woman, and was beloved by children, grandchildren and all acquaintances.

MRS. AMANDA M. WADSWORTH.

Mrs. Amanda M. Wadsworth was born in the State of Connecticut, in 1798, and died at the residence of her son, Charles Wadsworth, in the township of Owosso, April 28, 1885, aged eighty-six years and six months. She was a member of the Episcopal Church. She was a sister of Mr. Lewis Mann, one of the earliest settlers of Oakland county. Mrs. W. was a woman of culture, and an ornament to any society—a lady of the old school of cultured New England women—and was beloved by all.

MRS. LYDIA MARSH.

Mrs. Lydia Marsh, widow of the late Benjamin Marsh, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, Nov. 27, 1800. Her maiden name was Lydia Potter. She was married to Benjamin Marsh in 1820, at Warren, Pennsylvania, and came to Michigan and settled in Oakland county in the year 1838. She removed to Bennington, Shiawassee county, in 1845, and settled and lived on the same farm until her death, which occurred April 29, 1885, at the age of eighty-four years and five months.

MRS. IRENE GOULD.

Mrs. Irene Gould, widow of the late Colonel E. Gould, our nearest and next door neighbor, had since the death of her husband suffered from continued ill health, and the shock she received by the sudden death of her devoted and loving daughter, Nellie, was so great that she never fully recovered consciousness. The accompanying obituary notice contains a very full account of Mrs. Gould's active life, but it would take a volume of good size to record the Christian work and the thousands of disinterested charitable acts her ever willing hands and mind accomplished. Possessing, with her husband, unbounded hospitality, they never succeeded in acquiring

sufficient of this world's goods to place them above worrying cares. Colonel Gould's life was sacrificed, at least his health destroyed, in the United States service during the rebellion, and he was honorably discharged with a pension, yet by some means or circumlocution the needed and justly earned support was not continued to the widow. I write what I know, and not from any hearsay. That they all rest, and are reunited, where cares and human needs are unknown, all feel assured. They are missed by all who knew them in a greater degree than usual, as no others can fill the places left void by their premature deaths. B. O. WILLIAMS.

The death of Mrs. Irene, widow of the late Col. Ebenezer Gould, occurred Saturday morning, May 2, 1885. She had been an invalid a long time, and since the death of her daughter Nellie, four weeks ago, she had been constantly failing. Mrs. Gould was notably a woman whose care and sympathy went out to her fellow beings. She was, in her days of active life, a friend to the friendless, a mother to the motherless, and her house was made a home for the homeless. Of her it can truly be said: She was kind to all, and good to the afflicted and poor. In the pioneer days of Shiawassee county she had a great field for the exercise of her kind heart, and she was noted for her unsparing work for others. Many a person was taken into her hospitable home and motherly heart until circumstances provided them a home elsewhere. Mrs. Gould takes a place among the pioneers of the county who assisted in its early development, as will be seen by the following brief sketch of her life:

Irene H. Gould was born June 28, 1824, at Ray's Hill, Penn., in the house of her grandfather Householder, who was a wealthy German. Her mother (whose name was Mary Householder) died while she was very young, when her father, Lucius Beach, took her and her sister Mary Anne (afterwards Mrs. M. B. Martin) and removed to Connecticut, where in due time he married Mrs. Abby Phillips, mother of Hon. N. G. Phillips, now of Bancroft. The family then moved to Berkshire county, Mass., where they lived several years, after which Mr. Beach, with his young family, made the long and eventful journey to Norwalk, Ohio. Irene here laid the foundation for more than a common school education, by attending the academy, a noted seat of learning in those days. After a few days Mr. Beach again set out to seek a new home, coming to Michigan in 1837, and was followed by his family in 1838. The journey was made by boat to Detroit and thence to Shiawasseetown, in this county, by wagon.

In 1840 Irene taught school in the Chalker district, Vernon, the first school (or at least one of the first) taught in Vernon. During the next four

years she taught several terms in Shiawasseetown. Her certificate and settlement show that she received $1.50 a week therefor. It is believed she received the first teacher's certificate issued in Shiawassee county. She experienced religion at the first Methodist meeting held in the county.

Irene Beach was married to Ebenezer Gould June 2, 1845, at the Beach homestead. They lived on a farm several years and then removed to Owosso, and thenceforth were identified with the early days and subsequent growth of our city. During the war she visited her husband at his regiment, staying several months, where she made new friends and a still wider reputation. And again she was called upon to go south and bring home her husband, sick and wounded. While she was with the army she made friends with all, even some of the rebel families. At some risk to her safety she visited the home of General Lee and there made the acquaintance of Mrs. Fitz Hugh Lee.

Mrs. Gould was one of the original members of the Congregational society of this city, of which she has always been a devoted and active member. She was a great lover of flowers, and this led her to preserve those given to her by friends, children and grandchildren, making a rare collection of pressed flowers gathered from far and wide. She also took great pleasure in scrap-book work, and thereby has left an almost complete history of Owosso and many county matters—her books containing clippings from every newspaper published in the county.

Since the death of her husband, Mrs. Gould has continued to occupy the handsome family residence on Oliver street, known as the "Col. Gould place," also now occuped as the Oakside School, at which place her death occurred. She leaves three children; Lucius E. Gould, proprietor of the Bancroft Advertiser; Mary Irene, wife of County Treasurer Albert Todd, and Abbie E., wife of Mr. C. S. Allison, of St. Johns. The youngest child, Nellie V., died last Easter Day. Mrs. Henry Hoyt was an adopted daughter in the family. Mrs. Gould was half sister to Mrs. John Beach, of New York, and to Mrs. W. K. Tillotson, of this city; also step-sister to Hon. N. G. Phillips, of Bancroft, and she had an extensive family relationship and connection by marriage in the county.

Funeral services took place Monday afternoon at the residence, and the remains were deposited in the family lot in Oakhill cemetery. Relatives and friends were present from various parts of the county and from Flint, St. Johns, Ovid, and other places.

DON CARLOS WIGHT.

It is with sorrow that we record the death of our fellow-townsman, Don

Carlos Wight. He died of Bright's disease of the kidneys, May 20, 1885. Mr. Wight was born in Windsor county, Vermont, in the year 1810. He was married to Miss Huldah Sessions when twenty-three years of age. Two years later he became engaged in extensive lumber business in his native State, which he followed with success for twenty years. He came to Michigan in 1857. Next we find him in Ohio for seven years engaged in the lumber trade where he was financially successful. In 1865 he returned to Michigan and moved from Oakland county the same year to Bennington, Shiawassee county, where he purchased the milling interests of Levi Bronson, at Bennington station, in partnership with Henry Retan, where for several years he assisted very materially in development of the surrounding country as well as in increasing his own wealth. For the last few years he has lived a retired life. Mr. Wight was a keen observer of human nature; a strict business man and for twenty years a staunch Democrat. He was a man well liked by all who knew him for his many acts of kindness to the needy and oppressed. He was father to five children, only one of whom is now living,—the wife of W. R. Drury, of Bennington. He was a loving husband and a kind father. For nine weeks he was confined to his room by failing health and on the 20th of May, 1885, the tolling bell rolled out the sad story that he was dead. The funeral services were conducted at his residence by the Rev. Wm. M. Walton, Rector of Christ's (Episcopal) Church of Owosso.

MRS. JANE BORTELS.

Mrs. Jane Bortels, died at Owosso city, Nov. 27, 1885, aged seventy-two years.

MRS. E. E. TURNER.

Died, in this city, on the 4th of June, 1885, Mrs. Eveline E. Turner, wife of Judge Josiah Turner, the present U. S. Consul at Amherstburg, Canada, and daughter of the late Dr. William C. Ellsworth, formerly a prominent physician of Berkshire, Vermont. She was of the Connecticut stock of Ellsworths, among whom, a noble figure, was Oliver Ellsworth, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Minister to France. She was also a second cousin of the lamented Colonel Ellsworth, killed at Alexandria, Virginia, in the early months of the last war. She was the mother of Hon. Jerome W. Turner of Owosso, Mrs. Judge H. M. Newcombe of Washington, D. C., and Miss Nellie Turner of Owosso. She was also the sister of Hon. C. C. Ellsworth and the late Dr. W. H. Ellsworth, Mrs. Judge Lewis and Mr. George C. Ellsworth, all of Greenville, Mich.

Mrs. Turner was a woman of high Christian experience, and emphatically "a keeper at home." Her family was all in all to her. For many years she was in comparatively ill health, and not being naturally inclined much to society, she did not exhibit her real worth where it would be heralded most. She combined a rare, practical mind with a highly poetic temperament, and her scrap books furnished evidence of the purity and cultivation of her taste. She seemed for some time to be aware of her early demise, and made every arrangement for it—even to the minutest detail. Her husband and her children rise up and call her blessed.

The funeral services were held at the family residence, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of the Congregational Church, assisted by Rev. L. O. Lee of Marash, Turkey.—*Owosso Times.*

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

BY H. H. RILEY.

Hannah Acres, Nottawa, died October 2, 1884, aged 100 years.

Harvey Kinney, Parkville, died October 28, 1884, aged 81 years.

J. Engles, Centreville, died November 4, 1884, aged 76 years.

Wm. McCormick, Centreville, died November 5, 1884, aged 79 years.

Charles Thomas, Centreville, died December 29, 1884, aged 80 years.

John Hull, Florence, died December 21, 1884, aged 68 years.

Mrs. John Armitage, Centreville, died January 5, 1885, aged 76 years.

John Troy, Three Rivers, died December 25, 1884, aged 83 years.

Lopus Hyatt, Mendon, died February 4, 1885, aged 69 years.

Peter Crandell, Mendon, died January 30, 1885, aged 83 years.

Mrs. Barbary Bonebright, Constantine, died January 28, 1885, aged 88 years.

Mrs. Wm. Bowman, Colon, died March 22, 1885, aged — years.

Ira Starkweather, Flowerfield, died April 9, 1885, aged 60 years.

John Giltnes, Mendon, died March 30, 1885, aged 86 years.

Mrs. Henry K. Farrand, Colon, died October 2, 1884, aged 56 years.

Mrs. Jefferson Hill, Colon.

Gilbert Liddle, Colon, died July 16, 1884, aged 77 years.

Mrs. Grover, Colon.

Mrs. Frederick Shurtz, White Pigeon, died January 13, 1885, aged 80 years.

Mrs. John Anderson, Colon.

Isaac Blue, White Pigeon, died April 3, 1885, aged 76 years.

Mrs. Guy Anderson, Colon.

Wesley Emery, Colon, died February 10, 1885, aged 66 years.

W. Snook, Colon, died November 25, 1884, aged 76 years.

Myron Palmer, Colon, died April 7, 1885, aged 64 years.

Russell Johnston, Mendon, died October 21, 1884, aged 65 years.

Gilbert Foot, Leonard's, December 7, 1884, aged 64 years.

Solomon Mann, Nottawa, died April 21, 1885, aged 74 years.

Edward S. Moore, Three Rivers, died May 2, 1885, aged 80 years.

Daniel F. Wolf, Centreville, died May 5, 1885, aged 61 years.

Ezra Cole, Three Rivers, died July 30, 1884, aged 85 years.

O. R. Tucker, Three Rivers, died December 10, 1884, aged 58 years.

Daniel B. Doty, Three Rivers, died February 20, 1885, aged 47 years.

Mrs. J. H. Lyon, Three Rivers, died February 21, 1885, aged 52 years.

Caroline Caul, Three Rivers, died April 25, 1885, aged 75 years.

Margaret MacMertrie, Moore Park, died September 20, 1884, aged 54 years.

Jacob Cline, Burr Oak, died January 24, 1885, aged 65 years.

Joseph Chapman, Burr Oak, died July 14, 1884, aged 73 years.

Asa Bullman, Burr Oak, died August 27, 1885, aged 75 years.

Jahiel Hawkins, Burr Oak, died December 12, 1884, aged 79 years.

Mrs. Patrick Holden, Burr Oak, died July 15, 1884.

Charles Weaver, Burr Oak, died September 22, 1884, aged 43 years.

Mrs. D. D. Stillman, Burr Oak, died December 29, 1884.

Geo. Husleman, Burr Oak, died January 4, 1885, aged 45 years.

Jeremiah Smith, Parkville, died, 1884, aged 75 years.

Mrs. Melvin B. Gates, Burr Oak, died August 21, 1884.

Abram Lambertson, Parkville, died December, 1884, aged 76 years.

Mrs. P. L. Akey, Centreville, died June 16, 1884, aged 76 years.

Wm. Allison, Centreville, died September 28, 1884, aged 65 years.

Lyman Noble, Mendon, died October 14, 1884, aged 85 years.

C. L. Deuell, Centreville, died October 24, 1884, aged 72 years.

Mrs. George Keach, Centreville, died October 30, 1884, aged 44 years.

Mrs. Steinberg, Mendon, died November 11, 1884, aged 85 years.

Daniel Rilom, Centreville, died November 27, 1884, aged 75 years.

Mrs. H. H. Avery, Centreville, died December 4, 1884, aged 55 years.

David Coleton, Centreville, died December 2, 1884, aged 73 years.
J. Weber, Centreville, died December 20, 1884, aged 57 years.
Jane Schelinger, Nottawa, died January 24, 1885, aged 71 years.
Dr. Geo. Trowbridge, Centreville, died February 7, 1885, aged 52 years.
John Bancker, Centreville, died March 3, 1885, aged 44 years.
Daniel Welch, Centreville, died April 25, 1885, aged 75 years.
Mrs. McLane, Petoskey, died April 12, 1885, aged 78 years.
John Fisher, Burr Oak, December 5, 1884, aged 68 years.
Wm. Davis, Leonidas, died August 8, 1884, aged 65 years.
John Cole, Leonidas, died June 28, 1884, aged 72 years.
Adam Churchill, Leonidas, died October 4, 1884, aged 79 years.
Mrs. Louisa Posler, Leonidas, died October 9, 1884, aged 81 years.
Maria Millard, Leonidas, died January 25, 1885, aged 74 years.
Sylvester Aughton, Leonidas, died February 10, 1885, aged 69 years.
Frank Bates, Leonidas, died March 4, 1885, aged 66 years.
Mrs. John Ferris, Leonidas, died March 18, 1885, aged 72 years.
Mrs. Maria Manaro, Leonidas, died March 5, 1885, aged 87 years.
John Booth, Leonidas, died ———, 1884, aged 68 years.
Richard Mc Dermit, Mendon, died July 27, 1884, aged 55 years.
Samuel King, Mendon, died May 15, 1885, aged 80 years.
Ephriam Alkinson, Mendon, died May 8, 1885, aged 70 years.
Aaron Brooks, Mottville, died May 9, 1885, aged 88 years.
Robert Watson, Colon, aged 85 years.
George Harpster, Colon, died January 3, 1885.
Mary B. Fought, Colon, died ———, ——, aged 83 years.
Esther Ware, Colon, died June —, 1884, aged 86 years.
Mrs. M. P. Thurston, Colon.
Erastus Tracy, Constantine, died June 28, 1884, aged 83 years.
Samuel R. Rockwell, Constantine, died December 16, 1884, aged 80 years.
Thomas Hawkins, Constantine, died July —, 1884, aged — years.
K. Latton, Constantine, died ———, aged 65 years.
Rebecca Helen Laymer, Constantine, died February 3, 1885, aged 55 years.
Joseph Blair, Centreville, died May 26, 1885, aged 84 years.
Mrs. Samuel Kline, Centreville, died May 26, 1885, aged 74 years.
Mrs. Sarah Fauda, Leonidas, May 27, 1885, aged 78 years.
Mrs. Jacob Decker, Colon, died September 20, 1884, aged 70 years.
Challenge S. Wheeler, Flowerfield, died September 6, 1884, aged 84 years.
Eliza Perrin, Parkville, died September 18, 1884, aged 62 years.
Julia Tackaberry, Fabius, died September 23, 1884, aged 69 years.

Mrs. Louisa Porter, Leonidas, died October 10, 1884, aged 80 years.
Wm. K. Haines, Sturgis, died November 19, 1884, aged 67 years.
Francis Apted, Three Rivers, died December, 1884, aged 75 years.
Mary Rich, Sturgis, died June 14, 1884, aged 74 years.
Elizabeth Pearsall, Sturgis, died July 3, 1884, aged 67 years.
Bridget Holden, Sturgis, died July 15, 1884, aged 68 years.
John Meyer, Sturgis, died July 9, 1884, aged 77 years.
Richard Willener, Sturgis, died August 29, 1884, aged 84 years.
Mrs. Duseler, Sturgis, died August 30, 1884, aged 66 years.
Mrs. Susan Their, Sturgis, died September 7, 1884, aged 76 years.
David McDaniels, Sturgis, died October 3, 1884, aged 69 years.
Richard Reid, Sturgis, died October 13, 1884, aged 67 years.
Lenar Scott, Sturgis, died October 21, 1884, aged 74 years.
Mrs. David Knox, Sturgis, died October 27, 1884, aged 74 years.
Duos Weatherwax, Sturgis, died October 24, 1884, aged 48 years.
Frank Wesson, Sturgis, died October 30, 1884, aged 78 years.
Lydia Drake, Sturgis, died November 14, 1884, aged 86 years.
Mrs. Anna Rhan, Sturgis, died November 29, 1884, aged 75 years.
Wm. Buise, Sturgis, died December 12, 1884, aged 54 years.
Mariat Eldridge, Sturgis, died December 16, 1884, aged 59 years.
Nancy Rich, Sturgis, died February 17, 1885, aged 66 years.
Esther Strong, Sturgis, died February 17, 1885, aged 87 years.
Mrs. Deo Haird (or Baird), Mendon, died May 14, 1885, aged 74 years.
Joseph Farming, Sturgis, died April 16, 1885, aged 81 years.
Malachi Roat, Sturgis, died April 24, 1885, aged 51 years.
Mrs. John Brown, Sturgis, died April 24, 1885, aged 78 years.
B. F. Hibbard, Sturgis, died January 22, 1885, aged 65 years.
Mrs. J. H. Jones, Constantine, died June 4, 1885, aged 65 years.
Alanson Morse, Three Rivers, died June 6, 1885, aged 69 years.
Daniel Forbes, Nottawa, died June 4, 1885, aged 79 years.
John Miller, died May 24, 1885, aged 85 years.
Isaac Mowery, Park, died May 23, 1885, aged 85 years.
Jacob Smith, Mottville, died April, 1885, aged 85 years.
John Edwards, White Pigeon, died October 8, 1884, aged 74 years.
Wm. Hagerman, Constantine, died June 23, 1884, aged 70 years.
Mrs. Robert Tennyson, Constantine, died July 2, 1884, aged 55 years.
Wm. Foster, Constantine, died September 29, 1884, aged 71 years.
Parley Tracy, Constantine, died October 24, 1884.
Patrick Hoolen, died May 13, 1885, aged 61 years.

Tobias Shurtz, died May 7, 1885, aged 59 years.
Mrs. Charles Monroe, Burr Oak.
Mrs. Robert Emily, Mendon, died June 10, 1885, aged 62 years.

VAN BUREN COUNTY.

BY EATON BRANCH.

Mrs. Sylvia Olds, died July 15, 1884, aged 62 years.
Dr. John W. Emery, died July 20, 1884, aged 86 years.
Daniel Osborn, died July 30, 1884, aged 66 years.
Frederick Lord, died August 15, 1884, aged 77 years.
Mrs. Mary E. Downing, died September 9, 1884, aged 54 years.
Joseph Gilman, died December 18, 1884, aged 68 years.
Mrs. Mary Snay, died January 23, 1885, aged 87 years.
William C. Mackellar, died January 25, 1885.
Mrs. Abigail Butler, died January 26, 1885, aged 70 years.
Alonzo Hymes, died January —, 1885, aged 53 years.
Peter Crandall, died January 30, 1885, aged 84 years.
Elizabeth S. Rice, died January 31, 1885, aged 55 years.
Emory O. Briggs, died February 7, 1885, aged 65 years.
Loyal Crane, died February 12, 1885, aged 72 years.
Hiram Dean, died March 25, 1885, aged 74 years.
Luther Dean, died April 21, 1885, aged 57 years.
Mrs. Fabius Miller, died May 7, 1885, aged 68 years.
William Merritt, died May 15, 1885, aged 67 years.
Sidney Stearns, died May 20, 1885, aged 75 years.
Norman Burr, died May 27, 1885, aged 91 years.
John Andrews, died May 29, 1885, aged 77 years.

MRS. SYLVIA OLDS.

Died, at her residence in this township, about five miles east of Paw Paw, on Tuesday night, July 15, 1884, Mrs. Sylvia Olds, aged sixty-two years. The circumstances of her death are peculiarly sad, she having, as it is supposed, committed suicide by drinking kerosene oil, mingled with arsenic, or some other poison. Some time ago Mrs. Olds was thrown from a carriage, injuring her spine quite severely, since which time she has been subject to spells

of mental aberration, during one of which she took the fatal dose that deprived her of life. She was one of the old settlers of this township, and will be mourned by a large circle of friends and relatives. She was buried on Saturday, the 19th.

DR. J. W. EMERY.

Died at his residence in this village (Paw Paw), last Sunday morning, July 20, 1884, at eight o'clock, Dr. John W. Emery, at the ripe old age of eighty-six years. His funeral took place at the house, last Tuesday afternoon, and his remains were interred in the cemetery just east of the village. Dr. Emery was widely known and highly respected. He had been ill for a long time and his death was not unexpected. The Dr. was one of the "old residents" of this village, having settled here about thirty-five years since. Probably no one was entitled to, or received, a greater degree of respect in this community than did he. He was in all things a good citizen, and his many friends will receive the heartfelt sympathy of this entire community in this, their time of bereavement and affliction.

DANIEL OSBORN.

"Fallen on Zion's battle field,
A soldier of renown,
Armed in the panoply of God,
In conflict cloven down.
His helmet on, his armor bright,
His cheek unblanched with fear—
While 'round his head there gleamed a light,
His dying hour to cheer."

Most eminently true are these lines with reference to the subject of this brief sketch. Elder D. Osborn was born at Homer, N. Y., June 10, 1818; died at Paw Paw, July 30, 1884, being at the time of his death a little over sixty-six years of age. At the early age of eighteen he dedicated his life to the service of Christ, and all his days he honored that profession by an honest and consistent work before God and man. So pure and true was he in word and deed, that to know him was to esteem, and to speak of him was to praise. About the year 1840 he moved to Michigan, settling at Paw Paw. Thus he became a co-worker with the hardy pioneer of those earlier days, and gladly toiled with them, pouring sunlight into the wilderness wild, building up homes dedicated to religion, civilization and wealth, and making our State a very gem indeed in the cluster of sister republics that make up our noble nation. Like his Master, while a mechanic, he became a preacher of the Word and was faithful and untiring in sowing the good and incorruptible

seed upon many loving hearts. March 27, 1845, he was married to Charlotte Woodman, who went before him to welcome his advent into the better world. This union was blessed with three children, a daughter and two sons, the elder of whom yielded his life as a sacrifice upon the altar of his country. Elder Osborn died as he lived, a true Christian, one of God's royal ones, and has left behind a memory sacred and holy to all pure hearts.

FREDERICK LORD.

Frederick Lord, who passed peacefully from earth, last Friday evening, August 15, 1884, at his residence in this village, was born at South Berwick, Me., on the twelfth day of April, 1807, being at the time of his death in his seventy-eighth year.

He removed to this county in 1838, and has resided therein ever since. He was well known to the people of this community and in an early day, when in the prime and vigor of his manhood, was frequently honored with the suffrages of his fellow citizens. He was one of the first members of the bar who settled in Van Buren county and held the office of prosecuting attorney at a time when that office was appointive and not elective. He was elected county treasurer in 1840, the next year after his arrival here, and four years afterwards was elected judge of probate. At that time there were in Michigan what were known as county courts, presided over by a county judge and side judges, or second judges. In 1847 Mr. Lord was elected to the office of second judge, and in 1850 was elected prosecuting attorney. In politics he inclined to and usually acted with the Democratic party, though, for some years past, he has been wont to boast of his independence in political matters. Religiously he was a strong believer in the doctrines of modern spiritualism, and took great pleasure in conversing on that topic. He did not die of disease, but passed quietly away as though dropping into a peaceful sleep. He had been gradually failing for quite a long time, and his death was not wholly unexpected, although he had been confined to his bed but three or four days. The machine was worn out, the weights had run down, and the pendulum of life ceased to beat; the end had come.

His funeral took place last Sunday, Elder Brooks officiating. He was laid to rest on Prospect Hill.—*Paw Paw True Northerner*, August 21, 1884.

MRS. MARY E. DOWNING.

Mary E. Downing, *nee* Smith, was born in Brockport, N. Y., July 20, 1830; died September 9, 1884. Her parents removed to Michigan in 1838, and to Van Buren county in 1840, settling near Almena.

Thus in early life she shared the privations of our early pioneers, yet she was ever dutiful and pleasant, the delight of her young companions, adding to their joys and sharing their sorrows. Among her early associates she found the perfect complement of her own happy nature, and was married to Decatur Downing, May 25, 1852. She was indeed the true helpmeet of her husband, cheerfully contributing her part in the building up of her beautiful home. At that early date Nature was "in her wildest grandeur dressed," the forest untouched by ax and the soil waiting to be "stirred by the hoe to laugh a harvest." Society was to be formed, schools encouraged, and unremitting toil to be endured. But her hand was the hand of the diligent one, and her spirit was hopeful and cheerful in sunshine and storm alike. Always she had a smile to cheer and a word to strengthen toiling hands.

Thirty-two years of wedded life brightened the golden bond that bound their lives together and smoothed the path of life to their weary feet. She was the mother of nine children, two of whom, the first born son and second born daughter, died in early childhood and can now welcome her to her heavenly home.

Of the seven living children, five are married, and all, with four grandchildren are here present, mourning the loss of one so dear to their hearts.

But last July these all met at their parents' home to surprise them, and celebrate their birthday, occurring upon the same month and day of the month, and meet here now, sad and silent, and feel the greater surprise she has given to all.

About eight years ago, under the preaching of Elder Linderman, she professed her faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, was immersed by Elder Darling, and honored her profession by her Christian life.

Mrs. Downing possessed a singularly cheerful spirit. She was sunshine in her family, a delight in the social circle, and a joy to all that came within the sphere of her influence. Home had a sacred shrine, and to it husband and children ever returned with assurances of welcome and pledges of love. Her ear was always open to the cry of the poor, and none ever went hungry from her door. Continually busy were her hands, scattering seeds of kindness upon every heart, and "none knew her but to love—none spoke of her but to praise." Live well, die well, for to the pure and good ever comes the crown and the song. These are the eternal statutes of God, irreversible by the power of man. Much of good goes out of earth at the death of all true ones, but their influence remains as an incense in the hearts of many. Life's well rounded mission in her case teaches us

"That we live for those who love us,
For the hearts so kind and true,

For the heaven that shines above us and that waits our spirits too;
For the cause that lacks assistance,
For the wrong that needs resistance,
For the great hope in the distance and the good that we can do."

HON. JOSEPH GILMAN.

Hon. Joseph Gilman of Antwerp, died at his residence in that township on Thursday, Dec. 18, 1884. His death resulted from paralysis, which was occasioned by a fall from a tree on the 20th day of last October. Since that accident he was never able to attend to any business, and was for the most part confined to his bed. His funeral was held at the family residence, and was attended by a large concourse of friends. He was an honored member of Paw Paw Grange, P. of H., and members of that society were present. Rev. W. C. Burns, the F. W. Baptist minister, officiated, Mr. Gilman having been an honored and consistent member of that church. His remains were laid to rest beside those of his loved wife who departed this life fourteen years ago.

Mr. Gilman, at the time of his death, was sixty-eight years of age. He was one of the early settlers of this county, had a wide acquaintance and was highly respected. He was elected as one of the justices of the peace of his township forty-two years ago, since which time he has been frequently honored by an election to various offices, at the hands of his fellow-citizens.

He was one of the founders of the Republican party and was the first Republican representative to the State Legislature from Van Buren county.

MARY SNAY.

Mrs. Mary Snay departed this life at the residence of her son-in-law, Mr. James Phillips, on Friday, January 23, 1885. Mrs. Snay was born in Montreal, in 1797, was married in 1817, was the mother of ten children, three boys and seven girls, five of whom are still living. She had nineteen grandchildren and six great grandchildren. The deceased was fairly entitled to rank as one of Michigan's pioneers, having settled at St. Joseph forty-eight years ago. She was a Catholic, a worker, and a good mother. Her funeral services were conducted by Elder T. Brooks.—*Paw Paw True Northerner*, January 29, 1885.

WILLIAM C. MACKELLAR.

William C. Mackellar, who for some time past has been an inmate of the Kalamazoo asylum, died at that institution last Sunday morning, January 25, 1885. His death was not unexpected, as his physical strength had been gradually but constantly failing. The deceased had grown up in the midst

of this community from childhood, and was much loved and respected by all who knew him. Genial, honorable and upright, he had no difficulty in winning friends and in retaining them. A short time before he passed away he became more rational, recognizing and bidding his friends good-bye. Short services were held at his residence on Tuesday afternoon, and his remains temporarily deposited in the vault on Prospect Hill.—*Paw Paw True Northerner,* January 29, 1885.

ABIGAIL BUTLER.

Mrs. Abigail Butler, wife of Wm. K. Butler, of this township, passed to her long home on Monday morning, January 26, 1885. Some two years ago she was stricken with paralysis, and her last illness had continued for some seven or eight weeks. She was about seventy years old. Herself and husband came to Michigan in 1836. One by one the old pioneers pass away, and soon none will remain. They have fought the good fight, and are rapidly going to their reward. Peace to their ashes.—*Paw Paw True Northerner,* January 29, 1885.

ALONZO HYMES.

Mr. Alonzo Hymes, of Porter, whose death was mentioned in the *Northerner* of last week, was fifty-three years of age. He was born in Alleghany county, New York, and came to Porter about thirty years ago. His wife, a sister of Mr. John Stilwell, died about six years ago, leaving to the care of her husband a family of five children. Mr. Hymes was an industrious man, who did all he could for the interest of his family, and his death was hastened by over exertion in their behalf. He died a Christian and in the hope of a bright immortality in heaven. All that physicians and loving children could do was done in his behalf. His funeral was held on the 28th ult., at the M. P. Church. Dr. West officiated, taking for his topic, "The will of the Lord be done," followed by a few closing remarks by the pastor, Rev. Wm. D. Tompkinson. Many friends attended the obsequies, and lent their kindly aid and sympathy, for which the friends desire to return their sincere thanks.—*Paw Paw True Northerner,* February 5, 1885.

PETER CRANDALL.

Died, at Mendon, Mich., on Friday, January 30, 1885, from the effects of a cancer, Mr. Peter Crandall, aged eighty-four years. The deceased was the father of Mr. L. Crandall of this township, and formerly resided in the township of Lawrence in this county. The funeral exercises were held on Sunday, and were conducted by Rev. Delamater, the Methodist clergyman at

Mendon, who delivered a very fine and very appropriate address.—*Paw Paw True Northerner,* February 5, 1885.

ELIZABETH S. RICE.

Gone home to rest, Mrs. Elizabeth S. Rice, at 3:25 P. M., on Saturday, January 31, 1885. Mrs. Rice was born at Johnstown, Fulton county, N. Y., October 28, 1829. She came to Michigan in the fall of 1845; was married to Orville A. Rice, October 22, 1852. She was the mother of four sons, all of whom were present at her death. She experienced religion at the age of thirteen, and, although deprived of church privileges much of the time, she never lost faith in Christ, and, during her last illness, continued to talk of her happy home over the river. The funeral was held at the Presbyterian Church, in this village, on Tuesday last. A large circle of friends followed her remains to Porter cemetery, where they laid her to rest. Rev. H. W. Harvey conducted the services and spoke from the text, "And her children shall rise up and call her blessed."—*Paw Paw True Northerner,* February 5, 1885.

EMORY O. BRIGGS.

Last Saturday morning, February 7, 1885, the people of this village were startled and shocked by the sad news that Emory O. Briggs had been found dead in his barn. The facts attending his death were briefly as follows: A suit was pending in the circuit court of Kalamazoo county, in which he was interested, and his presence was necessary at that city. Being unable to get there by rail, on account of the snow blockade, he determined to drive there, and had risen early and gone to his barn to feed his horses and do his chores. Being absent for an unusual length of time, his wife went to the barn to see what detained him, and found him lying on his back at the foot of the stairs, with his head resting on the bottom steps. She at once gave the alarm and a few moments later two of the neighbors, Mr. H. P. Nelson and Mr. K. W. Noyes, came to her assistance. An examination showed that he had been dead for some little time. His hat was found on the second step from the top of the stairs, and appearances indicated very clearly that he had fallen and slid down stairs. An autopsy was held on Sunday by Drs. Andrews, Hilton and Dunning of this village, and Dr. Upjohn of Kalamazoo. They found effusion of blood at the base of the brain, such as could only be caused by violence, sufficient to cause sudden death, and were all agreed that the deceased came to his death from the effects of such injury. An inquest was held before Justice Rowland and the following jurors: I. B. Connor, J. H. Walker, L. W. Whit-

beck, A. Hathaway, F. E. Adams and C. E. Galligan. The jury returned a verdict of accidental death, caused by falling down the stairs in his barn. Mr. Briggs was born in Loville, Lewis county, N. Y., on the 31st day of March, 1820. He came to Michigan when he was nineteen years of age. April 20, 1846, he was married to Miss Susan Stanley, who survives him. The marriage was solemnized at the township of Texas, Kalamazoo county, by Rev. Justin Gage. Six children were born to them, four of whom are living. Mr. Briggs has been for many years prominently identified with the business interests of this village and this county. He has frequently been honored by his fellow citizens by being chosen to various offices of honor and trust. For many years he was a resident of the township of Arlington and was frequently elected supervisor of that township, and he was for several terms a member of the board of supervisors for this township. During the years 1845-6, he was register of deeds for this county, and county treasurer from 1849 to 1854. He was a prominent Mason, being a member of Kalamazoo Commandery of Knights Templar. For several years he was cashier of the First National Bank of this village, and since his retirement from that institution he has been engaged in the milling business, and in the manufacture and sale of lumber and staves. As a business man he will be very much missed in this community, and especially will his loss be felt by laboring men to whom he gave employment, all of whom speak of him in terms of great respect. Politically, Mr. Briggs was a strong Democrat, and had long been regarded as one of the leaders and advisers of that party in this part of the State. His funeral was held on Tuesday last, at his residence, Rev. H. W. Harvey officiating.—*Paw Paw True Northerner*, February 12, 1885.

LOYAL CRANE.

Loyal Crane was born in Mentz, Cayuga county, New York, April 14, 1813, and died in Paw Paw, February 12, 1885, reaching the ripe age of seventy-two years. He was the third of five children forming the family of James Crane, one of the pioneer citizens of this place. In October, 1834, he was married to Sally A. DeGraff, sister of our esteemed citizen, Martin DeGraff, of this town. As a true helper, as a faithful and loving wife and mother, and gaining the esteem of all with whom she came in contact by the many graces of her heart and life, she strengthened and lightened the labors of her husband until the period of her death, April 14, 1874, leaving two children, who now mourn the loss of a faithful father, and who were present at his funeral. In early life, listening to the preaching of such men as Campbell, Lowell, and Bartlett, he became convinced of the Divine

truth of the gospel and was immersed, upon the confession of his faith, about the year 1832, and cast his lot with the Disciples, then just organizing in western New York. In 1837 Mr. Crane moved to this town, locating about a mile west of our village. It was all a forest wild then, and giant oaks seemed to defy the puny arm of man. As if by magic a log house was raised; sheets and blankets formed its doors and windows. Now having made a quiet retreat, where the bright fire burned on the hearthstone and loving words filled his heart with cheer, with stout arms and resolute spirit he went forth and entered into the great conflict with rugged nature, to compel her to yield him bread. The forests were cleared, the soil was turned to receive the kiss and caress of sunbeam and dew, and soon golden harvests waved and cast their precious treasures into the lap of toil, and the victory was won. How grand the thought that the imperial will of man can make stern nature bow at his feet and minister to all his needs. Mr. Crane was not one that would let the cares of life eat out all the inner graces of the heart; he brought his religion with him. Several of the associates of his early life came here and settled in this vicinity; among these I name A. S. Downing, Daniel Abbott, Edwin Barnum, good, faithful, and true—God's noble men, all animated by the same hope, bound together by the one faith, and they would not let the light go out from the altar of their hearts. So from the record I read that March 25, 1843, seventeen persons met at the residence of Loyal Crane, and were organized under the proper title as the Church of Christ. James and Loyal Crane, father and son, were made elders, and A. S. Downing and S. Turner deacons, accepting the Bible as sufficient in all matters of Christian faith and practice. Of this number only five are living. In the following May I find the names of Edwin Barnum, deceased, and Mr. and Mrs. Merriman, and a few others still living. Mr. Crane found a kindred spirit in Mr. Barnum. Their minds running along the lines of God-given truths and ready to pour them into the hearts of others, they soon began to mingle the labors of the field with the ministry of the Word. Why be an elder and not exercise an elder's office? They soon began to preach in school-houses, log barns, and wherever open hearts were ready to receive the life-giving truth. Without the discipline of the college or the methods of the school men, they preached as best they could. Hardy pioneers of an advancing nation, they were also pioneers of an advancing religion. Let us cherish their virtues, avoid their errors, and give to them the meed of praise that is due to their "patience of hope and their labors of love." Mr. Crane was married the second time to Miss Jane Van Auken, and faithfully has she ministered to him during their wedded

lives. Mr. Crane had been on a decline for a year past — through several warnings he was made conscious that life's drama was closing, and when the shock came it proved to be a deadly one. I think he was conscious to the last, for when the final struggle approached he seemed to rally all his remaining strength and clearly spoke in the ears of his stricken wife the words, "It is well—it is well," and then "fell on sleep." The angel of peace breathed comfort in her heart and left a sacred memory there. Mr. Crane was a man of strong, of pronounced convictions, and feared not to avow them, and the world has great need of such men, and their loss is a felt loss to all earnest lives. Acquainted with him almost thirty years and differing sharply on several points, yet I can conscientiously say that he never uttered a word to offend nor left a wound to rankle in my heart. Bending over the mound that covers his form, I can say, farewell, brother and friend, farewell; I live in the hope of meeting you again.—T. B. in *Paw Paw True Northerner*, February 12, 1885.

HIRAM DEAN.

Hiram Dean was born in 1811, in New York, and came to this county in 1846. He was a farmer and carpenter. He died March 25, 1885, in the township of Hartford, having been a resident of the county upwards of forty years.

LUTHER DEAN.

The death of the good is a felt loss to the world. "Sacred to the memory" should be the epitaph written on the hearts of all who love the pure and true. Men must die, but their deeds may live on, to be a very blessing to all coming generations. Silently such a pure heart life has gone out of our midst. We would enshrine his virtues in our heart of hearts, and live them over in a nobler life. Luther Dean was born in Orleans county, N. Y., Nov. 24, 1828; died at South Haven, Mich., April 21, 1885, being fifty-seven years of age. He was married May 4, 1853, to Mary F. Richmond, and now, after a most happy union of over thirty years, she and two sons are left to mourn the loss of a loving husband and faithful father. In the fall of the same year, he came to Michigan, settling near Paw Paw, where he lived until the spring of 1884, at which time he moved to South Haven. Patiently and earnestly, he contributed his share of labor in redeeming this county from its wilderness wild, and in dedicating it to civilization, learning and religion. In 1854 he made the good confession, and by Elder William Roe, was buried in baptism, into the death of our Lord, and rose up to a new life, new faith and new aspirations. He was ever faithful in the perform-

ance of his Christian duties, ready to minister of his means to the cause of truth and a suffering world, and, in all his dealings with his fellow-man, he endeavored to illustrate the orthodoxy of his faith by the orthodoxy of a pure and noble life. Given the life it is easy to forecast the death. As he lived, so he died. Suffering greatly as he did from consumption's ghastly power, yet his spirit triumphed over every fear. He desired to "live for those who loved him and the good he could do," yet he feared not to depart and was found ready when the final summons came. Loving relatives and friends ministered to him through the long hours of suffering, tenderly depositing his remains in Lakeview cemetery. All of nature's voices are pitched in a minor key, the world's sad cry of sin and pain. Murmur softly, then, O! ye waves, your sad requiem of the dead, for we may hope that he shall rise again, and then in major strains, sing the choral songs of the redeemed.

MRS. FABIUS MILES.

Mrs. Fabius Miles died suddenly last Thursday afternoon, May 7, 1885. She worked in the forenoon, and at dinner time was apparently as well as usual. Soon after she went across the river some thirty rods from the house, to look after some cattle that were grazing, when some one at the house heard her call and on looking that way saw her throw up her hands and fall. Those near hurried to the place, took her up, carried her to the house and did all in their power to restore her to consciousness, but it was too late, as death had struck the fatal blow and her spirit had passed beyond the river. Miss Bethiah Mantle was born in Jefferson county, N. Y., in July, 1817, where she passed her youthful days. In 1839 she married Mr. Miles at Watertown. They lived there until 1844, when they moved to this township and settled on the place where she spent the remainder of her days. Here she passed forty-one years of earnest, faithful labor and general usefulness, gaining the respect and esteem of all who became acquainted with her.

During this time she was called to mourn the death of two sons and two daughters. While they have gone before, a husband and two daughters are left to mourn her loss and follow after. The funeral, which was at the house on Saturday, was largely attended, many of the old settlers being present, who sadly mourned the loss of one taken so suddenly from their already well-thinned ranks. She had obeyed the call for which they are "only waiting." —*Hartford Day Spring,* May 15, 1885.

WILLIAM MERRITT

died at his home near the village, of chronic inflammation of the stomach,

Friday morning, May 15, 1885, aged sixty-seven years. He was born in Burlington Co., N. J., May 25, 1818. In the fall of 1841 he married and moved to Michigan, from which time to his death he was a resident of the State. During a long, active life, he won for himself many excellent friends and acquaintances, who, with one word, attest to his integrity and sincerity. His close discernment gave him friends whom he never forgot, on whom he rested in fullest confidence, holding in abhorrence the unworthy, who in no way could gain his favor. He lived for his family and in all his efforts sought their good. In return for all this they, with loving hearts, waited and watched patiently, relieving as only loving hearts can, caring for him constantly in his long hours of intense suffering, cheering him by their presence until the veil of death shut them out of sight. It was his wish that after death his family should care for his remains—that a simple prayer should be offered and sacred music be sung over his body before they bore him out, and that his sons-in-law should lower him into his grave. This was in such perfect keeping with his life that to us it seemed fitting in his death—so appropriate. —*Hartford Day Spring.*

SIDNEY STEARNS.

Sidney Stearns was born in 1810 in New York, and died May 20, 1885, in Hamilton township, Van Buren county. He came to this county in the summer of 1835.

NORMAN BURS.

Norman Burs was born in 1793, in Vermont, and died May 27, 1885, at Cadillac, Mich., aged ninety-one years. He came to Van Buren county in 1842.

JOHN ANDREWS.

John Andrews was born June —, 1808, in New York, and died May 29, 1885, in Grand Haven, aged seventy-seven years. He came to Van Buren county in 1839, and was a lumberman and farmer. He was one of the best of citizens, very much respected, and will be greatly missed in the community.

WASHTENAW COUNTY.

BY EZRA D. LAY.

Pioneers who have died in Washtenaw county between March 6, 1884, and June 3, 1885:

Levi Olds, May 30, 1884, aged 70 years; an old resident of Pittsfield.

Lyman S. Wood, May 31, 1884, aged 65 years; a resident of the county 48 years.

Ralph Long, June 17, 1884, aged 86 years; a resident of Ann Arbor 30 years.

Mrs. Harriet A. Wilkinson, June 8, 1884, aged 82 years; a resident of Ann Arbor 50 years.

Miss Therzy Squier, May 26, 1884, age not known; a resident of Pittsfield 50 years.

Mrs. Mary A. Hosmer, June 22, 1884, aged 79 years; a resident of Ypsilanti city 35 years.

Mrs. Jane M. Nichols, June 17, 1884, age not known; a resident of the county 50 years.

Patrick Donahue, July 17, 1884, aged 64 years; a resident of Ann Arbor 42 years.

Deacon A. R. Wheeler, July 24, 1884, aged 85 years; a resident of York 50 years.

Mrs. Randolph Davis, July —, 1884, aged 85 years; a resident of Lodi 53 years.

Samuel Robinson, August 13, 1884, aged 75 years; a resident of Saline 50 years.

Edward Tate, March 6, 1884, aged 63 years; a resident of Saline 53 years.

Mrs. Ann Gordon, March 21, 1884, aged 65 years; a resident of the county 50 years.

John L. Lemington, March 27, 1884, aged 72 years; a resident of the county over 50 years.

Mrs. Jerusha House, March 29, 1884, aged 88 years; an old resident of the county.

Mrs. Elvira L. Follett, September 10, 1884, aged 64 years; a resident of Ypsilanti city 56 years.

Mrs. Thomas Guinon, September 16, 1884, aged 75 years; a resident of Webster 36 years.

Mrs. J. B. Arms, September 17, 1884, aged 83 years; a resident of Webster over 50 years.

Wm. Jarvis, September 21, 1884, aged 84 years; a resident of Ypsilanti city 54 years.

Joseph Martin, September 28, 1884, aged 64 years; a resident of Ypsilanti city 46 years.

Mrs. Amy Pettibone, October 16, 1884, aged 79 years; a resident of the county 55 years.

Mrs. Mary Foster, November 1, 1884, aged 72 years; an old resident of the county.

Mrs. Amanda M. Buckbee, November 14, 1884, aged 83 years; a resident of Ypsilanti city 50 years.

Samuel B. Read, November 14, 1884, aged 82 years; an old resident of the county.

Thomas H. Kearney, November 21, 1884, aged 72 years; a resident of Webster 47 years.

Mrs. Edith Sherwood, November 21, 1884, aged 79 years; an old resident of Ypsilanti township.

Wm. G. Shipman, November 23, 1884, aged 61 years; an old resident of the county.

M. L. Shutts, November 25, 1884, aged 70 years; a resident of the county 27 years.

Mrs. B. S. Covert, November 22, 1884, aged 45 years; a resident of the county 45 years.

Mrs. Jemima Horner, November 28, 1884, aged 71 years; a resident of Ypsilanti and Augusta 49 years.

Dr. Nathan Webb, December 3, 1884, aged 77 years; a resident of Pittsfield 38 years.

Wm. O. Hearn, December 6, 1884, aged 86 years; a resident of Northfield 50 years.

Chas. Kellogg, September 13, 1884, aged 58 years; a resident of Dexter 30 years.

Mrs. Sarah Arnold, November 1, 1884, aged 91 years; a resident of Dexter 56 years.

Dr. Amos Gray, November 7, 1884, aged 80 years; a resident of Dexter 56 years.

Patrick Hay, November 13, 1884, aged 58 years; a resident of Webster 55 years.

Jacob Fall, October 3, 1884, aged 78 years; a resident of Scio 50 years.

Patrick Cowen, November 19, 1884, aged 80 years; a resident of Superior 57 years.

Mrs. Patrick Cowen, November 21, 1884, aged 78 years; a resident of Superior 57 years.

Mrs. Finegan, November 30, 1884, aged 85 years; a resident of the county 50 years.

Michael Carr, November 30, 1884, aged 58 years; a resident of the county 35 years.

Mrs. Ellen Appleton, January 10, 1885, aged 42 years; a resident of Dexter 40 years.

Benton Alley, February 11, 1885, aged 49 years; a resident of Dexter 49 years.

Thomas Dolan, February 27, 1885, aged 81 years; a resident of Dexter 53 years.

Mrs. Harriet Guthrie, November 16, 1884, aged 66 years; a resident of the county 50 years.

Samuel Fay, December 20, 1884, aged 82 years; a resident of the county 52 years.

Mrs. Sophia Hamlin, December 18, 1884, aged 85 years; a resident of the county 50 years.

Mrs. Nancy Wheeler, January 5, 1885, aged 79 years; a resident of Ann Arbor 47 years.

Mrs. Daniel Crippen, January 9, 1885, aged 90 years; a resident of Superior 57 years.

Mrs. Ruby Burlingame, January 13, 1885, aged 95 years; a resident of Saline over 50 years.

Mrs. Abigail Jacobus, January 20, 1885, aged 90 years; a resident of Ann Arbor 50 years.

Chas. W. Thayer, January 18, 1885, aged 71 years; a resident of Northfield 50 years.

Mrs. Sarah C. Wilkinson, January 23, 1885, aged 83 years; a resident of Ann Arbor city 30 years.

Deacon David Hayes, February 3, 1885, aged 73 years; a resident of Ypsilanti city 29 years.

Wm. Thompson, January 27, 1885, aged 80 years; a resident of Ypsilanti 39 years.

Jacob Fischer, February 19, 1885, aged 65 years; an old resident of Ann Arbor.

Mrs. Harriet Conklin, March 4, 1885, aged 72 years; a resident of Ypsilanti city 40 years.

Seth Thompson, March 5, 1885, aged 83 years; an old resident of the county.

Chas. Collins, March 5, 1885, aged 71 years; a resident of Ypsilanti and Superior 50 years.

Mrs. James B. Lord, March 15, 1885, aged 50 years; an old resident of Augusta.

Mrs. E. A. Gordon, March 10, 1885, aged 77 years; a resident of Ypsilanti township 56 years.

David Godfrey, March 23, 1885, aged 85 years; a resident of Ann Arbor 55 years.

Lyman Wiard, March 28, 1885, aged 80 years; a resident of Ypsilanti township 51 years.

Michael Clancy, March —, 1885, aged 85 years; a resident of Ann Arbor 45 years.

Mrs. J. F. Clark, March 20, 1885, aged 70 years; a resident of Dexter 51 years.

Mrs. Jane Whitbeck, March 3, 1885, aged 77 years; an old resident of Superior.

Mrs. N. V. Mann, March 28, 1885, age not known; an old resident of Superior.

Mrs. Adeline Booth, April 6, 1885, aged 77 years; an old resident of the county.

Isaac Wynkup, April 22, 1885, aged 67 years; a resident of the county 50 years.

Michael Howard, April 27, 1885, aged 80 years; a resident of Northfield 53 years.

H. H. Brinkerhoof, April 25, 1885, aged 67 years; an old resident of Saline and Ypsilanti city.

Henry Markell, April 30, 1885, aged 81 years; a resident of the county 49 years.

Rev. John A. Wilson, May 7, 1885, aged 70 years; a resident of Ypsilanti city 38 years.

Catharine F. Fletcher, May 5, 1885, aged 58 years; a resident of the county 45 years.

Mrs. Ann McQuillan, April 29, 1885, aged 62 years; an old resident of Dexter.

Mrs. Sarah W. Jewett, May 29, 1885, aged 72 years; a resident of Ann Arbor 37 years.

John Ruckman, March 17, 1885, aged 86 years; a resident of the county 51 years.

Mrs. Catharine Bush, April 4, 1885, aged 77 years; a resident of Saline 46 years.

Henry Green, May 11, 1885, aged 91 years; a resident of Saline 26 years.

John G. Davis, May 17, 1885, aged 63 years; a resident of Lodi 54 years.

Edward Drake, June 2, 1885, aged 85 years; a resident of Lodi 52 years.

Ira Bassett, June 8, 1885, aged 86 years; a resident of the county 46 years.

Number of pioneers who have died as stated above, 82.

Their average ages are as follows:

Between 90 and 95 years of age	5
Between 85 and 90 years of age	12
Between 80 and 85 years of age	16
Between 75 and 80 years of age	14
Between 70 and 75 years of age	14
Between 65 and 70 years of age	6
Between 60 and 65 years of age	7
Between 55 and 60 years of age	4
Between 50 and 55 years of age	1
Between 40 and 50 years of age (born in county)	3
	82

Average age, 74⅔ years.

The above statement includes the pioneers who had been residents of the county between thirty-five and fifty-seven years, a majority of them fifty years and over.

WAYNE COUNTY.

PROF. HENRY CHANEY.

Prof. Henry Chaney, for nearly thirty years a resident of Detroit, and during nearly all that period prominently identified with the cause of education, died on Sunday, at his home, on High street, west. Hundreds of the men now active in the pursuits of life in Detroit were pupils of Prof. Chaney and they will learn with deep regret of the death of their old preceptor and friend.

Henry Chaney was born at South Orange, Mass., Oct. 14, 1808. He was the son of Luther Chaney, who moved into Vermont soon after, and was a country inn-keeper and blacksmith. The father encouraged a strong disposition in the son to study, and sent him to Randolph Academy, where he was a pupil of Rufus Nutting, who lived here in Detroit twelve or fifteen years ago. He entered the University of Vermont as a sophomore, and was graduated in 1831 ; his last surviving classmate, probably, was his most intimate college friend, Hon. Edward Seymour, of Vergennes, who died a year or two since. After graduation he went to Fredonia, N. Y., and became principal of the academy there, having among his pupils Henry N. Walker, Jacob Houghton, Judge Douglass and Dr. Silas H. Douglass, and his assistant and successor was Mr. Charles H. Palmer, who for many years has been a citizen of Pontiac. He remained in Fredonia until about 1838, and while there

organized and built up its library. He was President of the village when the "Patriots" went through there to invade Canada at the time of the trouble at Navy Island, and he tried to dissuade them from the foolish enterprise. The volunteers were many of them boys, and when they came straggling back, frost-bitten and miserable, he saw to it that something was done for the comfort of those who were suffering.

He left Fredonia on receiving an invitation to a chair in the faculty of the University of Vermont, and he remained in the faculty about fifteen years, during portions of which time he was also treasurer of the corporation and librarian of the University. As treasurer he was successor of the late William Warner, of this city. He resigned his professorship, which was that of natural philosophy, about 1853, and went to Ogdensburg, N. Y., where he was for several years in the hardware business, and was superintendent of an iron foundry in which his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles M. Caryl, who is now in the Fulton Iron and Engine works here, was a foreman. He was an active member of the board of education in Ogdensburg and was there also concerned in the interests of the school district library. In 1858 he left the hardware business and came to Detroit, where he interested the board of education in the establishment of the high school. He was practically the founder of that institution and he not only so managed it that it justified itself against strong opposition, but in a short space it ranked with the best in the State, for its graduates were almost annually among those candidates for admission to the University who received scholarships, upon competitive examination, for the best preparation. He was principal of the high school until 1871.

Soon after Prof. Chaney came to Detroit, he learned of the old constitutional provision applying all criminal fines to the support of school district libraries, and he aided in the measures which were taken about 1860 to establish such a library here. When the funds had been secured by the efforts of such men as Henry E. Baker, Edmund Hall, Judge Douglass, aided by the Supreme Court, he was made superintendent of the library, and the chairman of the library committee in the board, William P. Wells, was an old student of his in the University of Vermont. He was sent to make the first large purchase of books, and after the library was opened in 1865 he made personally most of the selections during the period of his superintendency, which closed in 1878.

He was twice married, first to Miss Elizabeth A. Caryl, and afterwards to Miss Isabella J. Caryl, and he leaves a family consisting of Mrs. Lucia E. Mason, Lucian C. Chaney, Henry A. Chaney and Dr. Willard Chaney.—*Detroit Free Press*, February 24, 1886.

(Continued from Page 151, Pioneer Collections, Vol. 7.)

Number.	Names.	Place of Birth.		Date of Birth.	Place and Date of First Residence.			Present Residence.	
		Town or Village.	State or County.		Town.	County.	Date.	P. O. Address.	County.
622	Jay A. Hubbell	Avon	Michigan	Sept. 15, 1829	Avon	Oakland	Sept. 15, 1829	Houghton	Houghton.
623	Isaac W. Bush	Danby	New York	Apr. 20, 1835	Handy	Livingston	May, 1837	Howell	Livingston.
624	Robert Hayward	Smithfield	Rhode Island	Sept. 5, 1827	Laselle	Monroe	May 30, 1830	Aurelius	Ingham.
625	John F. Hinman	Battle Creek	Michigan	Mar. 17, 1816	Detroit	Wayne	May, 1838	Battle Creek	Calhoun.
626	Sullivan R. Kelsey	Fair Haven	Vermont	Aug. 16, 1805	Birmingham	Oakland	June, 1833	Corunna	Shiawassee.
*627	Richard Dye	Herkimer	New York	Oct. 23, 1810	Easton	Ionia	June, 1837	Ionia	Clinton.
628	Mrs. Polly Dye	Middleburgh	New York	Jan. 29, 1813	Easton	Ionia	June, 1837	Ionia	Clinton.
629	J. H. Kilbourne	Westbury	Lower Canada	May 8, 1809	Detroit	Wayne	Jan., 1838	Meridian (Okemos)	Ingham.
630	Ebenezer Walker	Greenville	New York	June 14, 1805	Okemos	Ingham	Apr., 1855	Okemos	Ingham.
631	Jas. L. Thorn	Middleburgh	New York	Nov. 15, 1816	Yankee Spr'gs	Barry	May, 1837	Horton	Jackson.
632	H. S. King	Hinsdale	New Hampshire	Sept. 9, 1815	Clinton	Lenawee	July, 1833	Lansing	Ingham.
633	Joseph Busby	London	England	Apr. 26, 1812	Detroit	Wayne	Sept. 30, 1830	Brooklyn	New York.

*Died at Ionia, January 28, 1886.

PAPERS READ AT ANNUAL MEETING, 1885.

MEETING OF THE PIONEERS.

BY WM. LAMBIE, OF YPSILANTI.

When the blue skies are bending o'er us in the balmy days of June,
The wheat fields waving in the wind, and the roses bright with bloom,
Those who subdued the wilderness and laid the forests low
Are come to talk of work and joy in the days of long ago.
They, veterans of the sylvan woods, the bravest and the best,
Who out the towering forests hewed the sweet homes of the west,
Rejoicing altogether, with our Michigan advancing,
Meeting in mutual gladness, when the tribes go up to Lansing.
Flinging their banners to the breeze where so much wealth is seen,
The fruit of skill and labor that rewards the Wolverine.
From every county of the State we are glad to see them coming,
Good, brave, and honest workingmen and kind and lovely women.
From the fertile borders of the west, where the yellow peaches grow,
And the rolling waves of Michigan in grand expansion flow,
Where schooner, sloop, and steamer sail in beautiful array,
By shore and bank and crowded port and far off, quiet bay.
Round the northern gates and limpid lakes of clear, cool Mackinaw,
Past the salt of earth, the men of worth, and the pines of Saginaw.
Down Huron fair and Lake St. Clair, till Detroit comes in view,
And then fades away like a summer day o'er Erie's waters blue.
It's better than reading a romance to see what has been done,
To many thousand happy homes the wild woods have been won;
This great State of wealth and learning, where such rich harvests grow
Was only a wild and savage wilderness sixty years ago.
Here the red man twanged his battle bow and roamed the forest free,
He was careful of his elbow-grease and always spared the tree.
The war whoop of the hostile tribes rings no more o'er wooded hill,
The tomahawks are buried low, the red braves are sleeping still.
Round the beautiful peninsula fresh seas for ages rolled,
But there were no fields of golden grain, no flocks were in the fold.
There's beauty and beneficence, all that earth can give to man,
Rich fields, with wealth and learning, in our beautiful Michigan;

Long trains, rolling in abundance, to the city of the straits,
Hamlets, towns, and splendid cities, by streams and crystal lakes.
Marquette and the pictured rocks, and where St. Mary's waters flow,
Clear down the rail by the Jackson jail to the vineyards of Monroe.
On the Hoosier and Ohio line the railroad bells are ringing,
From shore to shore, aye, more and more, new wealth and pleasure bringing.
Matchless lakes and shoals of fish, herds of deer and towering pines,
Plaster, coal, and salt and silver, iron hills and copper mines.
Clear streams and healthy breezes on silver strand and blooming shore,
With all this world can give us till we need her wealth no more.
But we long for still a better state, where none grow old and gray,
Unfading flowers and immortal powers in realms of endless day.

LOCATING THE STATE CAPITOL AT LANSING.

BY HON. ENOS GOODRICH.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Society of Michigan Pioneers:

In response to a resolution of your Society, and of the Historical Society of the State, I appear before you to present a brief article upon the location of the State capitol at Lansing, which, for purpose of a title, I will designate,

"SHADOWY REMEMBRANCES OF 1847, AND FAREWELL TO THE OLD STATE CAPITOL."

From the usages of this Society, this article must necessarily be more noted for its brevity than for the historic matter it may contain.

In my humble efforts to discharge the duty assigned me I shall make no effort to lionize myself, or to make a hero of any particular person, for indeed there was no such hero. Each, as I believe, in his action upon the subject, discharged his simple duty; and if on returning home he failed to receive the applause of his constituents, he had what is worth far more,—the approbation of his own judgment and an approving conscience.

Honored by my friends with a seat in the Legislature of 1847, I timidly took my seat in the old capitol in Detroit, a tyro at the business of legislation; but I soon had the consolation of learning that I was surrounded by plenty of others of the same sort. My first surprise was to find the Legis-

lature, with few exceptions, a body of plain men. Finding this out, I began to breathe more freely, but through all the early days of the session my fears of violating some parliamentary rule and being brought to order by some of the few old stagers of the house, kept me in a state of needless consternation. But there was one redeeming circumstance. I had not come there expecting to enjoy a holiday visit. I found work before me, which made me feel at home, for, thank God, I had been taught to work when I was very young. At an early period in our Territorial history, Detroit had been made the capital, and when our first State constitution was adopted, Article 12, Section 9, of that instrument read as follows:

"The seat of government for this State shall be at Detroit, or at such other place or places as may be prescribed by law, until the year 1847, when it shall be permanently located by the Legislature."

In considering this passage of our organic law, I had been led to attach a peculiar importance to the word "permanently," and my convictions were that no location upon the extreme borders of the State could be permanent after the interior of the State had become settled. But when the Legislature of '47 was first organized the man who could have supposed it possible to wrest the capitol from Detroit and set it down in the midst of a dense forest on the banks of Grand river would have been considered a fit subject for a lunatic asylum. The fact was that we who represented the interior of the State felt the incubus of our disadvantages and our poverty. We decided to work together, and we "builded better than we knew." The result may be pointed to for all time to come as an evidence of what united action may accomplish, even under the most desponding circumstances. A brief glance at the strength of the State at that early period may be interesting at this point.

Our Legislative Manual contains the census of 1845, upon which the Legislature was apportioned. It shows the entire population of the State to have been 304,273. Of this number 184,637, being over three-fifths, were contained in the two southern tiers of counties, and 119,636 in all the rest of the State. Only four counties of the State could boast a population of twenty thousand each. These were: Wayne, 32,267; Oakland, 30,288; Washtenaw, 26,979, and Lenawee, 23,011. There were eight other counties with a population of 10,000 or upwards. This county of Ingham, against her population of 33,676 in 1880, then had but 5,267. Kent county in the intervening thirty-five years, from 1845 to 1880, has increased from 6,153 to 73,253; Shiawassee from 3,829 to 27,059. My adopted county of Tuscola, which at that time had no existence except as a wolfish appendage of Sagi-

naw, has grown to 25,738 in 1880, and to-day has at least 30,000 inhabitants. Saginaw, whose waters now float the commerce of an empire, could then boast of but 1,218 souls, while now, dissevered and divided into many counties, she would alone constitute a respectable state. That part which retains the name of Saginaw had in 1880 a population of 59,095, Bay 38,081, and Tuscola 25,738, being 122,914 inhabitants for these three integral parts, and were the others subdivisions to be added, with the increase since 1880, it must now show a population of at least 200,000 souls. So it will be seen that were the northern counties called upon to measure arms with the south to-day, we should have a strong backing compared with the forlorn hope that so dauntlessly entered the contest of '47. What would my venerable and unassuming friend, Judge Miller, with his constituency of 1,200 souls, have then thought had he been told that he should meet us here to-day representing in the same territory a population of nearly a quarter of a million, and a salt and lumber production far exceeding any other State in the American union, save Michigan alone?

But to return to the dim ages of 1847. At that time our Legislature consisted of twenty-two Senators and sixty-five Representatives, or members of the House. They were not then, as now, elected by single districts. There were seven Senate districts in the State. Thirteen of the twenty-two Senators lived in the two southern tiers of counties, against but nine in all the north. Of the sixty-five Representatives, thirty-seven lived in the two southern tiers of counties; while all the remainder of the State had but twenty-three. This analysis goes conclusively to show that, had the question been decided solely upon sectional issues, we of the interior would have been defeated by an overwhelming majority.

In the body to which I had the honor to belong, the first official mention of the capitol question, as shown by the journals, appeared in the fact that on the 6th of January the House went into committee of the whole, with Major Britton, of Berrien, in the chair, and that when the committee arose, they reported back a series of resolutions, one of which was: "That so much of the Governor's message as relates to the location of the seat of government be referred to a select committee, to consist of seven members." The journals next show that on the day following the Speaker announced the appointment, as such committee, of George B. Throop, of Wayne, Harvey Chubb, of Washtenaw, Alexander M. Arzeno, of Monroe, Patrick Marantette, of St. Joseph, John D. Pierce, of Calhoun, Enos Goodrich, of Genesee, and Alexander F. Bell, of Ionia. At the call of the chairman, Mr. Throop, the committee met at an early period. A very slight consultation

demonstrated the fact that the committee had very little to do in concert; that conflicting locations and interests generated conflicting opinions that could not be harmonized. A trial of strength was then clearly foreshadowed, and each member of the committee was left to act independently, as his interest or patriotism might dictate. Thus separated, the members went to work and produced three separate reports. They again assembled to compare notes. The first of these reports was signed by George B. Throop, as chairman, the second by John D. Pierce and Patrick Marantette, and the third by Enos Goodrich. The drift of the chairman's report was that the State was yet undeveloped and the treasury embarrassed, and that, though conceding that the time would come when an interior location would be eminently proper, it would be premature to make such location at present, and, therefore, that it be temporarily retained at Detroit. He stated that "The committee have had presented for their consideration the four locations of Marshall, Jackson, Ann Arbor and Detroit, and various places have been named north of the line of the Central Railroad; among others the Salt Spring lands in the county of Gratiot. The four places named have their advocates among the members of the committee; while it is believed that no member seriously maintains the proposition that the Central Railroad runs through or near the centre of the State, or furnishes along its line any plan which is now or can hereafter be the centre of the State. Consequently, if it be the purpose of the Legislature to establish the seat of government *for the State*, and not for the town or county, or in a central position, that location must be sought for and found away from that line, and from the four principal places named, which have found supporters amongst the committee."

Report number 2, of Messrs. Pierce and Marantette, took a comprehensive view of Detroit and the Central Railroad, but seemed to lose sight of all that lay north of it. It was nevertheless an able report, and one of their objections to locating at Detroit is certainly worthy of reproduction, where it is stated that, "In case of war with England, no position can be found more exposed to a sudden attack. It would then be within the reach and be at the mercy of an enemy's guns." The claim of Ann Arbor was dismissed on account of its being too far east and having already had the University. Jackson was also rejected, for it also was east of the centre, and had its full share of public patronage in the penitentiary. In conclusion, the claims of Marshall were presented in glowing terms and well selected argument.

Last, and perhaps least, your humble speaker submitted his solitary

report, from which we will produce two or three short sentences. I stated that "according to the most authentic geographical information the entire State of Michigan comprises an area of no less than sixty-six thousand square miles. By a careful examination of the State maps it will be seen that only six thousand six hundred square miles of this area are found south of the line of the Central Railroad, as it is usually styled, and that no less than fifty-nine thousand four hundred square miles of the same lie north of the route of said road. Thus it will be seen that all that part of our State lying south of the Central Railroad comprises but just a tenth part of its geographical surface." Then, drawing toward the conclusion, I proceeded:

"The undersigned would further suggest, that in addition to reasons already alluded to, he is of firm conviction that the location of the capitol in the manner above alluded to would result in important benefits to the State, by giving impetus to immigration in a direction towards that part of the State where most of our State lands are located; thereby facilitating the sale of said lands, and accomplishing the two-fold purpose of replenishing our treasury and populating our wilds." I argued generally in favor of the north woods, citing the example of the State of Ohio, in locating her capitol in the wilderness, and summed up by enjoining the location "at some suitable point farther north than the Central Railroad, the selection of which point I would submit to the good judgment of the Legislative body."

And now the select committee of seven, having amicably agreed to disagree, reported the whole subject back to the Legislature, *without recommendation.*

About this stage of the proceedings an organization was quietly, and, I might say, secretly formed, known and designated by its members as the "Northern Rangers." It generally comprised the members of both houses living north of the Central Railroad, but with what exceptions I am not now prepared to say. The place of our meeting was generally one of the large rooms of Wales's Hotel, on the present site of the Biddle House. We had no stated periods, but met on call. We had good leaders and organizers — prominent among the number were our speaker, George W. Peck, and Senators Fenton, Bush, and Parsons. It was the best organization of the kind I ever saw. We soon became well drilled and disciplined. Laying aside all sectional jealousies, we resolved generally to unite in support of all points that might be proposed north of the line of the Central Railroad. As northern men, we "nailed our colors to the mast," and left the developments to time and circumstances. At an early period there appeared upon the arena a quiet and unassuming character, whose action had more to

do in directing public opinion than most people might imagine. The Honorable James Seymour, then of Genesee county, had built mills in the wilderness of Ingham county, at what, I believe, is now called North Lansing. He submitted to our committee a proposal to furnish capitol grounds free — and, to show the central location of his point, he accompanied his proposal with a map, on which were drawn red lines to prominent points, with distances given. In Mr. Throop's report his allusion to Mr. Seymour's "map and red lines" was generally looked upon as a burlesque, but in my opinion that "map and red lines" did more in attracting attention to Lansing than any or all speeches in the halls of legislation.

And now I will not weary you by detailing the progress of the bill through the tedious forms of legislation. Those who feel interested in the formal and technical details of nations to amend, to strike out, to insert, and to recommit, with all the paraphernalia of legislative formality, are respectfully referred to the journals. From these you will learn that Mr. Throop, the chairman of the select committee, submitted his report on February 4, and that the report of Messrs. Pierce and Marantette was also submitted on the same day; also that on the day following, being February 5, Mr. Goodrich submitted his report on the same subject. The subject was now fairly before the House, and it may be cited as an example of fast legislation, that the bill was considered and brought to its final passage in the House on Saturday, February 13. To the surprise of both friends and opponents, the vote stood forty-eight for and but seventeen against. The bill then passed to the Senate, in which body a long and spirited fight ensued. It did not take a great while to demonstrate the fact that there was strength enough in the Senate to pass the bill, but the opposition died hard. A running fight was kept up for many days, culminating frequently upon points of the most insignificant technicality — even narrowing down to grammatical criticism and fault finding with our choice of words. The old adage that "drowning men will catch at straws" never had a better illustration than the opposition to this bill given in the Senate. The fact was, they had got the idea that if they could only insert the slightest amendment, so as to cause it to be sent back to the House, we would defeat it. For myself I never took this view of the subject—on the contrary I always believed that with our thorough organization we had ample strength to handle the question to the last day of the session, in spite of a few possible deserters. Still we deemed it most prudent not to have it come back. We saw no good that could result from fighting the battle over, and we therefore enjoined it upon our Senatorial friends to pass the bill as they received it, without the dotting of

an "i" or the crossing of a "t." They did so after a long struggle, in which the protracted discussion gave some show of countenance to the current rumor that Senatorial speculations in city lots had aided to prolong the struggle. But to the honor of the Senate, I now desire to bear public testimony, that neither at that day nor at any subsequent period have I found any substantial reason to credit such reports. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of twelve against eight, on the 9th of March, and received the Governor's signature and became a law on the 16th day of the same month.

It provided for the location of the capitol "in the township of Lansing in the county of Ingham." A supplementary bill was then passed providing for the appointment of commissioners by the Governor, to designate the exact site, pursuant to which he appointed, March 22, as such commissioners: James L. Glen, of Cass; Benjamin F. H. Witherell, of Wayne, and Alonzo Ferris, of Genesee. Mr. Witherell resigned and David Smart was appointed in his stead April 2, 1847. These commissioners stuck the capitol stake on the school section in the township of Lansing, which was then a solid woods and at the commencement of the discussion had been subject to private entry at four dollars an acre. And here comes a piece of history that is worthy to be written in letters of gold. Abiel Silver was then Commissioner of the State Land office. When the bill to locate the capitol had passed the House and was struggling through the Senate, the commissioner received repeated applications to purchase these lands. In view of modern political methods, the great wonder is that some confidential friend or kinsman of the commissioner had not at this crisis stepped in and bought the land. Never did mortal man have a finer opportunity to enrich himself by an abuse of official privilege than was then offered to Mr. Silver. But, rising above dishonor, he entitled himself to the gratitude of Michigan for all time to come, by withdrawing the land from market. The lands were laid off in city lots, and after reserving ample grounds for capitol purposes the remainder were thrown upon the market. I wish it were in my power to tell you to a dollar how much was saved to the school fund by this one noble act of a public officer. To do this would require more research than my opportunities have afforded.—But for the first eight years, from 1847 to 1854 inclusive, the receipts amounted to $102,978.

On the 17th day of March, after a session of seventy-three days, the Legislature of 1847 concluded its labors, and as the old capitol clock indicated the hour of twelve, our speaker arose from his seat and pronounced the House of Representatives dissolved, in terms so brief, so pointed and yet so affecting that I feel constrained to give you his own words, as follows:

"*Gentlemen of the House*—Your labors are closed, but before I perform the last duty of the chair, and dissolve forever the official relation which has so long united us, accept my warmest thanks for the kindness and courtesy I have at all times officially and personally received from the members of the House. If my attempts to meet worthily the responsibilities resulting from this relation have deserved the approbation you have been pleased to-day to bestow upon them, I am largely indebted for my success to the continued co-operation of the members of the House, and the efficient services of its able clerk. If they have failed to deserve it, the failure cannot, I trust, be traced to any fault of inattention. In discharging the duties of the chair I have ever endeavored to act unbiased by political or personal prejudice, and, although we have often differed in opinion and action, I assure you that on my part every feeling inconsistent with the warmest regard for each and all of you has vanished with the hour of its birth. We part, I trust, *friends*, and whatever my future lot, whether in public or private life, through every vicissitude of life, I shall look back to our association here with mingled gratitude and praise.

"And now farewell. You have all my fervent wishes for your future welfare and happiness,—and may your return to your respective homes and friends be as joyful as this, our parting, is sad. Once more I bid you one and all an affectionate adieu."

And now there was a hustling and bustling; a gathering up of journals, and a hasty shaking of hands, and it seemed as if the portraits of General Cass and Stevens T. Mason glanced down upon us from the walls with a tinge of sadness in their look.

And now, venerable old capitol, with thy moss grown roof, thy dingy walls and historic memories, we bid thee a long,—a last farewell. How little does the Michigan of to-day know how much she owes to thee!! It was within thy antique walls that our noblest principles received their impetus, and our proudest and grandest institutions had their birth. Our first and best State constitution was conceived and brought forth within thy walls,—an instrument which in its clear headed simplicity far surpasses the complicated and unwieldy constitution which hampers the courts and entangles the Legislatures of later years. It was that old constitution whose first sentence declares: "All political power is inherent in the people."

It was that which published to the world that "Every person has a right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of his own conscience." And last, but by no means least, it was within thy venerable walls that the soil of Michigan was dedicated to freedom, in the language of Article XI, which

declares that "Neither slavery or involuntary servitude shall ever be introduced into this State, except for the punishment of crimes of which the party shall have been duly convicted."

Here, too, was originated that proudest and grandest of all our institutions of learning, the State University, and here it received the fostering care of the State, "while yet the evil days come not," when, through a combination of quack doctors and quack legislators, it was prostituted to the dissemination of homeopathic nostrums and mustard seed pills.

It was fifty years last November since, a youthful wanderer, far away from my home in the Empire State, I stepped off the quivering deck of one of Lake Erie's staunchest steamboats, and first set foot on the soil of Michigan in a muddy street of Detroit. Happy to exchange the seething and sickening breath of the steam engine for the free air of this then far western Territory, I strolled back into the suburbs of the embryo "City of the Straits," where I first gazed upon the corinthian columns of the old State capitol. Little did I then think how grandly and nobly it was destined to be connected with the history of Michigan, and still less that my own history was ever to constitute a connecting link between it and Michigan's future greatness. But farewell old capitol,—thy walls have crumbled to dust, and the men whose voices once echoed within thy halls have mostly shared thy fate, and the few that remain are destined soon to follow.

"Sic transit Gloria Mundi."

Let us now turn our thoughts to the wilderness which then enshrouded the spot where we have this day assembled and contemplate the sombre silence which then brooded over the sullen waters of Grand river, whose dense overhanging forests excluded the rays of the noonday sun. The startled fawn gazed from the banks upon the wild fowl floating down the current, the bald eagle screamed from the overhanging buttonwood, and the wolf from the distant jungle gave response with a funereal howl. Here and there through the neighboring townships might have been seen half cut roadways, encumbered and obstructed by giant stumps and massive logs. Here and there might be seen a small clearing, with its shake-roofed cottage of logs to cheer the wayfaring traveler from the distance, but how often to disappoint him when he found it alone and tenantless. Looking in at the window he might see the rough floor made of unpolished split logs, the sodden ashes in the open fire place, the pole bedstead in the corner, and the cross-legged table in the floor. Turning his sad feet from the deserted window and elbowing his way among stumps and through mingled fire weeds and thistles, he explores the spot which was lately the emigrant's

home. Frightening the robin from her nest in the chinks of the log stable and the bluejay from the well sweep, he sacrilegiously stumbles upon a grave with roughly split slabs at the head and foot. Perhaps its proportions indicate that the master or the mistress of the household reposes beneath, or perhaps they are suggestive of budding infancy or blooming youth. And would you learn the history, go away beyond the waters of Lake Erie, where the decimated and disconsolate family have sought solace among former friends in their early home. Malarial fever, want of markets, want of mills, want of society and sympathizing friends, want of everything has driven them from the spot they had selected for their future home.

"They quit the scenes where strong temptations try,
And, since 'tis hard to combat, learn to fly."

But all were not gone. There were a few stout hearts and strong hands that remained,—and when the almost incredible news reached them that the State capitol was coming to their very doors, and they began to hear in the distance the scream of the locomotive and click of the telegraph, they took new courage and toiled on. Their friends who had deserted came back from the east, and the thousands followed, until "the wilderness literally became a fruitful field, and the desert literally blossomed as the rose." And now need you ask me why I toiled and voted for a capitol in the woods, when all these things had been foreshadowed to me while yet we sat in the old State capitol at Detroit? It was to galvanize life into the very heart of our wild and languishing State, at a time when we had no money to appropriate and I felt that the capitol was a "boom" worth untold millions. In this I have not been disappointed.

REMOVAL OF THE STATE CAPITOL FROM DETROIT.

BY A. L. WILLIAMS.

To the President and Members of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan:

Having received a communication from your Corresponding Secretary in March last, with an earnest solicitation of the Committee of Historians and

the Executive Committee, then in session, that I, with the aid of my brother, B. O. Williams, furnish a paper for the next annual meeting of your society, to be held in June, on "The removal of the Capitol from Detroit to Lansing," showing all the inside workings of that movement, as I understood them; how it was done; the competing points; their disappointments, and how the school section was saved to the State, etc., I seek to comply.

I beg to state that this communication reached me during a very severe illness, from which I am but just recovering, and I have not until now (the 10th of June) been able to promise such an undertaking; and what I may now say will be mostly from recollection, as I am not able to get out to examine legal documents. In giving what is termed in the foregoing communication "The inside workings of that movement," it will be necessary, in justice to myself and those coöperating with me in that movement, to go back a little and show the status of affairs at that time; as, also, certain events that caused me to take so conspicuous a part in the matter.

It will be remembered that Michigan was not admitted into the Union until 1837, although the State had in convention, two years previously, adopted a State constitution and established a State government, and put it in operation, and became a State in fact, though not a State in the Union. Under this constitution, Detroit was declared the seat of government (unless the Legislature should otherwise order) until 1847, when the Legislature should decide upon a permanent location. As the year 1847 drew near, the census of 1845 had been taken and published, showing the population of the State to be 296,489, of which 253,061 were in the three southern tiers of counties, while the next three tiers of counties (extending to the north line of Midland) contained but 42,490, leaving less than a thousand for all the rest of the State. Saginaw county at that time numbered only 920, and Bay county but 104.

We at the north saw this great disparity in the population between these counties, yet knew that great undeveloped wealth lay in the northern portion of the lower peninsula, in its salt springs, plaster beds, its magnificent forests of pine, oak and maple, and other valuable timber; saying nothing of the upper peninsula, with its extensive fisheries, copper mines and inexhaustible beds of rich iron ores, equaling in quality and richness any in the world; besides an area of rich agricultural lands, by far larger than were embraced in the three southern tiers of counties herein named; together with large navigable rivers and bays, ensuring commercial advantages not surpassed by any other portion of the State. As

apropos to this subject, I cannot refrain from quoting a paragraph from the Memoirs of De Tocqueville, of his tour through northern Michigan in 1831: "The wilderness was before us just as, six thousand years ago, it showed itself to the fathers of mankind. These are not more or less probable speculations of philosophy; the facts are as certain as if they had already taken place. In a few years these impenetrable forests will have been fallen; the sons of civilization and industry will break the silence of the Siganaw; its echoes will cease; the banks will be imprisoned by quays; its current, which now flows on unnoticed and tranquil through a nameless waste, will be stemmed by the prows of vessels. More than one hundred miles sever this solitude from the great European settlements; and we were perhaps the last travelers allowed to see its primitive grandeur, so strong is the impetus that urges the white man to the entire conquest of the new world." This change has already long since taken place, proving the correctness of his predictions.

We at the north knowing all this, and seeing the great disparity in the population between these two divisions of counties, were naturally induced to urge a postponement of this capitol question for ten years longer. This sentiment was received with favor, and soon became quite general and was strongly favored by the citizens of Detroit, who were quite willing that the capitol should remain there another ten years. And it seemed to be conceded all over the State that no change would be made at that time. In selecting Shiawassee county by myself and brother, B. O., in 1829, for our future and permanent home, we had an eye not only to a business (the Indian fur trade in connection with the American Fur Company) but, also, to a central and desirable location for a county seat; as, also, for the capitol of the State, when it should be established (counting "chickens" rather early for backwoods boys; one a minor and the other barely twenty-one, without a dollar except what they hoped to make by their own efforts). I had traversed the State in 1829 by Indian trails from Pontiac to Grand Rapids, thence south to Gull Prairie, where we found the first settlement, or road, thence through Kalamazoo, Round and White Pigeon prairies to South Bend, on the St. Joseph river, thence east through the counties of St. Joseph, Branch, and Lenawee, to Saline, Ypsilanti, and back to Pontiac. This, with similar excursions made in company with my brother (though of less extent), gave us a very good and general knowledge of the State; and before making our first purchases in 1831 I had assisted in the U. S. survey of several counties lying west and north of Shiawassee, which, with our business from 1831 to 1833, gave us a very thorough knowledge of the State.

We then purchased the land where Owosso now stands; which, it will be seen by reference to a map of the State, was on the line of the Michigan Northern Railroad, one of the three roads established by the State under the "General Improvement Act," and is eighty-seven miles from the south line of the State, eighty-four miles to the north line of Bay county, ninety to Port Huron, and one hundred and eight to Grand Haven—showing it to be central to this portion of the State, all of which seemed to favor a possible future location of the capitol at Owosso.

In 1844 it was ascertained that Shiawassee county was largely in debt, caused, as was supposed, by the mismanagement of its treasurer, who had held the office yearly from the organization of the county and had become rich and popular with a certain class of voters, who, it was claimed, he had aided with the county funds, and it had become most difficult to remove him. I was prevailed upon by my friends to accept the nomination for a single term, although I had great aversion to office of any kind. I was elected, and on entering upon the duties of my office soon discovered the "holes in the skimmer," showing an apparent balance due the county, from the treasurer, of about $16,000, a statement of which was submitted to the Auditor General, and approved by him.

In 1846 a State Senator was to be elected from this district; consisting of Oakland, Lapeer, Genesee, Saginaw and Shiawassee counties. The nomination in the Democatic party was conceded to Shiawassee county, and the universal sentiment of the district was that I should take the nomination, which, as the parties then stood, was equivalent to an election. If there was to be no action on the capitol question I certainly did not want the nomination (my friends believing there would be no change of the capitol under ten years), and as Mr. Andrew Parsons, of Corunna, a young and warm friend of mine, whom I had fostered and assisted to many official positions in the county, greatly desired the nomination, and as my services as treasurer were urged as a necessity, I consented to take the re-nomination for the treasurership and give over the senatorship to Parsons. He was elected, but before surrendering my claim to the nomination for senator I had a full understanding with him, that, in the event of an effort to change the capitol, he would stand by Owosso in its efforts to secure the location.

Hon. Horatio Seymour, of New York (afterwards Governor), a shrewd politician, owned the south part of section 9, town of Lansing, in Ingham county, on which he had built a log house and small saw-mill, which was also quite central to the counties before named. And I never had a doubt but that he made that location with a view to the capitol of the State.

Previous to the convening of the Legislature in 1847 Governor Seymour visited Parsons and had a long interview, to my knowledge, and it was said, had secured his influence in passing a bill for changing the capitol from Detroit to Lansing. A bill was said to have been drawn up and left with Parsons, to be presented in the House. At the proper time such a bill was presented, but by whom I cannot now say, not having access to the Legislative journal for that year. A vote was taken on it in the House and carried by a small majority; I think that most of the members from Wayne county voted for it. We, at Owosso, were somewhat surprised at the result and a meeting was immediately called to take action, resulting in appointing a committee of two (myself and E. C. Kimberly, of Corunna), with full power to take such measures as we thought best to counteract the movement, and to secure the location at Owosso, if possible. We went to Detroit and had a conference with Judge Sanford M. Green, Senator from Oakland, and others in the northeastern part of the State, who, with the citizens of Detroit, were, or soon became, in full accord with our movement.

It was decided to introduce a bill (as a substitute) in the Senate, fixing the location of the capitol in the township of Caledonia, in which the village of Corunna was situated, as also a part of the village of Owosso. A test vote was taken on this bill in the Senate, resulting in a majority of two for the bill—Parsons voting against it. The Senate at that time consisted of twenty-three members, but soon after the first vote one of our Senators (Mr. Witherby of Flint), died suddenly, leaving but twenty-two. The citizens of Corunna, aided by some citizens of Detroit, opposed this bill bitterly, and threatened to disown Parsons if he voted for our bill, and insisted upon inserting section 28 of Caledonia, being the section on which Corunna was located.

Here we stuck for about three weeks, having a tie vote on every test question. Mr. Parsons would not say positively how he would vote on the bill, on its final passage, but hoped we could get along without him. I don't think the stick with him was so much on account of Corunna's influence as that of Governor Seymour.

A day had been fixed for taking the vote. I spent an hour with Parsons at his room the evening prior. He seemed greatly troubled; I could get nothing definite from him, but he said he hoped I would be satisfied with the result. The next day came, and he was not in his seat. I went to his room about 11 o'clock A. M. He was very sick and vomiting. He said he could not possibly go to the capitol that day. He appeared as if under the operation of an emetic. The vote was taken, resulting in a majority of one

against us. I called at his room again about four P. M. and found him up and dressing, and said he felt better and was glad the thing was over and that his Corunna friends had gone home.

There was still a good deal of quiet figuring going on. In passing the door of Hon. Charles P. Bush's room, as I left Parsons, I heard a remark respecting a school section, which led me to suspect a move was on foot to purchase the school section in Lansing. I hastened back to my room at the National Hotel, where I found Judge A. N. Hart and Mr. Kimberly in waiting for me. I made known to them my suspicions and we soon decided to, at once, acquaint Governor Greenly of our suspicions, and advise him to lose no time in dispatching a messenger to the Commissioner of the Land office, then at Marshall, I think. He did so; and instructed the commissioner to withold the school section of Lansing from sale, and, I was afterward informed, that very soon thereafter an application was made by some of the Seymour parties to purchase that section. There were no telegraphs in those days.

I should have before stated that I had the full and constant assistance of Hon. A. N. Hart in my efforts, and who had promised his support to the Seymour bill when Owosso should have withdrawn from the contest; and, also, that we at Owosso had secured titles at a nominal price to about 1,600 acres of land in and adjacent to Owosso; one-half of which was to be donated to the State in case the capitol should be located there, besides four forty-acre lots within the present limits of the city, from which the State was to select one for the capitol buildings. I am not aware that any other competing point had been thus liberal.

The principal competing points were Detroit, Lansing, Owosso, Lyons, Jackson, and several others, mostly along the line of the Central Railroad. As to who suffered the greatest disappointment, I am unable to say. I felt that I had done my duty to my constituents and to this part of the State, and upon learning that I had been instrumental in saving the school section to the State, I considered myself well paid for all the efforts I had made. And I have since been informed that the school fund has realized over a hundred thousand dollars from that section.

This seems to cover the principal parts of the matter in which I was directly a participant, and also the points upon which your committee desired information.

LAKE SUPERIOR COUNTRY.

BY JOHN H. FORSTER.

The paper which I had the honor to submit on the Lake Superior country, at the last meeting of this society, brought us down to the winter of 1847. For the decade following I was employed on the west coast of America, so that you must look to others to fill the gap in the history of that country. In the memorable year 1857,—memorable for one of the worst panics that ever swept over the country, I returned to the copper mines, or rather to the Upper Peninsula. During that decade much progress had been made all along the south shore of Lake Superior. At the Sault Ste. Marie a tram-road had supplanted the old Indian trail and wagon road, only to make way in the year 1855 for the ship canal. But the completion of the canal seemed to be fatal to the growth and prosperity of the place. The golden harvest reaped from the trans-shipment of merchandise and minerals across the Portage, as well as that derived from the money expended in canal construction, ceased to enrich the inhabitants and furnish them employment. The natural resources of the town were exceedingly limited. The old industries of fishing and trapping had been neglected, and one of them, the fur trade, was destined never to revive. Consequently a large majority of the inhabitants emigrated, many of them in time becoming leading pioneers in the iron and copper fields further west. In short, the Sault fell from its ideal and boasted commerce, as the metropolis of Lake Superior, to a very dull village, with grass-grown streets and rotting wharves and warehouses. The troops stationed at Fort Brady had been withdrawn to Mexico with no promise of return. But few of the Anglo-Saxons remained, and the pleasantly situated village of the Falls was given up to lounging Indians and contented Frenchmen, who could laugh and grow fat on a diet of fish and potatoes; cheering their evenings with the violin and dancing.

Attracted by the salubrious climate and excellent fishing, tourists from the south enlivened the dull aspect every summer by their cheerful presence and full purses. I may here remark in passing, that within the last ten years,

the Sault has taken a new lease of life and is now a flourishing town. The agricultural resources of Chippewa county, of which the Sault is the county seat, have proved unexpectedly great. The lumbering interests, too, are of importance.

Between 1847 and 1857 the iron mines had been opened and developed to a considerable extent and the lake port and metropolis of that region, Marquette, had sprung into being with a promise of a great future,—now being realized. (The first steam railroad on the lake was built during this period, reaching from Marquette to the mines, for the ore traffic.)

Down to the end of the season of 1847, exploring and mining for copper had been the great absorbing pursuits engaging the attention of the pioneers. Explorations, as has been stated in my first paper, had been made in all the regions bordering the lake, but regular mining had been confined to Keweenaw Point, of which the famous "Cliff" was the chief exponent. But in 1847–8 the Ontonagon District came to the front as a producer of mass copper, the foremost mine being the celebrated Minesota. This mine was discovered by Mr. Samuel O. Knapp, who opened at a point where the so-called "Ancient Miners" had worked in pre-historic ages. One pit, opened by Mr. Knapp, is thus described by Professor Foster: "When he had penetrated to the depth of eighteen feet he came to a mass of native copper, ten feet long, three feet wide, and nearly two feet thick, and weighing over six tons. On digging round the mass, it was found to rest on billets of oak, supported by sleepers of the same material. The wood, from its long exposure to moisture, was dark-colored and had lost its consistency. It opposed no more resistance to a knife blade than so much peat. The earth was so firmly packed as to support the mass of copper. The ancient miners had evidently raised it about five feet and then abandoned the work as too laborious. The number of ancient (stone) hammers he took from this and other excavations exceeded ten cart loads. They were of green stone and porphyry boulders. Selecting a stone of the desired size and form, the ancient miner cut a groove, arched it so that it might be secured by a withe and thus wielded as a sledge hammer."

After this discovery the Ontonagon District speedily assumed such importance as to over-shadow the older Keweenaw District. The country was rapidly filled with enterprising people, and much eastern capital sought investment therein. The village of Ontonagon, on the lake shore, at the mouth of the river of the same name, grew apace and became, for a time, the leading town on the lake. The mines, situated in the interior, fourteen miles up the river, were reached first by the river in flat boats, but as the

river was shallow and difficult to navigate, a plank road was built direct to the mines. Rockland and other flourishing villages sprang up near the mines as adjuncts and trading places for the mine people. The success of the Minesota, Rockland, and National mines, all on the same lode and joining each other, caused new efforts to be made in mines opened interior to the Minesota, and upon which work for a time, between 1847 and 1849, had been suspended, or only feebly sustained. Indeed, there was a general revival of business and settlement in the country. The people were distinguished for intelligence, business capacity, and great hardihood. As pioneers they battled with the vigorous climate bravely, and with bold and dauntless courage attacked the dense forests, subdued them, and planted flourishing towns and villages, which possessed many of the advantages and characteristics of American settlements in more favored climes. They built a harbor at the mouth of the river without governmental aid and invited the commerce of the lakes to enter their safe and convenient port in the river. Mr. Cash and other far-sighted individuals cleared fields for agriculture. The soil of some parts of the county, owing to a proper admixture of clay, invited the farmer to enter upon a profitable industry. Lands in mining regions are generally thin and poor and unproductive. But where farm crops can be raised to advantage, the farmer always finds in mining regions quick sales with large profits.

Our Ontonagon people were industrious, prosperous, and somewhat proud, if not boastful, of their preëminence. Their prosperity continued for several years, but the final giving out of the mineral in their great mines checked growth and enterprise—indeed, caused a woful depression in business, with much poverty and distress. Many of the people, in fact, were compelled to seek more inviting fields, abandoning their cherished homes and cherished associations. But such is life in mining regions. The business being largely speculative, and the mines liable to impoverishment, there is always an element of uncertainty in it. The farm of broad acres, if properly cultivated and fed, will last for ages.

Leaving these people to go on working hopefully in their busy hive, we transfer our thoughts to that other and older hive on Keweenaw Point, some seventy or eighty miles northeast.

Here we find in 1860 the Cliff mine, grown to large dimensions, feeding a large village of miners and laborers, with broad, cultivated fields, open to the sun, and yielding grass, oats, potatoes and other root crops abundantly. A church or two, a school-house overflowing with children, nestle under the picturesque cliffs. A firm, macadamized road has been built to Eagle river.

Great masses of copper just hoisted from the deep mines astonish us on account of their purity and size. Masses of from four to eight tons weight, loaded on great groaning trucks, and hauled by from four to six yoke of oxen, go forward slowly down the smooth road to the shipping docks at Eagle river. To crown all the Cliff has become dividend paying, and its fortunate shareholders are becoming rich.

At several points in Keweenaw county, at this time, were several mines of great promise, some of them destined to become paying mines in the future; while others, less fortunate or less rich in mineral, seemed fated to exist for years only as they were fed by assessments derived from the stockholders. Profitable fruitage never came. Thus, while these two busy mining firms, located at opposite extremes of the copper range, occupied themselves industriously, if not always profitably, in their own affairs, a newer field began to attract attention. What is now known as the Portage Lake district was an area lying about midway between the Keweenaw and Ontonagon mines. Although Portage lake, dividing the trap range, had been navigated by the bark canoe and Mackinaw boats of explorers from the first settlement of the country, and some mining had been done as early as 1846 near its shores, yet no fissure veins, bearing mass copper, had been discovered, and, owing to the formation and peculiar deposits of copper in stamp lodes, never had been found. It was the common belief, without any just foundation, that stamp lodes would never pay. Mass veins, fissure veins, thus far, only had been remunerative, consequently fissure veins were the *sine qua non*; everybody blindly searched for them. Mining elsewhere was deemed a waste of energy and money. The proud owners of successful mines based on fissure veins viewed the stamp lodes of Portage with incredulity, if not contempt.

But there was one man in the district, living with his family in a log hut, among the Indians, at the mouth of Portage river, subsisting on fish and potatoes, trading in furs in winter, exploring on the range in summer; this man, with limited education and scanty knowledge of geology and mineralogy—having been a tin-peddler in New York State and a peddler of essences and nostrums in the West—this man, full of pioneer energy and courage, was an enthusiast. He believed in the value of the mineral resources of his beloved Portage. His waking thoughts, his midnight dreams, were all of this hidden wealth. He believed in it; he talked of nothing else. The burden of his song was ever: Portage, Portage! So it came to pass that when he visited the other districts, he was considered, what would be called in modern parlance, a *crank*. But this man never flinched, never bated one jot or tittle of his high faith in his own district. When opposed, he talked rapidly, in

language less choice than forcible, the while spitting tobacco juice with the vehemence of a small geyser. He went back to the woods and there, solitary and alone, like Old Mortality in a grave-yard, hunted for and found what afterward proved to be some of the richest copper deposits in the world. This man was Ransom Shelden, late of Houghton. He was justly called the father of the Portage Lake district. He was a true pioneer. He suffered incalculable hardships, was successful, became wealthy and lived long enough to see all his fond hopes and predictions realized in the growth and eminent position attained by his district as a copper producing region, with a reputation co-extensive with the civilized world. This old pioneer is now at rest; his remains are entombed in Forest Hill cemetery, Houghton, and a polished granite shaft, marking the spot, now looks down upon the busy scene of his early labors. He was greatly aided in his enterprises by his brother-in-law, Mr. C. C. Douglass, a prominent pioneer, now gone to his rest.

Aside from its great mineral wealth, the Portage Lake district enjoyed one advantage not possessed by the other districts. Portage Lake offered a water-way, navigable to the largest ships, the depth being sixty feet. This singular lake, narrow, deep, winding, and branching, occupied troughs cut through the solid rocky range, perhaps, by glaciers, thus opening to the mines, as effectually as an artificial channel could, on a grand scale, a water-way of incalculable advantage. But the outlet to this lake was Portage river, a small, crooked stream, five miles long. This, in its natural state, barred the entrance of large craft to the lake. In 1859, the mining companies, aided by Shelden and Douglass, organized the Portage River Improvement Company, raised the necessary funds, and proceeded to widen and deepen the river by dredging, building a breakwater at the mouth of the dredged channel, where it entered Lake Superior. The work was done by contract; W. W. Williams, of New York, was the contractor, and John H. Forster the engineer. In June, 1860, the work was so far advanced that the engineer was enabled to pilot a small propeller from Detroit, named, I think, "Detroit," up to the wharves of Houghton and Hancock. Great was the rejoicing of the inhabitants; fierce and loud the shrieking of stamp mills whistles, as the boat hove in sight. It was a gala day at Portage; a new era was inaugurated. Mr. S. L. Smith, now of Lansing, made the speech of welcome.

Previous to this all steamers from the lower lakes came to anchor in the roadstead off the mouth of Portage river. Freight was discharged into scows, which were towed into the river and up to the mines by small tugs. During the season of storms, several days were sometimes required to dis-

charge a steamer, for, if a storm arose, the steamer was obliged to cut and run for L'Anse for shelter, returning after the storm had subsided. The cost, delay, and damage occasioned by this transfer was enormous and became intolerable to business men. Hence came the Portage River Improvement. Passengers were subject to like detentions. There were no means of communicating with the entry only by small boat or tug. On land a dense wilderness of trees and swamps intervened. The date of the arrival or departure of steamers from the lower lakes was uncertain. So the Houghton man had to go at a venture; when he arrived at the entry there was often no boat, or one had just departed. He was in for several days' waiting. His only shelter was a log house, his food of the roughest kind, his bed a pair of blankets spread on a floor, in the midst of filth and vermin. The mosquitoes and black flies tormented him day and night. His only amusement was playing cards and drinking bad whisky with his unfortunate fellow travelers.

Meantime, Houghton and its new rival, Hancock, were growing apace. On one day a tract would be cleared of trees and on the next day a house would be begun thereon. Adjustment of town plats came later. These villages were essentially mining camps. Saloons and places of amusement were most common. The good citizen had to be content with a log cabin, or shingle palace, the material for which came wet from the green log. Society was in a rude, primitive state. The population was composed of Cornishmen, Irish, and Germans. A few of the leading men, merchants and mine managers, were of American origin. The saloons were open night and day, including Sunday. There was much drinking, much blasphemy, much fighting. The Cornishman hated the Irishman. They were inveterate enemies; their feuds were endless. At times the opposing factions would muster in force, attacking with clubs and stones. There were many broken heads, crippled legs, with occasional manslaughter. The law officers were powerless and the peaceful citizen could only hide himself in his house till the storm blew over. It was much worse in every way in winter, when the people were completely isolated, with no possibility of aid or protection from outside communities. *Then* the roughs, maddened with whisky, ruled the roost; they indulged in strikes, in the agreeable pastime of beating and maiming friend or foe, with threatened arson and downright murder. During the first two years of the war on the Union, in winter, Portage was a veritable pandemonium, where all the bad passions of embruted and lawless human nature had full swing. The steady citizen and mine managers had a hard time of it. They carried arms and were ever in jeopardy

of life and property. For better protection, in 1862–3 secret societies were formed, muskets were procured from the State, and squads of mine officers were nightly drilled in private upper rooms. But the facts leaked out and the roughs were intimidated. No actual conflict took place between these drilled men and outsiders.

When the war on the Union became a dead certainty the new and struggling mine industries of Portage Lake seemed destined to destruction. It was predicted that the mines must close down because there would be no market for copper. Short-sighted fear! The demand for copper soon became imperative; the ordnance department wanted all and more than could be produced. The production was thereby greatly stimulated; the mines were pushed to their utmost capacity, and general prosperity came rolling in. Mine dividends came as a new and encouraging feature, and before the war was over copper had gone up in price from 17 cents to 50 cents per pound. With all these factors at work, it would be strange if our mining towns did not prosper. Hancock, from a mere hamlet in 1860, soon out-ranked Houghton in population and business; the country was filled up with people who were not miners. This new element had a conservative influence in the community; checking lawlessness. The church and the school-house, everywhere seen, had their proper influence too.

Soon after the war began it became apparent that there would be a dearth of miners. It came, and the demand for mining men could not be supplied. Wages ran up in consequence to an unheard of price; common miners, who had been receiving thirty or forty dollars per month, now thought one hundred dollars too little. To meet requirements as to labor, the mining companies joined hands and raised a fund of $90,000 and sent paid agents to Sweden and Norway to procure miners. Several hundred men, under written contract to work for the companies, at good wages, for a specified time, i. e., until they should have paid the expense of bringing them to the country, were brought over and distributed, pro rata, over the mines. But quite a number, more than a majority, of these contract men, refused to work or reimburse their passage money. They were not slaves, they said, their importation was a fraud; it was true they desired to come to America, but now they were here they would not work; the companies might whistle. They were given up as a bad lot; but as the country had to fill its quota under the draft, these scalawags were induced to enlist with a bounty of $300 each offered. They filled the places of better men and were thus of some service. But that costly experiment of importing labor from Europe, at company expense, was never repeated.

The mines of the Portage district are based on stamp lodes, or belts. That is to say, the copper found in the vein stone is, as a rule, fine, like bird shot, or buckshot, not massive, and so intimately blended with the rock that large stamp mills are required for the treatment of the output of these mines. Hence tram-roads, extensive hoisting machinery and great stamp mills are the peculiar characteristics of the Portage mines. Herein they differ from the mass producing mines of other districts. At first grave doubts were entertained as to the success of stamp copper mines. But, all doubts have been set at rest. More than that, we now see purely stamp lodes, giving the richest outpouring of wealth of any copper mines under the sun. The Calumet and Hecla mines have no rivals. Thus, step by step, did the pioneer of Lake Superior have to feel his way. Almost every condition of his mining field was new and untried. The magnificent mining machinery and copper smelting works now operating in our northern mines, is, much of it, the creation of native genius, under the spur of necessity. In the mines, as elsewhere, the American citizen possessed the happy faculty of adapting himself to circumstances, or of bending circumstances to his own use. He had a firm grasp and soon came to manage great mines successfully, although his previous pursuits had been of a widely different character.

This busy community, with so many wants and necessities, so dependent on other sections for bread and meat, clothing and mine supplies, was, down to the year 1864, totally isolated during the winter season. There were no roads out of the country. The mails were hauled through the woods, from Green Bay, on dog trains. The latest news from the seat of war came by dog express. The local roads were poor and a wagon could be hauled only a few miles in any direction from the chief centres. Foot paths and bridle trails were the only avenues through the forests for long distances. Snow-shoeing was the common thing for the foot passenger to do in winter. The deep snows rendered only well beaten and often-traveled roads at all useful, so that pleasure sleighing parties were confined to the village or beaten and worked tracks on the lake. The turnouts, somehow, were disagreeable. The common way to pass was for each teamster to plunge into the snow and break a road for his horse, leading him through the frozen flood. With six feet of snow and the thermometer 30° below zero, or worse still, 40° above and the snow saturated with its melting self, one can imagine, not describe, the beauties of such a bath.

This isolation, so far as supplies were involved, had to be provided against with great care and circumspection, in the fall, before the close of naviga-

tion. A heavy cash capital was used as a purchasing power. A failure in the supply of flour, pork, powder, steel or any other necessity, occasioned by the wreckage of even one vessel, was a calamity without remedy. Such a failure might involve a suspension of mining, starvation, or emigration of a portion of the able-bodied men to regions of plenty beyond the wilderness. Such fresh meats as were to be had during winter were imported in the last vessels of the season, in a frozen condition, remaining frozen till used. Before spring—frozen beef carcasses were about as choice eating as the frozen elephants found in the ice drifts of northern Siberia. But in the climate of Lake Superior digestion is always good, especially in winter.

The society which our lake pioneers made for themselves was altogether enjoyable. They were shut out from the gay world; they had to depend upon themselves. Those were not white kid glove days; claw-hammer coats were not known. The ladies were educated and refined; they were plainly dressed in calico, or plain silks, while the gentlemen wore business suits, often belted at the waist with a red scarf, their undergarments being red or blue flannel; feet encased in moccasins or shoe packs. Health and comfort were the first considerations. Card parties and dancing parties were always in order. Concerts and lectures were also in vogue. There being few if any public halls, entertainments were held at private houses. Friendships were sincere and charity abounded. These pioneers were generous and their great benevolence reached out cheerfully to the poor and needy, in remotest corners.

Down to the year 1865, the upper peninsula had no resident judge. The district or circuit judge resided in Detroit and only visited the upper peninsula in the summer. He was attended by a number of lawyers from Detroit and other towns, who acted as attorneys and advocates in the business which came before this perambulating court. The court and retinue, while attending to business, were benefited by the salubrious air of the lake, went a fishing, dined out, in short, enjoyed a luxurious vacation. They gathered in most of the shekels to be had in the law practice of that country. This system was unpopular, for it prevented the settlement in the country of good lawyers, or impoverished those who had cast their lot in with us, and the great commercial and mining interests had to go half the year without counsel. In criminal cases it was still worse, for a man arrested in October, for supposed crime, remained in jail, a county charge, until the following June. If the prisoner was innocent, the hardship of the case was aggravated. Therefore at the session of the Legislature of 1864-5, the people of the

upper peninsula, instructed their senator and representatives to bring in a bill for a new district, with a resident judge. This bill became a law and Judge Eddy was elected at the spring election. The law was beneficent; under it, resident lawyers were encouraged and others were invited to practice; to bring their families and settle down as citizens and interested neighbors.

It was a long time before the law makers of the lower peninsula could rise to the sublime height of viewing the upper peninsula as equally a part of the commonwealth of Michigan, and not an out-of-the-way province too near the north pole to be of any political or social importance.

Just twenty years ago bills for a mining school and branch State prison in the upper peninsula were introduced and advocated in vain. To-day, by acts of the present Legislature, the people of Lake Superior are enabled to rejoice in the consummation of hopes long deferred. Twenty years ago the writer of this paper represented the thirty-second, or the then Lake Superior district, on the floor of the Senate; to-day he is happy in being numbered as one of the board of control of the Mining school of Michigan.

THE IRON REGION OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

BY PETER WHITE, OF MARQUETTE.

The pioneer history of the upper peninsula of Michigan naturally divides itself into two portions,—the settlement and development of the so-called copper region, and that of the iron region; the settlement of the former preceded that of the latter by a few years and naturally received your first consideration. A year ago Col. Jno. H. Forster addressed you on this subject. I may not be able to describe the settlement of the iron region in the same interesting and satisfactory manner, but I obey your request, and crave your indulgence if, in describing the events which cover the scene and the period of my life ever since boyhood, there should appear to be too much personal narrative in respect to occurrences, "all of which I saw and part of which I was."

It is an interesting historical fact that at the time Michigan was admitted

into the Union as a State, the reception of the upper peninsula as a compensation for the enforced cession to Ohio of the tract on the southern boundary (which occasioned what is known as the Toledo war), was regarded with intense dissatisfaction by the inhabitants of the Territory. The State Gazetteer of that day spoke of the upper peninsula as "A wild and comparatively Scandinavian tract,—20,000 square miles of howling wilderness on the shores of Lake Superior,—and in one of the Toledo war songs of the same period, the poet says:

> "But now the song they sing to us
> Is—trade away that land,
> For that poor, frozen country,
> Beyond Lake Michigan."

The first territorial convention refused to ratify the Enabling Act of Congress of January 26, 1837, which *imposed* the upper peninsula upon the new State; and had they continued of the same mind, these annals would have fallen in the lines of some other Pioneer Society than that of Michigan. But Governor Mason, and a few others who agreed with him, persuaded the people to call a new convention and consent to the Enabling Act, as passed, mainly because the State would then obtain a share of the U. S. surplus revenue, and five per cent. on certain public land sales which amounted in the aggregate to some $600,000. This trifling inducement of $600,000 did the business. Michigan was persuaded to put her pride in her pocket, to accept her boundaries, and to take the *despised* upper peninsula to her bosom.

The existence of valuable copper mines along Lake Superior had long been known. The narratives of the Jesuit Fathers during the seventeenth century make frequent mention of them, and they have also been noticed by several travelers in the last century. The copper of Lake Superior occurs in the form of metallic copper, which can be hammered, sharpened and hardened, and hundreds of years before our period, extensive mining developments had been made at many points along the range by rude races whose metallurgical knowledge did not extend to the smelting of iron from its ores. With their stone hammers they beat out pieces of copper for arrow heads and knives from the rocky veins, which they softened by building fires over or against them, but the iron ores were no more interesting or valuable to them than any of the other rocks of the country. Thus it happened that there was no antecedent knowledge of the iron deposits of the upper peninsula derived from Indian tradition or the observation of early travelers. The first knowledge of them was obtained from the U. S. government surveyors in 1844. In the summer of that year the late Dr.

Douglass Houghton, whose memory is deeply reverenced throughout the region, where were his latest labors and where he lost his life, was engaged in the linear survey of this portion of the upper peninsula. The late Mr. Wm. A. Burt, deputy surveyor under him, was running the township lines in Marquette county, and on the 18th of September encamped, with his party, at the east end of Teal Lake. Mr. Jacob Houghton was a member of that party, and gives the following account of the first discovery of Lake Superior iron ore:

"On the morning of the 19th of September, 1844, we started to run the line south between ranges 26 and 27. As soon as we reached the hill to the south of the lake, the compassman began to notice the fluctuation in the variation of the magnetic needle. We were of course using the solar compass, of which Mr. Burt was the inventor, and I shall never forget the excitement of the old gentleman, when viewing the changes of the variation, the needle not actually traversing alike in any two places. He kept changing his position to take observations, all the time saying, 'How would they survey this country without my compass?' 'What could be done here without my compass?' It was the full and complete realization of what he had foreseen when struggling through the first stages of his invention. At length the compassman called for us all to 'come and see a variation which will beat them all.' As we looked at the instrument, to our astonishment, the north end of the needle was traversing a few degrees to the south of west. Mr. Burt called out, 'Boys, look around and see what you can find!' We all left the line, some going to the east, some going to the west, and all of us returned with specimens of iron ore, mostly gathered from out-crops. This was along the first mile from Teal Lake. We carried out all the specimens we could conveniently. Hon. J. N. Mellen, of Romeo, Michigan, who was one of the party, has still in his possession one of the specimens found that day."

These ores to-day make nearly one-third of all the iron produced in the United States. This was eleven years before the building of the first canal at Sault Ste. Marie. The transportation of the iron ore to the coal fields of Ohio and Pennsylvania would then have been impracticable, and had not yet occurred to anybody. Thus it happened that the first attempt to utilize these deposits were by making blooms from the ore in forges with charcoal. The first of these forges was built by the Jackson Iron Company on the Carp river, three miles east of Negaunee, in 1847. This company was organized at Jackson, Michigan, in June, 1845, for the purpose of exploring the mineral regions on the south shore of Lake Superior, and dispatched an expedition to Lake Superior, under the charge of Mr. P. M. Everett, during the

summer of that year. They located a War Department permit on section 1, town 47 N., range 27 W., which they subsequently purchased of the United States government. This was the first iron location to be developed, and it became an exceedingly valuable and productive mine. The following extract of a letter from Mr. Everett, written after his return to Jackson in the autumn of 1845, may be of interest:

"I took four men with me from Jackson, and hired a guide at the Sault, where I bought a boat and coasted up the lake to Copper Harbor, which is over three hundred miles from Sault Ste. Marie. There are no white men on Lake Superior except those who go there for mining purposes. We incurred many dangers and hardships; we made several locations, one of which we called Iron at the time. It is a mountain of solid iron ore, one hundred and fifty feet high. The ore looks as bright as a bar of iron just broken. Since coming home we have had some of it smelted, and find that it produces iron and something resembling gold; some say it is gold and copper. Our location is one mile square, and we shall send a company of men up in the spring to begin operations. Our company is called the Jackson mining company."

In the following year, 1846, another expedition was fitted out by the Jackson Iron Company, in charge of Mr. A. V. Berry, to make further explorations. The following extract from a letter from Mr. Berry describes his experience, and its conclusion relates a fate which has befallen many another pioneer. He says: "I found our location much beyond what I had anticipated. After spending twelve days in the woods exploring the surrounding country, including what was afterwards known as the Cleveland location, and building what was called a house, we returned to the mouth of the Carp with three hundred pounds of ore on our backs. We there divided—one party was left to keep possession of the location and another went farther up the lake to use the remaining permits, while I returned to the Sault with the ore. On arriving at Jackson we endeavored on two occasions to smelt the ore which I had brought down, in our common cupola furnaces, but failed entirely. In August of the same year Mr. Olds of Coo Cush Prairie, who owned a forge, succeeded in making a fine bar of iron from our ore in a blacksmith's fire—*the first iron ever made from Lake Superior ore.* In the winter of 1846-7 we began to get up at Jackson a bellows and other machinery for constructing a forge at the Carp; and in the summer of 1847 a company of men commenced building the same and continued until March, 1848, when a freshet carried away the dam. The association was then (1848) merged into an incorporated company—*by some means the pioneers in the enterprise are now all out.*"

The first iron made in the first forge was on the 10th of February, 1848, by forgeman Ariel N. Barney, who also established the first hotel in the village of Marquette, and was one of its first justices of the peace. The forge was a primitive affair. The power was supplied by the Carp river, across which a dam eighteen feet high was built. There were eight fires, from each of which a lump was taken every six hours, placed under the hammer, and forged into blooms, four inches square and two feet long, the daily product being about three tons. It required two six-horse teams to draw this product to the lake shore, over a wretched road. The Jackson forge was finally abandoned in 1854, after having steadily lost money for its owners and several successive lessees. The next forge to be built was that of the Marquette Iron Company. Its building was the beginning of the city of Marquette. In the winter of 1848 the late Robert J. Graveract, who had acquired some iron lands and leases, visited Worcester, Mass., and in connection with Mr. Edward Clark, enlisted Mr. Amos R. Harlow in the enterprise. Mr. Harlow, who was the owner of a machine shop, constructed and purchased the necessary machinery for the projected works, and in the spring of 1849 shipped the whole to Lake Superior, following with his family a few months later. That spring, where is now Marquette, there was no sign of a human habitation, save one or two Indian huts and a small log warehouse belonging to the Jackson Iron Company.

Your narrator, then a boy of nineteen, had landed on the beach a few weeks before Mr. Harlow's arrival. I had made one ineffectual attempt, shortly after the first excitement over the discoveries of copper in 1845, to go up to Lake Superior, which had gained a great hold on the imagination of the boys of that day. I got as far as the Sault, and endeavored, without success, to get passage by the little schooner "Merchant," which was the only craft just then going up the lake. I had no money, and they would not let me work my way. Had I got passage, it is safe to say, some one else would be giving you this narrative to-day. The schooner was never heard of afterwards; she went to the bottom, with all on board. The second time I had better luck. I joined a party, under the lead of the late Robert J. Graveract, which set out from Mackinac in April, 1849, on the old steamer, "Tecumseh," with the intention of claiming and developing all the iron mountains which had then been, or should subsequently be, discovered in that region. At Sault Ste. Marie, we succeeded in crowding our large Mackinac barge up the rapids, and after eight days' rowing, towing, poling and sailing, we landed at what was then called Indian town, near the present site of the freight station of the D., M. & M. R. R., in the city of Marquette. The next morning we started for the much-talked-of iron hills.

At the Cleveland mountain we found Capt. Samuel Moody and John H. Mann, who had spent the previous summer and winter there. I well remember how astonished I was the next morning, when Captain Moody asked me to go with him to dig some potatoes for breakfast. He had half an acre on the summit of the hill, since known as the Marquette Company's Mountain, partially cleared and planted with potatoes. This was in the month of May, and the winter's snow had preserved them. He opened one or two hills and filled his pail with large and perfectly sound potatoes. He then said: "I may as well pull up a few parsnips and carrots for dinner, to save coming up again;" and sure enough he had them in abundance. From this time till the 10th of July we kept possession of all the iron mountains then known west of the Jackson, fighting mosquitoes at night and black flies through the day. On the 10th of July we returned to the lake shore.

Mr. Harlow had arrived with mechanics, goods, lots of money, and what was better than all, we got a glimpse of some female faces. At one o'clock of that day we commenced clearing the site of the present city of Marquette. We began by chopping off the trees and brush at the point of the rocks just south of the Cleveland ore docks. We cut the trees close to the ground and threw them bodily over the bank on to the lake shore; then, under the direction of Captain Moody, we began the construction of a dock, which we thought would stand like the pyramids. We did this by carrying these whole trees into the water and piling them in tiers crosswise, until the pile was even with the surface of the water. Then we wheeled sand and gravel upon it, and by the end of the second day had completed the structure upon which we looked with no little pride. The eastward, or outer, end was solid rock and all inside that was solid dirt, brush and leaves. We thought it would last as long as the adjacent beach itself. On the third day we continued to improve it by corduroying the surface, and by night of that day it was, in our eyes, a thing of beauty to behold. Our chagrin may be imagined when, on rising the next morning, we found that a gentle sea had come in during the night and wafted our dock to parts unknown. The sand of the beach was as clean and smooth as if it had never been disturbed by the hand of man. It was a long time before anyone had the hardihood to attempt the building of another dock. The propellers would come to anchor sometimes as far as two miles from shore, and freight and passengers were landed in small boats. Cattle and horses were pitched overboard and made to swim ashore.

The boiler for the Marquette forge was plugged, heaved overboard three miles out, and towed ashore. Your narrator has a vivid recollection of that boiler, which he took a contract to fill, after it was placed, for a dollar and

a half. It required nearly four days' hard work with two pails and a yoke. This was the first steam boiler introduced into Marquette county. During the ensuing winter and spring (of 1850) the original Jackson Company had exhausted both its capital and credit, the Marquette Company's forge was now finished, and the Marquette Company entered upon the process of exhausting theirs. Their forge was burned early in 1853. These early developments in Marquette county were never stimulated or encouraged, by any return upon any capital invested, in any single instance until 1863. It was all a work of faith and perseverance, founded upon intuitions which were sound and sure, but which it took twenty years to realize. Meanwhile man after man and company after company cast all he had into the gulf which time only could fill. Those days were days of hardships to the early settlers.

Marquette, in 1851-3, consisted of a few houses, a stumpy road winding along the lake shore; a forge which burned up after impoverishing its first owners; a trail westward, just passable for wagons, leading to another forge (still more unfortunate in that it did not burn), and to the developed iron hills beyond, with two or three hundred people uncertain of the future,—they had fallen into the march of the century and were building better than they knew.

Among the privations of those days which did not involve actual suffering was the great uncertainty and infrequency of the mails. During the earlier years of the settlement of Lake Superior copper and iron regions, the government provided no mail transportation except a monthly mail to such military posts as Copper Harbor and Sault Ste. Marie. During the season of navigation the steamers and sail vessels usually carried a mail to such parts as they entered. But this was without compensation, and it was often the case that the postmaster at Sault Ste. Marie forgot, or for some other reason, failed to put it on; then great was the disappointment at all the lake ports on the arrival of a mail-less craft. You who have always lived in a country provided with frequent and regular mails can but feebly appreciate what it is to live for months in a distant part of the country where few or no mail facilities are enjoyed. It is a subject almost as important to most people as food and raiment. The most ignorant or the illiterate, and the poorest of the poor have letters written for them, and to themselves, and enjoy receiving letters from far off friends with intense delight. From 1848 to 1854 Marquette county was one of the isolated places that the Government did not think it worth while to provide with winter mail facilities, and keenly was this deprivation felt by the people then living there. By hook or by crook the people managed to get a mail once in a

while,—but I have known intervals of three or four months at a time when no mail, or letter, paper or news of any kind was received by anyone in the county. Then when a mail did arrive all work was suspended,—even the cooking and the washing,—until the letters could be read or devoured! In those years I had more or less (personally) to do with the getting or the carrying of the mails,—sometimes with dogs, sometimes with Indians, and sometimes on my own back I brought in the mail-bags. Often traveling through the woods, and over deep snow on snow-shoes, hundreds—I might almost say thousands of miles, and I would not like to do it again! Neither would I like to have another person so punished. In this connection I will tell you of an incident that happened to me some years later:

In all counties where wood-chopping or charcoal burning is carried on, you will find the Canadian Frenchman. So they came to Marquette in great numbers; many of them could not read and write, but still the sweet consolation they derived from receiving letters from friends in Canada or New York State was unmistakable. Many of them actually thought that I went to Montreal or Quebec or New York State to get their letters; they couldn't see how else I could appear with them there. Thus it was that I was made the subject of many a legend, among the Frenchmen and their families, during the years that followed, wherein dogs, sledges, snow-shoes, woods, wolves and other animals of the forest went to make up the hodge-podge. Even in later years, when the government did provide for a mail, there would always be certain months when its transportation would be impossible, owing to the depth and softness of the snow. This would occur in March and April, and sometimes, the first half of May. It was during one of those years that I was postmaster at Marquette. One night a steamer arrived (the first boat of the season), bringing the accumulated mail of two months or more, and it was very large. I had taken it to my office and was distributing it as expeditiously as possible, by lamp or candlelight. My postoffice was very small, in the rear end of a store, with only room enough for a small table, a chair and a place for a mail bag, twenty-four alphabetical mail boxes on my right, and forty-eight 8x10 boxes to rent. I was standing, emptying the mail from the bags, on to the table, then distributing the letters and papers into the proper boxes, so as to be ready for the eager crowd that would come for mail after six o'clock in the morning. Then it was that I heard steps approaching through the store towards the postoffice. I looked, to behold Michael Belloin, a tall and very powerful Frenchman. It was apparent that he had been buying some of the wet goods on the steamer, for he staggered towards me, saying: "You got any lette for Micho, Monsieur Pete ?" I answered, "The mail is not yet open, you will have to

come in the morning," whereupon, he said, "I guess I will come into your little poss offis and sit on dat little chair, and see you put dose paper and dose lette in that box." Suiting the action to the word, he undertook to enter the narrow door, when I exclaimed, "There isn't room for you, it is against the law, you *cannot* come in!" "Oh, ho, what you spose I care for de law or you neder. I will come in anyhow. *You* can't stop me." As he lifted one foot to step over a mail bag at the door I gave him a quick push which caused him to fall backwards to the floor, and very much enraged him. Arising he paced backward and forward across the store floor, outside of my office, grating his teeth and clenching his fists, calling me all manner of names in French, and uttering all sorts of imprecations and epithets. At last, finding that I did not pay any attention to him, he stopped in front of the little door and delivered himself about thus: "You want to preten you don stan French. Mon dieu, you can't talk good Linglish; you're jus a half a breed, half French and half Injin. I know wat you want; you want me to strike you, then you bring me on de justis offis to-morrow morning and make me pay five dollar! Aha! you can't fool Frenchman lika dat. You come on to de street if you want me to strike you. If I strike you I won't leave two *greas spot* on you. If I strike you, you'll tink it is a French horse kick you! You see dat spit down dere? The sun he come, he dry it up, dat's jus like you. If I strike you you can't fine yourself no more. You wouldn't know where you gone to. I come to your poss offis to quire for some lette, and I hax you jus so polite I can, if you got any lette for Micho, and you say *get out.* Ain't you shame yourself; don't you sorry you treat me dat way? I'll goin to tell you something make you sorry you say so cross to me. I tink I'll make you face come red. Some Frenchmen been come here good many year ago, he ben tole me dat you use to carry de mail on your *back,* and a pack on your back, a hax in your hand, snow-shoe on your feet, and sometime tree *poor* little dog on a train, draw de mail tru de woods, and your tree little dog was so poor you could see right true him, coz you was so dam poor you didn have money to buy provision for dat dog. Now you got to be the poss offis master, and you tink you are de biggest big bug on dis town. And when I come to your poss offis, jus so polite I can, and hax you you got any lette for Micho? you say 'get out dar' like one dam dog! I like to know if dats de way to treat a gentleman. I gues you did'n tot dat I know I could tell you all dat! You tink now you're biggest big bug on this whole town."

But better times were in store for us. A ship canal at Sault Ste. Marie and a railroad to the mines were in the near future. The shipping or

exportation of iron ore in either large or small quantities had not entered into the ideas or plans of the earliest settlers in the country; their only thought was to manufacture either bar or bloom iron which could bear the cost of many handlings—particularly the very costly transportation over the portage at Sault Ste. Marie. The realization of the ship canal project at the Sault transformed the existing dream of a railroad from Marquette to the iron mountains into a certainty. In August, 1852, Congress passed an act granting to the State of Michigan 750,000 acres of land, to be located within the State, for the purpose of aiding in the construction and completion of a ship canal around the falls of Ste. Marie. This was largely due to the persevering efforts of Mr. John Burt, of Detroit. At this juncture Mr. Charles T. Harvey rendered valuable service in inducing the right men to go in and furnish the capital to carry out what was universally considered to be a work of enormous magnitude, surrounded by unfavorable circumstances, and in the way of whose successful termination and inauguration almost insuperable obstacles lay. The names of the men who backed Mr. Harvey with capital and encouragement in the construction of the canal deserve to be enrolled in the archives of this association, and I am proud to mention them here for that purpose. They were: John F. Seymore, Erastus Corning, James F. Joy, J. W. Brooks, J. V. L. Pruyn, Joseph P. Fairbanks, and John M. Forbes. These names are well known and have been recognized in very many large and honest enterprises in different quarters of the United States during the past forty years. The land was selected about one-third in the upper and two-thirds in the lower peninsula. The total cost of the construction of the canal was $1,000,000. Mr. John Burt, of Detroit, who had rendered important services in various ways during the construction of the canal, was, at its completion, appointed its first superintendent.

Many other persons, all of whose names I cannot recall, were personally instrumental in promoting the building of the canal, among these should be mentioned: Judge Wm. A. Burt, the father of Mr. John Burt; Captain Canfield, of the United States Topographical Corps; Mr. J. W. Brooks, D. M. L. Hewitt, and the late Heman B. Ely. The canal proved equal to all expectations in its workings for several years, but later on the vast increase of commerce made it necessary to use larger lake craft, drawing a greater depth of water than this canal would accommodate, and the State of Michigan was induced to spend some part of the earnings of the canal on its enlargement, but all that was done in this way was so manifestly inadequate that Congress was again successfully appealed to and asked to make a cash

appropriation on the score of its being a great national work on the national frontier. The general government has made repeated appropriations which have been expended under the skillful direction of General Weitzel and General O. M. Poe, until the locks are now the largest and most perfect and durable structures of the kind in the world. I might say in closing my reference to the canal that the State of Michigan, under the advice of Governor Jerome, very wisely transferred its title and interest, with the care and management of the canal, to the United States. Congress has by public act accepted the trust and has since made this great national highway free to the commerce of the world.

The first railroad projected and completed in all the vast domain known as the upper peninsula was the Iron Mountain Railroad, from Marquette to the iron mines, whose first terminus was on the present site of the city of Ishpeming. In 1852 the late Mr. Heman B. Ely caused a preliminary survey to be made for this road. At that time there was no general railroad law, and at the request of the people of the district, Mr. Ely accepted the office of representative in the State Legislature in order that he might procure the enactment of such a law. The original general Railroad Act, which was passed by the Legislature and approved February 5, 1855, was drawn, introduced and its passage advocated by Hon. Heman B. Ely. This accomplished, Mr. Ely at once organized a railroad company and commenced the construction in the early spring of 1855. His brothers, George H. and Samuel P. Ely, had given him material aid up to 1855, when he prosecuted the work as an individual enterprise, now joined with other friends, among whom were Jos. S. Fay, Lewis H. Morgan, Edward Parsons, and John Burt, in the organization of the Iron Mountain Railroad Company. The starting and carrying on of an enterprise of such magnitude at that early day, so far from a base of supplies, together with a scarcity of labor and the many other difficulties, was a work requiring more pluck, skill and capital than the canal which I have just described to you. The grades were heavy—rock cutting very extensive, bottomless swamps to cross, with fills numerous and difficult to make. And to add to the numberless obstacles and annoyances, the severe winters of those days came with deep snows and extreme frosts, while the summer season brought overwhelming swarms of black flies, gnats and mosquitoes. The road was not fully completed and equipped for business until the year 1857.

Mr. H. B. Ely, to whose clear foresight and indefatigable energy the origin and success of this railroad enterprise was almost wholly due, and to whom the general interest of the Lake Superior country, as well as the State of Michigan at large, became in many ways greatly indebted, died

in Marquette, in October, 1856, half a year before the work he had so zealously labored upon was fully completed. Mr. Heman B. Ely was a man of prophetic insight, who saw even at that early day the future growth and greatness of the iron region. All the development and prosperity of the present day is but the realization of his confident expectations and predictions. All the impediments and obstructions in the pathway to triumphant success counted for nothing. He was the friend of the poor and the champion of the unfortunate. He was no respecter of persons, but courteous and just to all. His courage and determination were appreciated and admired; he was always dignified, but never haughty. He was the first man in Marquette county to erect the liberty pole, the first possessor of a flag—the stars and stripes,—and the first to deliver a Fourth of July oration.

Our first celebration of Independence Day was conducted by him, July 4, 1855, and on that day he spread a bounteous repast before every man, woman, and child in Marquette county. Everyone was invited, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition. The St. Mary canal had been completed, and the large steamers from the lower lakes had successfully passed through to Lake Superior, and appeared in our harbor only a few days before this celebration; so Mr. Ely called upon all the people to come to the feast which he had provided in honor of the two great events. The day was celebrated with patriotic ardor, with music and dancing. The roar of the improvised cannon mingled with the hurrahs of the multitude, and the air was filled with enthusiasm; altogether it was a great day for Marquette and one long to be remembered. Dr. J. J. St. Clair, the supervisor of the town, was made president of the day, and opened the celebration at the grand stand with an appropriate address. Mr. George S. King, who was the superintendent of the Sunday schools in procession for the day, delivered a suitable address to his part of the audience. I had the honor of reading the Declaration of Independence. The grand oration of the day was delivered by Mr. Heman B. Ely. It was eloquent and instructive, and filled with promise of the future, not only for the country and Nation at large, but for our own particular portion of it. It was admired and praised by all who heard it save one—an Irishman named O'Brien, who had partaken more freely than necessary of the liquid refreshments; he was heard describing the occasion to a group of his friends who had failed to reach the spot in time to see and hear for themselves. Said he: "There was Docther St. Clair; he was prisident of the day, and he made a tolerably dacent spaach, good enough for any other day, but not at all suitable to the Fourth of July. Then there was Misther King—he made a little talk, good enough for the childers, but no account for a Fourth of July spaach, and thin Mr.

Ealy, he got up, and he talked about rivers and harbors and railroads and tilegraphs and stameboats, canawls, and sich like; for any other day I would have called it a very fine spaach, but for a Fourth of July spaach it was no spaach at all, at all. But I'll tell you who *did* make a good spaach; it was Mr. Pate White; he got up and talked like a book; he talked about liberty, and equality, and the rights of man, and he was down on King George and the parliament, and he made the best spaach of thim all."

Let me here make brief mention of another Lake Superior pioneer of great singleness of purpose and devotion to his labors in the care of souls: the late Bishop Baraga, who died at Marquette. This venerable prelate was a truly apostolic man, who counted neither honor, ease, nor life itself dear, so that he might faithfully follow in the footsteps of his Divine Master. He first reduced the Chippewa language to writing and gave it a grammar and a dictionary. Born of noble family and inheriting wealth, he devoted himself and all that he had to the work of teaching the gospel to the Indians of the peninsula, while it was still an unbroken wilderness. His long journeys up and down the lake were often performed on foot and in great peril; and to the last hour of his life he lived in great simplicity.

Hon. James P. Pendill, who was the proprietor of the McComber Mine and of the Union or Pendill Mine in Marquette county, died on the ninth of March last. He was born at Batavia, New York; was seventy-three years old, and had resided in the State of Michigan about fifty years, over thirty of which he had spent in Marquette county. Mr. Pendill was the first mayor of the city of Negaunee, and for several years the mayor of Marquette, and once represented his county in the State Legislature. He was an honest man, the noblest work of God. I crave a memorial page for him in your annals for the current year.

But to revert to the railroad; after the death of Mr. H. B. Ely, his brother, Mr. Samuel P. Ely, formerly of Rochester, New York, removed to Marquette to finish his brother's uncompleted work. The death of Mr. H. B. Ely seemed like a heavy blow to all the material interests of the iron region, but it brought to the State the brother above named, who for sixteen years was more largely identified with railroads and leading mining enterprises than any other person residing in the upper peninsula. The Iron Mountain Railroad became, by successive extensions and consolidations, first the Bay de Noquet & Marquette railroad, then the Marquette & Ontonagon, and subsequently the Marquette, Houghton & Ontonagan railroad. Under this last consolidation the line was extended to L'Anse, docks built, and another ore port established there, and later on a road reached Houghton, and the copper and iron districts were at last united. Another outlet for

the shipment of Lake Superior iron ores was afforded by the completion, in 1864, of the Peninsula railroad from Negaunee to Escanaba. This latter became a part of the through line of the Northwestern railway from Negaunee to Chicago. Escanaba, the Lake Michigan terminus of the Peninsula railroad, was founded and somewhat built up during the construction of the railway.

It was first known as Sand Point, but in 1864 was organized into a town and given its present name. The Detroit, Mackinac & Marquette railroad was completed, in the early part of 1881, from Marquette to St. Ignace, and extensive ore docks were built at the latter port. This line made still another outlet for Lake Superior iron ore, and constituted a railroad connection between the two peninsulas of Michigan.

Upon the completion of the facilities for transportation, the Jackson Iron Company and the Cleveland Iron Mining Company, who were the successors of the unfortunate corporations which built the Jackson and Marquette forge, began to develop their iron location and to ship their iron ore to furnaces in Ohio and Pennsylvania. In this they were immediately followed by the Lake Superior Iron Company, which had been organized by the late Heman B. Ely and his brothers, and Mr. John Burt and his brothers, to develop the iron location immediately west of the Cleveland mine. As far back as 1850, five tons of ore had been taken from the Jackson mine to Newcastle, Pa., by Mr. A. L. Crawford. He was the proprietor of large iron works there, and he converted this ore into blooms and merchant bars to test its qualities. In 1852, about seventy tons of Jackson ore were taken to Sharon, and there made into pig iron, in the old clay furnace. These experiments had been satisfactory. But the business was a new one; its practicability was admitted only by a select few, and it had to make its development by a slow process of experiment and conviction. The ore shipments of 1858, the year after the completion of the railroad from Marquette to the three mines which have just been mentioned, were only 25,067 tons. The Jackson mine was situated at what is now Negaunee, and the Cleveland and Lake Superior mines are within the present city limits of Ishpeming.

Negaunee was founded in 1857 and Ishpeming in 1858. Some one might be interested to know how these places acquire their names. The pioneer furnace for making pig iron from charcoal with the Jackson ore, was building in 1857 near the Jackson mine. A town was growing up around the mine and furnace, and it was decided to give it an Indian name which should be as nearly as possible a translation of the word "pioneer," inasmuch as the town included the first mine opened and the first furnace built. A council was held with the Ojibwa Indians of the vicinity and the name

Negaunee was chosen, which signifies in Ojibwa, "I take the lead." In the following year the settlers of the growing town about the Cleveland and Lake Superior mines, which are situated upon the dividing ridge between the waters which flow into Lake Superior, and those which flow into Lake Michigan, thought fit to give their town the Indian translation of "on the summit." This proved rather difficult to get in one Ojibwa word. Mr. S. P. Ely was chairman of the committee and came to your narrator for consultation with him as a Chippewa expert. Mr. Ely finally put the decision upon me, and I selected Ishpeming, which is a general term in Ojibwa for any remarkable elevation, and is sometimes applied to Heaven itself. If any one hereafter has any fault to find with the name, I am content to take the responsibility of it. The inhabitants are pleased with it, and I am happy to say that they conspiciously display the moral elevation which the name of their town suggests.

It is worthy of remark that the founders of towns throughout the upper peninsula have been careful to honor the names of the Jesuit Fathers, who were the first explorers of that region, and to preserve Indian names wherever they were euphonious and descriptive. Marquette, Duluth, Allouez and Mesnard have been held in remembrance on the scene of their labors two hundred years ago, and the language of the race which preceded us has been preserved, not only in Negaunee and Ishpeming, but in Michigamme, which signifies big water; Escanaba, which is flat rock, so-called by the Chippewas because that river flows over a flat stratum of limestone near its mouth; Menominee, which is rice field; Pequanning, a bend of the shore; Munising, the great bay; Agogebic, smooth rock; Pewabic, iron.

But to revert to the point from which we digressed in making a brief statement concerning the Jackson, Cleveland and Lake Superior mines. For several years these were the only mines opened, and they are still called the "three old mines." They have been continuously productive for more than twenty-five years and two of them show more ore in sight than at any other period in their history. Up to the close of last season the Jackson mine had shipped in the aggregate 2,446,421 tons of ore; the Cleveland, 3,024,-972, and the Lake Superior mine, 3,368,560 tons. The total manufacture and shipment of pig iron during the same period up to the close of 1884, was nearly one million and one hundred thousand gross tons.

The first mining superintendent in the iron region was Captain Henry Merry, who opened the Jackson mine, and has ever since remained in charge of it. These old companies have not been prone to change their superintendents. Captain F. P. Mills remained in charge of the Cleveland

mine for twenty-two years, and Captain G. D. Johnson, who opened the Lake Superior mine, remained in charge of it for eighteen years. All the three were men of unusual energy and capacity, and made their mark in the successful development of a kind of mining in which there was no former experience. If the time at our command and the proper restrictions of an occasion devoted to strictly pioneer history admitted, it would be interesting to trace in detail the subsequent large development of iron mining on Lake Superior.

But the limitations, both of time and our subject, will allow only mention of some of the more noted of the later mines, and such a brief survey of the later important developments of the business as may serve to connect its beginnings, which have been described to you, with the present enlargement. The Lake Angeline, the Barnum, and the New York mines were opened soon after at Ishpeming, and a few years later the Champion mine, which has become distinguished as a large producer. In 1872, a branch from the M. & O. R. R. was completed to the now well known Republic mine, which was opened in that year. This location was discovered as far back as 1852, by the veteran explorer, Mr. S. C. Smith, and it had been known as the Smith Mountain for twenty years before it had been reached with railroad facilities. The Michigamme and various other mines were opened at the same time, along the extension of the iron range westward. Active explorations for iron ore on the Menominee range commenced about this time, and many promising deposits were discovered, which began to be developed in 1877, after the completion of a branch of the C. & N. W. R. R. gave them an outlet at Escanaba. The Menominee range has proved to be of very great productive capacity, and has been developed with great rapidity.

Among many other well-known mines, the Chapin has become conspicuous as a very large producer. I do not intend to burden you with statistics, but it may interest you to compare the shipments of the three "old mines" in 1858, which were 25,067 tons, with the total shipments in 1884, of both the Marquette and the Menominee iron ranges, from the ports of Marquette, Escanaba, L'Anse and St. Ignace. Seventy-two mines on the Marquette range had shipped 19,502,069 tons, and twelve mines on the Menominee range had shipped 3,452,174 tons, making a total of 22,954,243 tons.

But I must not detain you longer. Time fails us to relate the hardships and privations of those early days, while we were contending with stubborn nature in a wilderness which was all unbroken and slowly gaining houses, roads, churches, schools, an organized society and a developed industry.

These beginnings were arduous and uncertain. One and another wrought

their lives into them and ceased from their labors, dying in the faith of what they had not seen. But large results, with still greater promise of the future, have been reached in the lifetime of the generation which began the work. Our canoes and Mackinac boats have changed to steamers of 2,000 tons and more, and our little landing places have been replaced by docks, where these large vessels can be loaded in half a day. Three lines of railroad carry 10,000 tons a day of that ore which was first borne painfully on men's backs, from the mines to Lake Superior, supplying the needful material of a staple industry to many a forge and furnace and many a thousand men, along and beyond all the lower lakes, over the whole region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. In the progress of our age and country we have stood in our appointed place, and have done what we could. We are content if, in some small degree, we have deserved well of the Republic.

THE STORY OF TONGUISH.*

BY MELVIN D. OSBAND.

The story of Tonguish, so familiar in Wayne county when the writer was a boy, seems now to be remembered by only a few, or, if remembered, to be classed, it may be, among legendary tales that have little truth for their foundation; and the absence of any mention of it in the literature of the locality would seem to justify such a classification. But the children of the persons who participated in those exciting events still live to repeat the story of their fathers and to verify it by their faith in their fathers' veracity.

It is believed that none of the actors are now living. The writer of this, as a boy, was personally acquainted with several of them, and with others who were knowing to the facts, and he lived from infancy to manhood in the immediate vicinity of the graves of Tonguish and his son. The story deals only with facts, and relates a scrap of the history of pioneer life in Wayne

*For the orthography of the name Tonguish, and for his tribal relations, I am indebted to Judge J. V. Campbell, of Detroit.

county. As told here it is but fragmentary, and is related more to arouse an interest in the subject than as a completed history. It is hoped that some person whose facilities for getting the information are better than the writer's will gather all the facts and embody them in an article for the use of this Society.

The story runs as follows:

After the peace of 1815 the Pottawattomie Indians were disaffected and troublesome. Whether from any specific grievance or from their natural habits of lawlessness, they frequently committed little depredations on the sparse settlers along the river Rouge, west of Detroit. They manifested no desire to engage in open hostilities, but were indifferent to the rights of the whites, where they conflicted with their own wants or caprices. Tonguish was their chief and also their leader in these acts of lawlessness. In his relations with the whites he was arrogant and imperious. Followed by his band he entered the houses of settlers and demanded of the occupants such articles as his need or caprice indicated, and by intimidation secured his plunder. He generally planned to execute these little forays at such times as the men were supposed to be absent from home. At such times his object could be gained without danger to himself by simply over-awing the women. When the men were at home the Indians frequently came off second best. One or two incidents will illustrate the manner in which our hardy pioneers repelled these acts of lawlessness, even when confronted with superior force.

An Indian once entered the residence of Wm. McCarty and attempted to carry off a wampum belt. McCarty caught hold of it to wrest it from him. The Indian, still holding to the wampum, drew his gun ready to fire, but McCarty looked him firmly in the eyes, clung to the belt, and told his wife to give him his tomahawk. She, fearing the result to her husband if she should comply, declined to do so. He dare not divert his eyes from the Indian, still clung to the belt and forced it from him; but he said if his wife had given him his tomahawk he would have made a dead Indian of him.

Alanson Thomas lived in a log house on the north side of the river Rouge, about two miles below where the village of Dearborn now stands. His house stood on the brow of the hill. He was one day fixing up some shelves in his house for his wife's convenience, when he heard the voice of a man behind him. He turned round and was confronted by the form of Chief Tonguish, who was ordering his (Thomas's) wife to hand him something which he coveted. Thomas demanded, "*What are you doing here?*" The chief sprang at him to seize his person. As quick as thought he met the

brawny fist of Thomas, which landed him senseless the other side of the room. He then went to him, took him by the hair, raised his head up and kicked him under each ear, and then threw him out the back door down the hill. Looking up he saw a band of Tonguish's Indians standing by who had witnessed the discomfiture of their chief. One of them, a young man—son of the chief, looked at Thomas, scowled, shook his head and said, "Bime-by you be dead." "*Well, dead or alive,*" said Thomas, "*I'll venture to give you a flogging!*" So he picked up a green withe that had been procured for fixing his fence, and proceeded to chastise the young man severely. He jumped up and down and yelled; but he gave the war whoop in vain, for none of his companions came to his rescue. Thomas's determined manner over-awed them, and they passively looked on. Instead of serious trouble, which Thomas anticipated as a result of his treatment, the Indians were after that afraid of him and avoided him whenever they could.

The last act in this drama occurred, if my information is correct, in the fall of 1819. The Indians entered the house of a man by the name of Sargeant, living on the Rouge toward Detroit, and took from it all the bread the family had, and departed. Mr. Sargeant, coming home at that moment, learned the facts and hastened out among the Indians and snatched a loaf from one of them. He returned and was just entering his house when Tonguish's son shot him dead. The Indians then fled. The settlers hastily collected, organized, armed themselves and started in pursuit. The Indians fled up the Rouge river to its confluence with the west branch which they followed on the north side. The pursuing party first sighted the Indians near where the Indian trail crossed the town line between Nankin and Livonia, a little west of the mill pond of the present Nankin mills. At that point the Indians turned to the left and crossed the stream, since known as Tonguish creek, and passed out of sight over the opposite bank. The whites rapidly passed over the same valley but were surprised on ascending the opposite bank that no Indians could be seen. This was the more strange as the land before them was level plains with very little brush. But they hastily followed on till the Indians arose from ambush and fired at them. Fortunately no person was seriously hurt. The whites then rushed on them before they had time to load their guns, and captured all but Tonguish's son, who ran. Major Macomb,* who led the party, aimed his gun at him to shoot him, but the chief stopped him and said he would call him back. Then in the

*There were several Macombs in Wayne county at that time, and it is not certain which one is referred to in this narrative. General Alex. Macomb commanded the garrison in Detroit, but it seems so improbable that a party so hastily organized for immediate action, should take the time necessary to secure his services, that I have assumed it was Maj. Macomb, an officer of the territorial militia who lived on the range, that led the party and killed "Old Togish," as he was called.

Indian language he shouted to him to *run*. When he had reached such a distance as the chief thought him beyond the range of the gun, he turned to Macomb and said: "Damn him! he no come back, shoot him." The Major shot and he fell. The chief had been disarmed except his knife. Seeing his son fall he drew his knife and sprang at Macomb, whose gun was now empty. James Bucklin stood by his side, but his gun was also empty. (It was said that he had shot at the chief's son when he ran by him.) But he managed by a vigorous use of his gun as a club to keep the chief off till Macomb could load. The Major was so much excited that he put two balls in his gun instead of one. When the chief saw the gun nearly loaded he ran. Before he had ran many steps, the Major shot him in the back. Two ball holes was the first and only evidence that he put two balls in his gun. The chief fell mortally wounded, and when approached by his captors he stuck his knife into the ground and ripped up the soil and gave expression to his rage by shouts resembling the loud, hoarse growl of an angry bear.*

He died that night and with his and his son's death ended the Indian troubles in Michigan. This last skirmish took place on section 4, of the township of Nankin, one mile west of where my father afterward settled, on what has since been known as the Dimmick farm, and about twenty miles west of Detroit. The wooden protection which the Indians erected over the graves looked fresh and almost new at the time of our settlement in the vicinity six years after. About the year 1837-8 some boys opened the graves and took from them the chief's gun—or more properly gun barrel—and some personal ornaments. I think the place is now occupied by plowed fields.

Such is the story of Tonguish, as the writer heard it when a boy, and so far as he is informed this is the first time it was ever written.

*For the date of the event narrated above, I am indebted to James Abbott, who lived on section 6 of the town of Dearborn. While visiting him at his own house a few months before his death, I asked him when the event occurred. After a moment's thought he replied. "I moved here in the spring of 1820, and that took place the fall before—it was in 1819." On a previous occasion he had said to me that he thought Major Macomb had too much credit in that affair. That in his opinion James Bucklin killed Tonguish's son, for when he started to run he ran by Bucklin and he shot at him, but he did not fall till Macomb shot, and he got the credit. But then, he was shot through the side, whereas, if Macomb had shot him, he would have been shot in the back.

PROBATE JUDGES OF LENAWEE COUNTY.

BY NORMAN GEDDES.

Mr. President and Members of the State Pioneer Society:

In complying with the request of your president, that I prepare a brief sketch of the probate judges of the county of Lenawee, from its organization to the present time, for your use, I premise that, in doing so, I shall be compelled to use the materials embodied in a paper I had the honor to read at the laying of the corner stone of the court house, now in process of erection in this city, condensing, so far as practicable, what I then wrote, and using such additional facts as I have been able to gather from other sources, and particularly from Whitney & Bonner's biographical record of Lenawee county.

Lenawee county has been singularly fortunate in the selection of its probate judges, at least up to the time of election of the present incumbent, comprising in the list able lawyers—honest and pure-minded men, who have given character and dignity to the court, and reflected honor upon the county and themselves.

It is to be feared that in many parts of the country too little care has been exercised in this regard, selections being quite too often made for political or other reasons, than those which should govern in the selection of judges of courts.

When it is remembered that once in about every quarter of a century, nearly the entire property of the State has to pass through and be settled in these courts, one gets some faint idea of the importance and magnitude of the interests involved.

And when it is remembered that, under our peculiar system of practice, the judge of the probate court, save in a few of the larger cities, has almost of necessity come to be regarded as the friend, the counselor, and the guide of the widow and the orphan, at a time when, of all others, they most need friendship, counsel and guidance—as well as the judge of the court in which their interests are to be protected, adjudicated and settled—the delicacy of

the position and of the requirements necessary for the proper discharge of its varied and important duties becomes quite apparent. And it becomes doubly so when it is remembered that, of the suitors who come into this court, the large majority are those who are almost absolutely helpless, without counsel and guidance in matters of business, and particularly in the settlement of estates. Widows who, until their husbands' death, had scarce given a thought to anything, save their domestic duties—many with strong, unreasoning prejudices against lawyers, fearing to consult or trust any one who could, by any possibility, have a pecuniary interest in the adjustment of the little property left them, come to the judge of probate, feeling that in him they may confide; that he, by no possibility, can have any interest antagonistic to their own. And while it is true that, in matters likely to be litigated, there is a gross impropriety in the courts giving counsel, or drawing other than merely formal papers, the policy of the Legislature of this State has been to make the settlement of estates of deceased persons as inexpensive as practicable, and in very few, compared with the whole number of estates settled, is counsel employed. And thus the practice has been firmly established in most of the counties, and probably in none is it more rarely varied than in Lenawee. That the inconvenience and defects of this practice have been so little apparent in this county must be attributed to the eminent ability, lofty character and kindly sympathy of my predecessors.

The first judge of the probate court of Lenawee county was the Hon. Musgrove Evans, of Tecumseh. He was appointed by General Lewis Cass, then Governor of the Territory of Michigan, soon after the organization of the county, in 1827. Judge Evans was one of our pioneers, coming from the State of New York and settling in Tecumseh in 1824. He was a member of the Society of Friends—a man of great energy of character and kindness of heart. Owing to the sparseness of the population, the business of the court could not have been so onerous as to interfere very seriously with his other avocations—the records showing that nearly one year intervened between the filing of the first and second petitions in his court. I regret that the materials within my reach do not warrant the attempt to give any extended sketch of this early pioneer. That he was an honest, upright citizen, discharging every duty and trust committed to his charge with fidelity, is the uniform testimony of those who knew him; and the fact of his having been selected by Governor Cass for the position shows his estimate of his fitness.

He was succeeded on the first of January, 1833, by Hon. Seneca Hale, also of Tecumseh, who held the office four years. I am unable to learn anything regarding the life, character, or career of Judge Hale, save what

appears in the records of his own court, and these show him to have been a painstaking, careful official.

In January, 1837, he was succeeded by Hon. Alexander R. Tiffany, a lawyer of learning and ability, and possessed of that culture, refinement, and kindness of heart which eminently fitted him for the discharge of the delicate and responsible trust. Judge Tiffany had pursued his legal studies with Hon. John C. Spencer, at that time one of the ablest lawyers in New York, and who was afterwards chief justice of the supreme court of that State. Before coming to Michigan he had for some years held the office of county judge of Wayne county, New York, thus acquiring a judicial experience, admirably fitting him for judge of the probate court in a new county where he had few precedents to guide him. He came to Michigan in 1832, settling in Palmyra, which then had the promise of becoming the future great city of the county. He held various offices of trust and honor—prosecuting attorney, judge of probate, member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850, and of the State Legislature in 1855. He was the author of several valuable law books. In all the relations of life he faithfully discharged whatever duty devolved upon him. He died in Palmyra, January 14, 1868, having lived a useful and honored life.

Judge Tiffany was succeeded by Hon. Consider A. Stacy, who brought to the discharge of the duties of the office, not only talents of the highest order and a thorough knowledge of the law, but a kindness of heart, eminently fitting him for the position. Among the members of the bar of this State few have attained a more prominent position. Admitted at the age of twenty, he commenced practice in 1837, with Hon. Peter Morey, afterwards attorney general of the State, and from that time to the present has always been prominent among the lawyers of the State.

In Whitney & Bonner's Biographical Record of Lenawee county I find that "In the spring of 1838 he was elected justice of the peace, and served four years. In 1839 he formed a partnership with Fernando C. Beaman, which continued three years. In 1844 he was elected judge of probate and served twelve years. In 1845 he formed a partnership with Thomas M. Cooley (now judge of the supreme court), which continued about three years. In 1849 he was appointed by Governor Ransom prosecuting attorney of Lenawee county, under the old constitution, and held the office until the new came into force. For twenty-six years he was a member of the school board of Tecumseh. In 1858 he was the Democratic nominee for Congress, but was defeated by Henry Waldron, of Hillsdale. In 1850 he was appointed by Governor McClelland a member of the State Board of Education, and was active in organizing the State Normal School, and erect-

ing the building at Ypsilanti." He has practiced his profession in this county and State for forty-eight years, and is still in active practice. That the people of the county appreciated his services as judge of probate is evidenced by the fact that he was three times elected to the position.

In 1857 Judge Stacy was succeeded by Hon. Fernando C. Beaman, who held the office until elected to Congress in 1861, when he was succeeded by Hon. Robert R. Beecher.

Judge Beecher was a good lawyer, and of a most genial and kindly nature. He made friends wherever he went. Sympathetic and generous, he brought to the discharge of the duties of the office qualities and qualifications rarely found combined in any one man. Nearly all the people in the county personally knew and loved him, and their esteem was evidenced by three times electing him judge of probate of the county. He held the office from January 1, 1861, until his death in 1871. He died in the prime of manhood. For nearly eleven years he was judge of probate, and by reason of the practice hereinbefore alluded to, which has become settled in this county, at least, he was during all that time the friend and counselor of all who had business in his court,—doing the work, not only of the judge, but of counsel as well.

It was to him that the widow in deep distress, and the orphan left alone in the cold world, came for advice and counsel. The pressure was too great; the draft upon his sympathies too wearing, and as a result he died before his time.

Upon his death, what could be more fitting than that his life-long friend, who had been his predecessor, and who had in the interim served his country in the Congress of the United States, with distinction and honor, should take his old place.

Hon. Fernando C. Beaman, who had been judge of probate from January 1, 1857, to January 1, 1861, was appointed to succeed Judge Beecher in 1871, was subsequently elected by the people in 1872, and reëlected in 1876, and continued to hold the office until the failure of his health rendered him unable to discharge his duties; when, having resigned, Norman Geddes, the present incumbent, was on the 16th day of April, 1880, appointed his successor by Governor Croswell, and at the election in November following was elected by the people, and was reëlected at the election in 1884.

I am indebted to Whitney & Bonner's Biographical Record for the following regarding Judge Beaman, which I transcribe and condense, as containing the salient points in his history:

"In 1838, he came to Michigan, having pursued his legal studies in

Rochester, N. Y.; was admitted to the bar in 1839, and first settled in Manchester, now in Washtenaw county. Later in the same year he moved to Tecumseh and formed a partnership with Hon. C. A. Stacy. In 1843 he was appointed prosecuting attorney of Lenawee county, and removed to Adrian, where he resided up to the time of his decease. He was twice reäppointed to this position, holding it for six years. In early life he was a Democrat, but became a Free Soiler in 1848, and made a vigorous canvass of Lenawee county in favor of Van Buren and Adams, the presidential candidates of that party. In 1854 he attended the Jackson convention which organized the Republican party in Michigan, and was one of the vice presidents of that assembly. He was also a delegate to the National convention at Pittsburgh, which met for consultation and paved the way for the organization of the Republicans as a National party. The same year he served as one of the Presidential electors for this State. In 1856 he was also a delegate to the Philadelphia convention which nominated Fremont and Dayton. In 1860 he was elected to Congress in the second district, comprising Monroe, Lenawee, Hillsdale, Branch, Cass, and St. Joseph counties. He was reëlected for four succeeding and consecutive terms, serving ten years in Congress. In 1872 he was elected president of the First National Bank of Adrian, and held the position until the bank went into voluntary liquidation,—November 13, 1879. Judge Beaman was appointed to the exalted office of United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Zachariah Chandler, but owing to ill health did not accept the position, although it was one of the highest encomiums to his ability and personal worth that could be tendered him, coming as it did unsought and unexpected. This is not the first time he declined to accept high official stations. Gov. Kinsley S. Bingham tendered him the appointment of justice of the supreme court to fill a vacancy on the bench, which he declined; and when Zachariah Chandler was secretary of the interior he tendered Judge Beaman the position of commissioner of Indian affairs, which was also declined."

Judge Beaman was all that the above extract represents him, as to ability, integrity and moral worth, and withal, a man exceedingly kind and sympathetic in his nature. His great heart compelled him to be an interested listener to the tales of sorrow and perplexity continually poured into his ears by bereaved widows and orphans, totally ignorant of processes of law, and inexperienced in business. These found in the incumbent of the office a sympathizing friend, as well as a legal adviser. He was an intense and painstaking worker; honest, pure, generous, and noble, he discharged

every trust committed to him with conscientious fidelity. The office work of the probate judge increases with the growth of the country, requiring more and more constant application and labor, which, with the continuous draft upon one's sympathies, taxes to the utmost the strongest constitution. The strain was too great, and Judge Beaman's health was gradually undermined. He grew prematurely old; and, like the lamented Beecher, died before his time, but he left to posterity the rich legacy of a grand, upright, and useful life.

This brings the record, imperfectly, of course, to the time when the writer assumed the duties of judge of probate of the county, and there I leave it.

MEMORIAL OF HEZEKIAH G. WELLS.

BY H. FRALICK AND O. C. COMSTOCK, COMMITTEE.

Hezekiah G. Wells died at Kalamazoo, April 4, 1885, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, he having been born at Steubenville, Jefferson county, Ohio, June 16, 1812. His father and mother were natives of Maryland. Judge Wells received his education at Kenyon College, Knox county, Ohio; he read law in the office of James and Daniel Collier at Steubenville and was admitted to the bar in 1832; he came to Michigan in 1833 and paid some attention to farming in Texas and Schoolcraft for three years, subsequently removing to Kalamazoo. Prior to his removal to the village of Kalamazoo he was county judge; in 1835 he was elected a member of the first Constitutional Convention, where he took rank with the ablest and most useful men composing that body; although the youngest member thereof, he served on several important committees and was active in the discharge of his duties. He was again elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of Michigan in 1850, which prepared the constitution under which we are now living. He has been president of the village five different times. In 1840 and again in 1860 he was elected one of the presidential electors of the State of Michigan. He was appointed minister resident to the Central American states by

President Lincoln; also consul to Manchester, England, both of which appointments he declined. In 1878 Governor Bagley appointed him one of eighteen commissioners to prepare and report a new constitution for the State of Michigan, to be voted upon by the people; this instrument was not approved.

In 1862 Judge Wells raised the twenty-fifth regiment of infantry, Michigan volunteers, which greatly distinguished itself under the command of Colonel O. H. Moore.

In June, 1874, Judge Wells was appointed presiding Judge of the Court of Alabama claims, a position he filled with great credit and usefulness until ill health compelled him to come home and finally to resign, less two years which intervened between the expiration of the first organization of the court and its re-organization some two years afterward.

Beside the important political offices which Judge Wells held and adorned, he was also avestryman of long standing in St. Luke's Parish, Kalamazoo, which put upon the church record, and which we copy, the following just and eloquent tribute:

IN MEMORIAM.

The wardens and vestry of Saint Luke's Parish, with sorrow and a deep sense of personal loss, record the death of Hezekiah G. Wells, for many years a devoted member of the vestry of this Parish. We desire to place upon its records this memorial of our appreciation of his lofty Christian character, his untiring efforts for the welfare of this Parish, his championship of education in all its phases, and his rare ability, spent in the life-long service of the community, the State and the Nation. We congratulate the city upon the spectacle of a spotless and unselfish life fittingly concluded.

In 1876 the Committee of Historians of the State Pioneer Society was organized and one of its members was Hezekiah G. Wells of Kalamazoo. The pages of the Michigan Pioneer Collections attest the labors and great usefulness of Judge Wells in that body. The committee desire to add their own sense of personal bereavement to these home reports of the profound grief of the community who knew Judge Wells intimately for almost half a century. His manly form and genial countenance we shall never more behold; but we may and ought to remember and imitate his virtues.

He was the first president of the Pioneer Society and its ultimate success was his ardent wish and expectation. He has followed his immediate predecessor, Hon. Jonathan Shearer, and soon we shall follow him. May we say to the pioneers of this good State, "close up the ranks." As a conscientious historian we could say: "No line which, dying, we could wish to blot."

MEMORIAL OF WILLARD L. BROOKS.

BY ALBERT F. MOREHOUSE.

Willard L. Brooks was born in the town of Bristol, Hartford county, Connecticut, July 21, 1808. His minority was passed on his father's farm, with only the advantages of a common school education. Having a desire to see something of the world, he, with his brother Charles, hired out as peddlers in the employ of Wheeler & Brooks, of his native town. To what extent he engaged in the nutmeg trade, history is silent, but as he continued in the business for several years, it is a fair inference that he was satisfied, especially as he only surrendered it to assume the vows matrimonial on the 24th day of July, 1834, when he was married to Miss Lucina Sanford, who was his companion for the next ensuing ten happiest years of his life. On the admission of Michigan into the Union as a State, he, with his family, came here. On reaching Jackson, in company with William R. Churchill, of Portland, they constructed a flat-bottomed boat and with their families and household goods descended Grand river to Portland. The water was very high and turbid, and several times they were in danger of being wrecked from the frequent jambs of driftwood and hidden rocks just below the surface, but which could not be seen in time to avoid. On arriving at Portland, Mr. Brooks sought and found a home on section 3, in what is now known as the township of Danby, in Ionia county, where he continued to reside until his death, December 5, 1883, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. When he made his settlement there were but three other white residents in his township. There were, however, many Indians living on the banks of Grand river in his immediate vicinity, and with them he was always on terms of friendship. But, while civil and neighborly, their red friends would sometimes take liberties when Mr. and Mrs. Brooks were away from home. On one of these occasions, on a Sabbath, Mr. and Mrs. Brooks had gone to meeting at Portland, some miles away; a party of Indians called, and, finding only the hired girl and children at home, went into the yard and shot several fowls, and, bringing them into the house, ordered the

hired girl to cook them and to be sure to cook them *very good.* Of course from this responsibility there was no appeal, and, with some degree of fear and all possible haste, the cooking was done; the Indians in the meantime were curiously examining the log house and its contents. The dinner was placed on the table, and the Indians, in perfect good humor, were seated and enjoying it, when the door opened and Mr. and Mrs. Brooks entered, to the relief of the cook and the perplexity of the Indians. At a glance, taking in the situation, Mr. Brooks gave his red brothers a hearty welcome, and, with his wife, sat down to the table and participated in the meal. His first wife died February 8, 1844, leaving three small children. In August following he married Miss Nancy C. Reed, who yet survives him. When the township of Danby was organized, April 7, 1845, there were but nineteen voters, and Mr. Brooks was elected to fill three different offices, and from that time forward he was almost constantly engaged in official duties, until the disabilities of age were too severe for further continuance. He was a man of kindly disposition, and often assisted those who, in the privations of a new country, lacked the comforts of former years in eastern homes. For some months prior to his death he was confined to his home, where in patience he awaited the taking down of his earthly tabernacle, until his change came at the ripened age of more than seventy-five years.

REMINISCENCE OF L. B. PRICE, OF OAKLAND COUNTY.

BY MRS. FRANK HAGERMAN, HIS DAUGHTER.

In attempting to briefly set forth some of the incidents which occured in the pioneer life of my father on first settling in Michigan, at that time a wilderness—but which to-day may be with propriety compared to nothing less than a garden of choicest roses—thanks to God and the sturdy arm of the pioneer fathers, who so nobly and bravely met and endured all the privations and made all the sacrifices which, of a necessity, comes of such an undertaking—that is, coming west with their helpless families to seek a

fortune for themselves and those that they held most dear on earth, and many thanks to them for this goodly heritage which shall be left to their children long after they have passed away—as I said, in attempting to prepare anything of interest I can only claim your leniency in presuming upon the time it must take for this paper to be read, as I know that time is most precious on these occasions. Yet, hoping I may not weary you, but rather, on the other hand, entertain this large assemblage for a few moments, I am proud to say that I am a member of this State Pioneer Society, and regret most sincerely my being unable to meet you all here and to read my paper myself; but circumstances over which I have no control prevent it. But I have the most profound regard and reverence for it and its silver haired members.

In regard to the early history of the pioneer life of my father, Hon. L.B. Price—I have no doubt there are many here personally acquainted with him—he came with his father's family, which consisted of himself, wife and six children (my father being the eldest) from western New York, Monroe Co., Township of Rush, and located in what is now called the village of Utica, situate 25 miles north of Detroit, in the township of Shelby, Macomb Co. This place consisted then of not more than three or four dwelling houses and two, or perhaps three, places of business; on one side of Clinton river there was a blacksmith shop and a distillery—it seems they were a necessity in those days as well as now. The nearest point where dry goods or groceries could be obtained was at what was then (and is now, I think) called Troy Corners, in a little store kept by Mr. Johnson Niles; or at Mt. Clemens, eleven miles distant. The first saw mill and grist mill built in the village of Utica were built by my grandfather, Mr. Jacob Price; the saw mill was built in 1828, and the grist mill was completed in 1829, and very soon after, in that same year, he died. Of course at that time there were many tribes of Indians in this State, and of these I have heard my father say they had little fear, but when I was a child and used to hear him tell some of his exploits with them I must confess the stories would almost make my little heart stand still and I could feel my hair rising on my head, and I would ask in a frightened whisper; "Papa, weren't you afraid?' By the death of grandfather, father was left, comparatively speaking, at the head of the family at the early age of sixteen years; he seemed to be the main-stay of his widowed mother and younger brothers and sisters, for death had spread his shadowy wing over their home and darkened it in removing husband and father when needed most; but my father, nothing daunted, assumed the responsibility of this large family, and by his sturdy

industry, perseverance and integrity, managed to keep the home for his mother and the little ones. When about twenty-two years of age he made the acquaintance of Miss Ann Eliza Merrifield, daughter of John Merrifield (also an old pioneer) and sister of E. R. Merrifield of Lansing; and at twenty-four years of age was united to her in matrimony, and located on a farm three miles north of Utica village, where he resided about fourteen years. Having always been an ardent Democrat he held many offices of trust given him by that party. In the year 1847 (I think) he was nominated and elected as representative to the State Legislature, which was the year, I believe, of the removal of the Capitol from Detroit to what was then almost a wilderness, but which is now the beautiful city of Lansing: his vote counted one for the removal. He subsequently removed to the village of Lakeville, Oakland county, where he has since resided. To say that the vicissitudes of life have *not* been many with him would not be true, as all that remains of our happy family of five are father, sister and myself. If Ex-Gov. Begole is in this audience he will remember him well, as he and my father were very warm friends during their senatorial sitting in 1872-3. Although his hair is frosted with the snows of seventy- three winters, he stills maintains his vigor well, attends to his business himself with perfect accuracy, and enjoys remarkably good health for one of his years.

MEMOIR OF JOHN MULLETT.

BY JOHN H. FORSTER.

James Mullett, the father of the subject of this memoir, was born in England, and came to America with Burgoyne's army of invasion, having been seized by a press-gang in the city of London, and forced to serve King George III in the strife with his rebellious colonies. He had just completed his apprenticeship as a tailor, and was returning to his home in the country, when the pitiless minions of an obstinate ministry forced him to embark on a troop-ship and sail away from his native land. From that time forth he was lost to his parents and relatives. He participated in the battle of Bennington, and was taken prisoner. He escaped, but subsequently he

joined the continental army, having no good will toward a king who had thus cruelly torn him from his home and country. After the war he settled in Vermont, and married Sylvina Perry, who was a very superior woman, a descendant of the early Pilgrims, and a relative of Commodore Perry, of Lake Erie fame.

John Mullett, the subject of our sketch, was born in Halifax, Windham county, Vermont, July 11, 1786, and was the second son of James and Sylvina Mullett—one of an old-fashioned family of fourteen children. In 1807, the family moved to Genesee county, New York, and there, in the dense wilderness, hewed out a large farm, which has remained in the family until quite recently. To show how dense the trackless forest was, John used to relate that when he and his brothers, with their axes, first entered upon the land, to clear a building spot, they felled trees all day long, and then returned at night to their distant camp. The next day they started out to resume their labors, but were utterly unable to find the spot where they had worked the day before. So they began anew. After some time had elapsed, John left the farm and went to the village of Buffalo, at the foot of Lake Erie, where he engaged in the tailoring business, a smattering of which trade he had learned from his father, during the long winter evenings spent on the isolated farm. Doubtless the industrious father and son fabricated and mended the garments of that growing family of sons. In 1814 he was married to Lucy Henry, of Coleraine, Massachusetts. This union was a very happy one. Mrs. Mullett was a true mother in Israel, a loving wife, devoted mother and sincere Christian. This pair were blessed with eleven children, five sons and six daughters. Four sons and two daughters survive; they reside in Meridian township, Ingham county, Michigan.

In the war of 1812 John was an officer in the Buffalo Home Guards, and was present at the battle of Black Rock, which was the only fighting he did. He was a Federalist and opposed to the war, but turned out to defend his home, when invaded. Many of the advocates of the war took the field with the legend, "Liberty or death," inscribed on their hats. John Mullett used to describe, with much gusto, the conduct of these brave sons of Mars, when attacked by the invading army. At the first volley, they incontinently fled toward their homes in the Genesee country, and as they ran pell mell through the woods, it was amusing to see the valorous heroes scrambling over logs and pushing through the underbrush, with the legend always blazing in front: "Liberty or death!"

In 1818 John came to Detroit and engaged in the tailoring business for a short time. But this trade was not suited to his tastes, intellect, active disposition, and temperament. He had a great taste for mathematical

studies, and his acquirements in those branches of human knowledge were very considerable. He became an excellent engineer and surveyor. In 1821 he was appointed, by General Cass, surveyor of Michigan. During subsequent years he was often employed in engineering duties and in laying out streets and avenues in the rapidly extending domain of his adopted and well beloved city of Detroit. While thus engaged he was frequently interrupted and threatened with stones and shot guns. The conservative yet chivalrous old Frenchmen did not want their farms ruined by having Jefferson avenue projected through them.

In 1822 John was appointed by Edward Tiffin United States deputy surveyor, and was engaged in surveying government lands till 1849. In 1825, while surveying the township line in Eaton and Calhoun counties, the Indians undertook to drive him and his party from the woods. They were determined that their lands should not be surveyed. A little fracas occurred near a creek, in which two Indians were so badly pounded that they died shortly after, and the surveying party left the woods. That stream has been called Battle Creek ever since.

From 1831 to 1834 Mr. Mullett was engaged in surveying in Wisconsin. He surveyed all south of Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and was driven out by the Indians during the Black Hawk war. He was employed by General Scott to go east and purchase wagons for the transportation of troops.

He surveyed the road from Pontiac to Saginaw in 1822. He located the University lands in 1830.

He likewise surveyed the town line from the meridian line to Lake Michigan, south of the base line, and sub-divided into sections large portions of both peninsulas. He surveyed private claims at Green Bay and Mackinaw and laid out many towns and villages in this State and Wisconsin. Mr. Mullett was a charter member of the Detroit lodge of Free Masons and was its first master. He was the second Grand Master of the Michigan Grand Lodge.

In 1853 he removed to Meridian township, Ingham county, where, after an illness of several years, occasioned by paralysis, he died January 10, 1862, aged seventy-five and one-half years. His remains lie in the little rural cemetery near the village of Okemos.

John's brothers were men of ability, but only two of them were conspicious in public life. Ernest Mullett was a sound lawyer, who died at Dunkirk, New York. James Mullett resided for many years in Fredonia and Buffalo, New York. He was a very learned, able lawyer, a most eloquent advocate and orator, and a sound jurist. For many years before his

death he was one of the judges of the supreme court of the State of New York.

In person Mr. John Mullett was rather tall, lithe and active, full of genial *bonhomie*. He possessed an inexhaustable fund of anecdote and humor, which made him the life of every company he was in. Like our lamented President Lincoln, he always had a story to tell apropos to everything, and no one excelled him as a story-teller. His intellect was keen and incisive. He was well informed and full of pioneer lore. In Detroit he numbered among his warmest friends most of the leading, distinguished men of his generation. He was very domestic in his tastes, and he loved his fireside, with his wife and children gathered around it, better than anything else in the world; very courteous in his manners, at home or abroad, he was a pleasant gentleman of the old school. As before stated, he was an able mathematician, a thorough master of his profession. He was as modest as he was able. He was kind, honest and honorable in his intercourse with his fellow men. He loved his adopted city, Detroit, and his adopted State, Michigan, with an intensity that often made him blind to the merits of other places and States.

He was truly an active pioneer, having with compass and chain marked the way for the incoming settlers, inviting them to meet in our pleasant peninsula.

FATHER WINTER AND HIS FAMILY.

BY C. B. STEBBINS.

On my settlement in Adrian, in 1842, I found my next door neighbor to be an affable gentleman of sixty-four years, of commanding presence, and in every way of a patriarchal appearance, called by everybody, "Father Winter." He died about six years later. Sometime after his death, Mrs. Winter related to me the remarkable history of their emigration from Vermont to western Pennsylvania, and afterwards to Michigan. I was deeply interested in her story—truly romantic—both on account of the thrilling scenes

she depicted, and my high esteem for her and her departed husband; and I said: "Mrs. Winter, you are growing old, and must 'ere long go to join your husband; but you *must not die* till you have put your history on record."

"Oh," said she, "I have kept a diary through a good portion of my life, and I shall leave it for my children to use as they please when I am gone."

She lived several years after that conversation, and after her decease, through the changes in situation of the families of her descendants, those records could not be found. At my request several months since, a daughter—Mrs. Hood of Adrian—began a persistent search, and they were recently discovered among the waste papers of a grand-daughter in Kansas, waiting for the periodical appearance of the tin peddler. Thus they have been rescued from destruction; and from them, and from Mrs. Winter's narration to me over thirty years ago, in which she related some things not noted in her diary, and from my knowledge of the parties, the following history is prepared:

Asa Winter was born in Connecticut in the second year of the war of the Revolution. His father came from England, but stood by his adopted country, and is believed to have taken part in the war. Of his history, however, Mrs. Hood is able to give but little information. He must have died not long after the war, in moderate circumstances, as we find Asa, when not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age, in Middlebury, Vermont, rich only in energy and character, "paddling his own canoe." There is many a young man who might study his history with profit. Without resources, save what his own hands could create; without influential friends to aid him to social position, his success may be inferred from the fact that, in the year 1800, he was able to capture a wife (the same year in which they first met) from one of the first families of that aristocratic university town.

Amelia Conant, the captured party of the second part, was a daughter of Hon. Eleazar Conant of Middlebury, Vermont. There is hardly a name more familiar than this, to the people of Michigan,—especially of the eastern and southern sections,—for more than fifty years past. The father of Mrs. Winter graduated at Yale College (as his father had done before him), in the class of 1776, and went immediately into the army. He resided in Mansfield, Connecticut, after the war, until 1800, when he removed to Middlebury. He died in Maumee, Ohio, at the residence of his son, in 1819.

Amelia had three brothers, all, I think, graduates of Middlebury college. Judge Shubael Conant first visited Detroit in 1807, and settled there in 1809. Dr. Horatio Conant settled in Maumee about 1810. Dr. Harvey

Conant, father of our honored Secretary of State, graduated at Middlebury college in 1813, studied medicine, and joined his brother at Maumee, about 1816, and removed to Monroe about 1818, where, in 1820, he married Maria Stewart, (who is now living—1885) and resided there till his death, in 1851. Shubael and Horatio died several years ago.

These names are ample indorsement of the high social standing of the lady who was won by the self-made young man. He would tip the beam at two hundred, while she was a little body of some ninety pounds. But her history shows that she had a soul large enough for several bodies, could it have been divided.

It is strange that so many men, in all ages, have had such a propensity to abandon the comforts and advantages of home in the land of their birth, to seek a new home in some far away land,—perhaps a wilderness,—where they are sure, more than anything else, of sickness and privation, and whose every need must be supplied by their own hands. True, many are impelled by poverty and an over-crowded population, to seek new fields of enterprise; but multitudes living in assured comfort are restless with a desire to try their fortune in a new country, knowing, if they give the subject any thought, that their reward must be in the future, after long labor and hardships that can be appreciated only by experience. But they lay themselves on the altar,—whether designed or not,—for their children's sake; and the present generation in Michigan are reaping the golden fruits of their self-sacrifice. But for them,—to many in this audience, I might say, *but for you*, —our State might have been still a wilderness, and the Pioneer Society of Michigan have never been born.

Asa was of that self-reliant class; and knowing of some persons who had settled in western Pennsylvania, in 1810 he left his wife and four children (the youngest of whom died while he was absent), and found his way to that out-of-the-way part of the world. His design was to find a place where he could erect mills, which should form the nucleus of a future village; and he selected a tract about twelve miles north of Warren, the shire town of Warren county, Pennsylvania, and but four or five miles from the New York boundary. It was heavily timbered, largely with beech, and he named the embryo settlement Beech Woods. A small stream that emptied into the Alleghany river offered good means for mills. He here passed two years of hard labor, clearing up the site for a village, building two or three houses, and a saw mill and grist mill, procuring his machinery, at a heavy expense, from Pittsburg. His nearest neighbors were respectively, two, three and five miles distant. The mills were in operation, and had some custom, but

he had sold no "village lots." He had, however, made a home for his family, and in 1812, just about the time war was declared against Great Britain, he returned to Vermont for their removal.

Their children at that time were: Eleazar Conant—they called him Elly—Eunice and Azubah, aged respectively ten, eight and six years. Mrs. Winter's father urged to have the daughters left with him to be educated. He pictured their privations in a new country, physically and intellectually, but to no purpose. The mother's heart could not think of a separation from her children for years. Whatever their circumstances, they must be where they could have her care. Her husband approved of leaving them, but she "put her foot down." If the children stayed, she should stay, too. Of course she had her way. It is doubtful if she did not wish many times within twelve months that she had yielded.

On the 12th of October, 1812, Mrs. Winter and the children started with a carriage and colored servant of her father's, for Whitehall, Mr. Winter following a few hours behind, with two wagon loads of goods. On the way, Mrs. Winter fell in with a Mr. Murray, from New Haven, who, with his family, was on his way to settle in the Mohawk valley, and they traveled together till they reached that river. It was not till the third day they reached Whitehall, Mr. Winter arriving about the same time, a distance of only thirty-five or forty miles. It is probable that Mrs. Winter stopped a day at Orwell, where they had previously resided.

They found one tavern at Whitehall, and it was thronged with people who had come in from the surrounding country to attend a show of wax figures, at that time as great an attraction as Barnum's circus is now. The children attended the show, which made it a red letter day of their lives, but their parents were busy in preparation for the next morning's start on their long journey. Mr. Winter became satisfied that he had planned too great an outfit for such an undertaking, and re-packed his goods, taking only such as would be most necessary, and as many as he could carry on one wagon, with room for the five persons to ride. One of his horses was here taken sick, and he traded it for one which seemed "born to ill luck" all their journey through.

Just as the sun was rising above the *verd mons* on the 15th of October, 1812, they started on their toilsome way. The roads, poor at best, were badly cut up by the passage of army teams, and when they stopped for breakfast at nine o'clock, they found they had progressed but three miles. They afterward found tolerably good roads, and reached Utica on the 18th, which village Mrs. Winter describes as the most beautiful place she had ever seen. While passing through the village, they encountered two old

Vermont friends, who insisted that our travelers should go home with them for the night, which they did. Every day was separating them, probably for life, farther and farther from all past associations, and unexpectedly to meet old acquaintances was like a spring in the desert to a weary pilgrim.

They were charmed with this part of the country. Peaches were so abundant that the farmers turned their hogs in to fatten upon them. Farmers in southern Michigan did the same forty years later, but complained that the peach-stones broke the hogs' teeth so that they could not chew corn. But they have no such trouble now.

At Oneida they found a grocer who had oysters in the shell. The children had never tasted of an oyster, and they bought fifty for their dinner.

Before leaving home the children had never seen an Indian, and the sight of one filled them with terror. They could not think of an Indian without seeing in imagination the tomahawk and scalping knife, which they supposed every Indian held ready for deeds of blood. They were now reaching a section where the "noble red men" were quite numerous; and if they saw one, the fear of the children was such, they hurried on as though the enemy was on their track.

On the 23d they crossed Cayuga lake, and the next day what was their surprise to meet their brother Shubael from Detroit on his way east! It is said to be always "the unexpected that happens;" and any one who has traveled much knows how often he has met acquaintances at most unexpected times and places. And such a meeting with Shubael was as unexpected as it was gratifying. They stopped for a visit of two hours with him, and each went their way.

The diary speaks of their stopping at Bloomfield, and on the 25th at Caledonia, where they stayed at the house of Major Simons. The roads were very poor, but not muddy; for they had seen no rain since they started on their journey—nearly two weeks. But on the 26th it rained in torrents, and they were obliged to take a day of much needed rest for themselves and horses.

The roads were now mud roads *par excellence;* and on the 27th they made but fourteen miles' progress. Once the wagon got so deep in the mud that they had to get help to extricate it. They spent that night with a hospitable, but very poor, family, and as dirty as they were poor. The next day the roads were so bad they were obliged frequently to stop to let the horses take breath. They passed several parties of Indians by the roadside, cooking their food or bivouacked for the night.

As they approached Buffalo the road grew worse and worse; cut up by the heavy army wagons, of which they saw several drawn by four and six horses,

with mud literally "up to the hub." Five miles from the village they passed an army encampment, and saw that the soldiers were getting ready to move, but which way, we are not informed. Once Mr. Winter had to hire an ox team to get his wagon out of a mudhole.

They reached Buffalo on the 29th or 30th of October; having been seventeen or eighteen days on the way, a distance that may now be made on a summer day, "between sun and sun." The village contained about 200 inhabitants (now claimed to be 240,000), and was full of officers and soldiers, and our travelers could not find a comfortable place to stay. Mr. Winter proceeded at once to look for a vessel on which to continue his journey by the lake to Portland,—the port nearest to Chautauqua lake, upon which he expected to get another stage by water its entire length, and there by a road, little more than a trail, to the home he had spent two years in preparing. He found a schooner ready to leave, but one or two days passed, while the storm forbade their setting sail. Mrs. Winter was alarmed, and reasonably objected to going on the water at all. Mr. Winter was considerably vexed at what he thought her needless fears. He said, if the captain, with all his experience, was not afraid, he was not.

And now again, they unexpectedly met an acquaintance to help them in the emergency. They found a Mr. Thayer, formerly from Vermont, who lived not far from the western end of Chautauqua lake, who was about starting for home. So it was arranged that Mr. Winter should wait and go with the goods by water, while Mrs. Winter and the children should accompany Mr. Thayer and remain at his house till Mr. Winter arrived.

We read of military campaigns, marches, and battles, and think we can form some idea of the hardships of a soldier's life; but an old campaigner will tell us, with a contemptuous look, that we "know nothing about it." Doubtless we will as truly fail to appreciate the trials of our heroine, as I may, without extravagance, call her; nor can I depict to you the scenes as she related them to me, in so vivid a manner that I seemed to accompany her, and made one of the party. I can but give a skeleton of her story as she told it to me, with my memory refreshed by her diary. We must take into consideration the season of the year—November—the almost arctic climate of the hills she was to traverse, with three small children, on the backs of two horses, with but here and there a habitation in the wilderness, almost without roads, and all will agree that the picture can hardly be overdrawn.

On the 3d of November we see them leaving Buffalo,—destined in a few months to be destroyed by a vandal foe,—Mr. Thayer on one horse, Elly, the ten-year-old son, with eight-year-old Eunice on another, and Mrs.

Winter with six-year-old Azubah on Mrs. Winter's favorite mare. Neither carried a Saratoga trunk, but Mr. Thayer had quite a pack of goods purchased at Buffalo. It was a melancholy procession, and their hearts might well be filled with foreboding of serious hardships, if not actual danger. There was a turnpike for some distance out from the village, and Mr. Winter walked with them a mile to the toll-gate, paid their toll, and bade them adieu.

For eighteen miles they followed the beach, with a wind blowing which sailors did not dare to brave. In some places the space between the lake and perpendicular rocks was so narrow that the waves and spray dashed over the path, greatly frightening the horses and making their situation really dangerous. For ten miles, as they followed the beach, they had no opportunity to warm themselves, and really felt in danger of perishing from cold.

Mrs. Winter's narrative does not inform where they left the lake for a more direct course to Mr. Thayer's; probably not till the third day. The second day was very rainy, almost cold enough to snow, yet she says they traveled thirty miles "through the most terrible, dark, muddy roads you ever saw." Twice the horse of ill-luck fell with Elly and Eunice, but the children escaped injury, except from mud and water. Azubah became so tired,—she was really sick,—that Mrs. Winter feared she would fall from the horse, and she took her in her lap. At length they came to a house, and Mrs. Winter was so fatigued that she came near fainting on dismounting.

That night Azubah was actually sick, and Mrs. Winter got very little rest. The child was better in the morning, but Mrs. Winter was hardly able to dress the children, and all of them were so lame that, as the diary says, "they could hardly get up or sit down." "But," she writes, "we must go on and not complain; there is no alternative." It was a day of wind, rain and terrible roads. Mrs. Winter's mare fell three times, from getting her feet entangled among the roots, throwing her and Azubah into the mud and water, and the other poor beast fell several times in the same way. But none of them were seriously hurt. In the afternoon the latter horse gave out entirely. In this exigency, Providence directed in their way a small boy, on horseback—the first person they had met during the day—on his way to Chautauqua, and he took Elly and Eunice "on behind," until they reached the home of Mr. Thayer, having, in spite of all obstacles, traveled twenty-eight miles.*

Mrs. Winter was lifted from her horse and put at once to bed, unable

*It seems almost incredible that they could have made the distance she states, on the several days; but a reference to the map shows the distance from Buffalo to Chautauqua lake to be about the aggregate of her figures.

to sit up, and the children were very lame and sore. But they were now in the hands of kind friends, and Mrs. Winter still trusted in and thanked God. She wrote: "God has declared that, 'according to thy day, thy strength shall be;' and he has preserved us beyond all our apprehensions."

The weather became fair, and they waited in deep anxiety for tidings of Mr. Winter. But day after day passed, with no news. With her trusty mare, Mrs. Winter made a journey of eight or ten miles, to Portland, and could only learn that the schooner, with Mr. Winter, left Buffalo the day after she did, and, about the time he might have been expected to arrive, a vessel was seen tossing far out in the lake, and suddenly disappearing, to be seen no more. While at Portland she saw two thousand soldiers pass, with seventy Pennsylvania wagons, loaded with munitions of war, drawn by four and six horses. She does not state which way they were going; but the "Pennsylvania wagons" would indicate that they were going west, perhaps to Sandusky or Fort Meigs. While there she wrote to Erie, but received no information, and returned to Mr. Thayer's.

In her next entry she says: "No news of Mr. Winter yet. Must I return to Buffalo? I know not what to do. Here I am, among strangers, not having a change of clothes for myself or children; no money; no heart or health to work; Mr. Winter probably at the bottom of the lake. What to do I cannot tell. The sloop has not been heard from. Yet the people are very kind, and I esteem it a great favor to be cast among Christian people in time of trouble." Her friends were quite confident that Mr. Winter was lost.

In the evening of the day on which she wrote the above she was surprised by the appearance of a Mr. Evans, who lived a few miles from Beech Woods. He had been in the army at Fort Erie, and was on his way home. He proposed that they go on with him and remain at his home till the fate of Mr. Winter, for good or ill, should be known. She decided to accept this offer, and in the morning was ready to start.

Thursday, November 12, 1812, just a month from the time they bade adieu to their Green Mountain home, the snow was falling fast, but Mr. Evans was not willing to be detained, and having recovered the horse that was abandoned before their arrival, they mounted their horses as before—Mr. Evans being on foot—and started for the head of Chautauqua lake, but a few miles distant, expecting to find a sloop, which would take them about half way on their journey. Arriving, they learned that no craft of any kind would leave for several days, if, indeed, at all, before the next spring, and they decided to toil on by land. So they continued their journey over the

muddy, unfrozen ground, and the snow still fast falling. They got through the day very well, except severely suffering from cold. The first night they stayed at the house of Judge Pendergrass. Mrs. P. was much surprised at their approach, having never seen a woman in their wilderness on horseback, the travel being almost wholly by the lake. Mrs. Winter went early to bed and had a good night's rest, which she truly needed, in view of the yet unknown hardships before her.

Friday, November 13, snow was still falling, the ground was unfrozen, and their route was most of the way through the forest, without a road or bridge, and almost destitute of inhabitants. She was without money or provisions, and almost without clothes, among strangers; and she felt compelled to go on, whatever the outcome might be. They mounted their horses, which, as well as themselves, were very stiff. She says the snow was by that time nearly two feet deep, and the ground very soft, which made it almost impossible to shun the worst places. Judge Pendergrass kindly sent his colored man a few miles to pilot them to the next house, Mr. Evans being wholly unacquainted with the route.

That day they literally waded through the snow and mud, amd made but ten miles' progress. They found a house a little better, or better furnished, than an Indian wigwam; but it gave a shelter from the storm during the night. They had met with no mishap during the day, except an occasional fall of the horses by getting mired and pitching them into the snow. But no one being injured, Mrs. Winter speaks well of the ride.

Saturday, November 14, the snow continued to fall, but melted next to the ground, so that it hardly increased in depth. The trees were loaded with snow, which occasionally fell in masses on the heads of the chilled and weary travelers. Elly had many times covered himself with snow from the bushes on his way to school, but he now discovered that there could be "too much of a good thing." They had gone but about two miles when the old horse, from whom they had learned to expect nothing but misfortune, got a leg fast by the side of an invisible log, and it was some time before they could extricate him, badly lamed. However, they got the children on again and proceeded at a slow gait for nearly a mile, when they came to a large swamp covered with water. It was some distance around, and if they could cross it valuable time would be saved. Mr. Evans advised against taking the risk. Elly was for going straight on; and while Mrs. Winter was considering how to give the casting vote, he drove in. For some distance the water, filled with snow, was not deep, but when about half way across the water was up to his feet. Directly the feet of the horse became

entangled, and he fell, throwing the children into the water. Mr. Evans waded hastily in, and, rescuing Eunice, took her safely across. Elly took care of himself. Mrs. Winter made a circuit of the swamp, to find Eunice standing in the snow, dripping wet, and shivering with cold, while Mr. Evans and Elly were trying to rescue the horse. She dismounted to render any assistance that she could. They worked to their waists in the water for more than an hour in vain; when they concluded that their lives were of more importance than the horse, and left the unlucky beast to his fate. It had broken a leg, and, as soon as the children were out of its sight, Mrs. Winter sent Mr. Evans back to end its life.

They were now three miles from the nearest house, with a mountain to cross, five persons and one jaded horse. The girls were too tired to walk even if there had been no snow, and Mrs. Winter took one behind and one before her, while Mr. Evans and plucky Elly went by "Foot and Walker's line." Coming to a hill, the mare was found unable to carry the load, and Mr. Evans took Azubah on his back about three miles to the nearest house. It was a mountainous region, and at one place it was so steep that for some distance Mr. Evans crawled on his hands and feet with Azubah on his back. She was horrified at the idea of a little girl riding in that manner, and the impression was so indelible that, now she is seventy-nine years of age, she does not quite like to have the story told.

We do not wonder that Mrs. Winter describes it as "the worst country that was ever traveled by any human being." They reached the house of Esq. Brown a little before dark, having toiled but six or seven miles during the day. The feet of the children were nearly frozen and so swollen that they put them in hot water before they could get off their stockings. Esquire Brown kindly furnished them with a horse, and the next day they reached the house of Mr. Evans. He had cut the trees from a few acres, around which he had built a log fence, and in the centre a log house.

Mrs. Winter's only anxiety now was for her husband. Her friends endeavored gently to reconcile her to the idea that she would never see him again in this world, but as the days wore on she became more and more persistent in the belief that he was safe. She appeared very nervous, and her friends were not without fear that she was approaching insanity.

It was Sunday, a week after her arrival. As they sat at supper, suddenly she sprang from the table, and rushed to the door, crying: "He's coming! He's coming!" Every one exclaimed, "She's crazy!" They saw her run to the fence, which she leaped at a bound, and dashed into the woods. They speedily followed, and were just in time to see Mr. Winter leap from a horse and clasp her in his arms. This is not a fancy sketch. In a novel we

should say the author was presuming upon our credulity. I can only say with Hamlet, "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamed of in our philosophy." I tell the story as Mrs. Winter told it to me over thirty years ago, and as narrated substantially in her diary. I believe it because she told me, and leave the philosophy to be explained by any one who can explain the fact that forty years later, some of her grandchildren were so-called "mediums."*

The schooner sailed with Mr. Winter a day or two after Mrs. Winter left Buffalo. They soon encountered a storm, and for three days were tossed on the waves, expecting that any moment they might go to the bottom. The diary says they drifted three hundred miles and were at length driven on to a sandy beach on the Ohio shore. I do not remember whether she told me the place, and the nearest she comes to locating it in her diary, is by the remark that it was New Connecticut.†

But it was so far up the lake that it was three weeks before he met his wife. He had saved a portion of his goods in a damaged condition, but they were practically as far away as they would be now in Europe. Their friends, however, furnished them with a few articles, and they were soon happy in their own house. Happy, not in the comforts they possessed, but happy in their reunion, in the relief from past trial, and in hope for the future. They were young and trusted in their own energy and God's blessing for a yet prosperous and happy life.

Mr. Winter found that his mill dam had been swept away by a flood in his absence, and the mills were standing still. Several deaths had occurred in the scattered community from what they called the "soldiers' fever," and great alarm was felt by the settlers. He spent some weeks in rebuilding the dam, and early in the spring sent for their goods. Of all that was saved, Mrs. Winter most highly prized a feather bed, as she had been obliged to sleep on straw since their arrival.

* On a warm winter day a ten year old grandson in Adrian gathered together all his playthings, and told his mother specifically how to distribute them to his cousins if he should die. He was a bright, loving boy, and his mother thought little of it, as he was always saying odd things. He went out to play and in two hours was brought in dead! He had gone on to the river and broken through the ice and was drowned. He seemed to have an unconscious belief, (if I may use such an expression,) that he was about to die. As he clung to the edge of the ice, and his older brother was trying to help him, he said, "Save yourself, Will, you can't save me," and sank in the water.

† Under a grant made to the New England colony in 1631, Connecticut claimed the territory sixty miles in width to the Pacific ocean; Virginia, New York and other colonies had conflicting claims. Virginia ceded her claim to the general government in 1787. Connecticut obtained a recognition of her claim in a compromise, by which a tract was set off to her in northern Ohio, containing 3,666,921 acres. This, for many years was known in New England as "New Connecticut," now the "Western Reserve." In the year 1800—two years before Ohio became a state—Connecticut relinquished her jurisdiction over the domain, but retained the title to the land, and sold the same to individual purchasers. The "Reserve" extends from the Pennsylvania line west one hundred and twenty miles to a point a few miles beyond the city of Sandusky, and south to the forty-first parallel, embracing about twelve counties.

April 22, 1813, they welcomed the advent of another daughter, whom they named Mary Jane.

Mr. Winter had repaired the dam, and the mills were in successful operation, when, on the 7th of May, there was another flood and a break in the dam; and at this time the creek changed its course and the torrent reached the house, undermining it on one side so that they had to make a speedy flight with an infant two weeks old. Besides running the grist-mill, Mr. Winter engaged in lumbering, and in times of high water, ran rafts of lumber down the Alleghany to Pittsburgh, where he procured his supplies.

Under date of January 1, 1814,* Mrs. Winter writes: "This very day news of the destruction of Buffalo, by fire set by the British, has reached our neighborhood. It was burned last Thursday. Some of the soldiers have returned; but the greater part are either slain or are taken prisoners, or are still in the woods striving to escape. The people are alarmed for their safety, and escape at this season of the year would be impossible, as the only way is down the river, and that is shut with ice."

"January 4. Mr. Winter commanded to Erie on a draft for thirty days. Started this day with a company, leaving the town destitute of men, except invalids; and if the Indians should come, we should be an easy prey. God forbid that we shall ever be disturbed by that inhuman race.

"January 9. The girls taken with whooping-cough. I fear the babe will never get through this distressing disease, at this season of the year, in an open, wretched dwelling, Mr. Winter gone, and I am worn out with hardships. Elly also has the cough, and no one to see to anything.

"January 21. Just heard from Mr. Winter. He is not well. I fear the fatigue of the camp will be too much for him. He encamps with the soldiers.

"February 8. The soldiers this day arrived. Mr. Winter has gone to Meadville for pay for himself and men. I am almost on the point of giving up. I am not able to sit up more than half of the time, but obliged to be up so much with the children nights. The neighbors are all sick, and I cannot get any assistance."

These extracts from her diary will give a more vivid idea of her trial than any paraphrasing of mine could do. She next tells of a heavy rain that broke the dam and flooded the house, so they laid boards on the chairs to get about, and put a big log in the fireplace, on which to make a fire above the water. She could get no communication with the neighbors. She

*Mrs. Winter must have been mistaken in this date. Buffalo was burned the last day of December, and it is not possible that the news could have reached Beechwood in one day.

feared the children, with whooping-cough, would take cold, and she kept them in bed, doubtful whether the water would not reach them even there. But the creek fell almost as rapidly as it rose, partly in consequence of the break in the dam. She engaged men to repair the dam, and had the mills in operation before Mr. Winter returned. He had an attack of the "soldiers' fever" while absent. He had four hundred men under his command. She speaks of his being elected constable in 1818.

In 1816 or 1817 he sold his property at Beechwood (when the name was condensed to a single word, is uncertain), and bought a farm of several hundred acres on the border of the village of Warren. This was crossed by a stream, about the size of the Raisin at Addison, known afterwards as Winter's Run, emptying into the Alleghany at Warren. He there erected another saw-mill and grist-mill. Had his family retained that farm until this time, his descendants might have been millionaires; the land now being covered with oil derricks.* He remained there about seventeen years. Eunice, Azubah, and Mary Jane had married and settled in Warren. In the spring of 1834 the two farmers, with their families, removed to Adrian, Michigan, to which place Elly had gone five years previously. They were two months on the way, by land.

It now seems incredible to us that it should require that length of time; but it was in the days when the legend goes that emigrants through the thirty-mile black swamp stopped three nights at the same tavern, without loss of time. Paradoxical as this may seem, possibly it was true. The emigrants might get within a mile of a tavern when night approached. Leaving the wagon in the mud, with one person to guard it, the others would walk to the tavern for night number one. The next day they would get the heavily loaded wagon as far as the tavern for night number two. The next day they would get a mile or so further on, and walk back to spend night number three. And as there was a public house every two or three miles,† emigrants could always get accommodations—such as they were.‡ Our travelers had a similar, probably a worse, swamp of ten miles to pass below Blissfield, without an inhabitant; and they say they were a week from Maumee to Adrian. On both of these, then worthless, tracts are now some of the most valuable farms in the country; and the timber on the latter—

* In 1875, Mrs. Elliot—a grand-daughter—visited the old place at Warren. She found the old house still standing, but the mills were gone. She found one of the mill-stones over a well in the neighborhood—the hole in the center being just right for the wooden pump—and the other nearly buried in the dirt where it had been for years.

† Before the building of the Michigan Central Railroad the taverns along the Chicago turnpike from Detroit were about as thick as that most of the way across the State.

‡ In 1850, the writer of this passed that "swamp" nine times by stage that made ten miles an hour, over a well-constructed McAdam road.

cottonwood—supposed to be worthless for any purpose, has been found valuable for various uses.

In the fall of the same year, 1834, Mr. Winter sold his property in Warren, and, with Mary Jane and her family, followed his other children to Adrian, with a similar experience of his journey. It is well to put these details on record, that the posterity of Michigan's pioneers may not forget through what hardships of their ancestors this fair land was secured to them.

Adrian was then but about five or six years old, from the stump, with a population of a little over three hundred. A Presbyterian Church, "on the plan of union," had been organized, Rev. J. S. Tomlinson, pastor. A church had been buit, some twenty-five by forty feet, o'ershadowed by giant oaks. It gave the name to the street laid out in front of it, without any reference to the points of the compass, which still is known as Church street, and on which are two large brick churches. Mr. and Mrs. Winter were Congregationalists (there were hardly any Presbyterian churches in Vermont), and they united with the church soon after their arrival. Soon after, the society erected a very fine church, for those days, on Maumee street, which has since been remodeled and enlarged. The old building was occupied for some time by the Episcopalians, and afterward as a carpenter's shop, and burned but a few years since.

Mr. Winter was now settled in his new home, with his children around him. He possessed a moderate competence, and for two years engaged in no business. In 1836 he took a contract on the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad, then building from Toledo to Adrian—the first railroad built west of Buffalo. In 1837 he was elected the first president of the "village of Adrian." He afterwards carried on an ashery, but was in no business for some years before his death, August 12, 1847, after a married life of forty-seven years.

While writing this, I am reminded by his only surviving daughter, of the obituary notice it was my lot to write, as editor of the *Michigan Expositor*, part of which I here quote, as I could now give no better epitome of his character. It was no fulsome praise, designed to please his bereaved friends, but the simple truth, which I knew my readers would heartily endorse. I knew the man! His home was next door to mine. I can still see his noble form—as venerable as his character—whether working in his garden, passing my door, or stopping for a friendly chat. Such men are not forgotten by the first generation that succeeds them, and they should not be by the generations that follow. Fortunately, the history of not a few such will be preserved through the publications of this society.

From the *Michigan Expositor*, August 17, 1847:

"Died, in this village, on Thursday last, Asa Winter, in the seventieth year of his age. The death of Father Winter, as he was familiarly termed by all, has left a vacuum in society not easily filled.

"He was a man of *benevolence*. The poor gathered around him in his last hours, and mourned with grief sincere, the approach of the robber, Death.

"He was a *peacemaker*. Many could testify to the disputes he has settled and the quarrels he prevented. Such was the confidence of *bad* men in him, that he was often appealed to, and his decision was usually concurred in.

"He was a friend of *temperance*. He has drank no intoxicating liquors, unless prescribed by a physician, for upwards of thirty years.

"He was an *honest man*. His word was everywhere as good as his bond, and no one who knew him feared to trust his interests in his hands.

"He was a *Christian*. His life was characterized by strict integrity and every Christian grace, and his end was peaceful and happy.

"He was a man of athletic frame, and a constitution, which, aided by a temperate life, bore him to a good old age, through hardships which few men could endure.

"Tranquil and safe, he laid him down to rest,
Calm as an infant on its mother's breast,
Back to his God he gave his willing soul,
And rose triumphant to the Christian's goal."

Mrs. Winter survived her husband, surrounded by her children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, with the warm regard of all who knew her, till September 11, 1864, when, at the age of eighty-six, she fell asleep to join her husband in a better world.

After what has been said, the reader need not be told that Mrs. Winter was a remarkable woman. Her energy, her patience and endurance under mental and physical strain were simply wonderful. A little woman, her sons were stalwart men, and her daughters above the average height of women. She had an "opinion of her own," and firmness in maintaining it, yet in a manner so gentle and with a heart so kind, that a collision with others was rare. Her mind was active till near the close of life.

They lost two children in infancy, and six were living at the time of Mr. Winter's death. Five lived to lay their mother in the grave. Three have since passed away, leaving two still living in 1885.

Of these children, the length of this paper forbids but a brief mention, as follows: Eleazar Conant (Elly in the foregoing,) was born in Middlebury, Vermont, August 3, 1802. He did not remain long at Beechwood, but

determined to have an education, and immediately after the war returned to his grandfather Conant, and graduated from Middlebury College at the age of seventeen. He studied medicine and in 1824 commenced practice with his uncle, Dr. Conant, at Maumee, Ohio. But it appears that he was not pleased with the practice, as we soon find him in partnership with General John E. Hunt in a store of general merchandise. In 1829 he removed to Adrian, a village just projected by Isaac Dean and his son-in-law, Addison J. Comstock. But ten or twelve buildings had been erected. He opened the first store in the place, and Winter street, on which his store stood, was named in his honor. The same year he married a daughter of Mr. Dean. The Indians were at that time quite numerous in that vicinity, and he became very popular with them, and they named him McIntosh, knowing him by no other name till the last red man left Lenawee county. Whatever McIntosh said was, to them, always right. He returned to the practice of medicine in Chicago some years before his death, December 12, 1867. His widow was still living in 1885.

Eunice was born in Middlebury, July 7, 1804. She married Russell Lyman in 1828 and resided at Warren until they removed to Adrian, in 1834. She died December 1, 1859, and her husband in December, 1876. They left two children and two grandchildren.

Azubah B. was born at Middlebury, August 5, 1806. In 1830 she married Lewis Liberty Follett, and they also resided at Warren till their removal to Adrian. They had one child who died young, and Mr. Follett died July 2, 1846. She afterwards married Mr. C. M. Hood, with whom she is now, at seventy-nine years of age, living in Adrian.*

The three foregoing will be remembered as the children who accompanied Mrs. Winter on her remarkable journey in 1812.

Mary Jane was born at Beechwood, April 22, 1813—the babe Mrs. Winter feared would not survive the whooping-cough. She married William Williams at Warren, in 1831. They raised a family of six children. Mr. Williams died December 6, 1882, and in two months and seven days Mrs. Williams followed him to the spirit world.

William P., was born at Beechwood, March 4, 1816, and now resides in Rome, Lenawee county. He has a family of four children and four grandchildren.

Marcia was born at Warren, May 10, 1818. She never married and was found dead in her bed in 1845. She had been in ill health for many years.

It was my good fortune to be acquainted with Father Winter and his fam-

*Mrs. Hood died the same day on which this was read to the Society.

ily, and what I say of their social and moral worth I say from actual knowledge. Most of them have passed away, but they are well remembered by the older residents of Lenawee county, as among the earliest pioneers of Adrian, and doing their full share in developing the moral and material interests of that beautiful city. Some of them have lived to see the woody hamlet of three or four hundred inhabitants grow to ten thousand, with public and private buildings comparing favorably with any in the State.

EARLY HISTORY OF WOODSTOCK.

BY ORSAMUS LAMB, OF ADRIAN.

Assembled in this hall of legislation, surrounded by those whose forms and faces denote that in the time long ago they came upon the active scenes of life, we feel inspired by the memories of early life to contribute, in our feeble way, something to the sum total of the history of this fair peninsula. And while that part of the State of Michigan of which I shall more particularly speak is, in a measure, unknown to fame and general historic incident, yet Woodstock, with its verdant hillsides, fertile plains and sparkling waters, seems to me like heaven's bright gift to man. While the forests have disappeared under the sturdy blows of the pioneer's ax, and by his toil have been converted into smiling fields of plenty, dotted all over with monuments of industrial skill, yet the face of the old township is the same as when my boyish feet first pressed its virgin soil over fifty years ago. On a bright November afternoon in 1834, mellowed by softness of an Indian summer sun, its beautiful openings, crystal waters and far-reaching landscapes gladdened my sight, and although weary and travel-worn, I felt like leaping for joy.

Woodstock (town 5 south, range 1 east) lies nearly upon the elevation of lands in the lower peninsula, where its waters divide and find their respective ways to Lake Erie on the east and Lake Michigan on the west, and its western line is the principal meridian line for Michigan.

The Chicago turnpike was almost the only road laid out at the time spoken of. It was constructed nearly upon the route of the old Indian trail, from Detroit to Chicago, by the United States government, and for thirty years after that time, traces could be found of the trail, worn by the feet of the dusky denizens of the west and their faithful ponies. And for a long time after the road was built, the Indians from the west made their annual pilgrimages over it on their way to Malden, to receive from the English government their yearly dues of money, blankets, etc.; and these yearly pilgrimages were conducted as fancy might picture a pilgrimage to Mecca.

There was a tribe of them which remained in the vicinity for years, dividing their time between Hillsdale and Lenawee counties. They were of the Pottawattomie tribe. Their chief was Bawbese, one of the finest specimens of the red man it has ever been my fortune to look upon. And, unlike the average Indian, his tall form was well rounded out, and with his erect and manly bearing, he appeared in every way worthy of the position which he filled; but, like all his tribe, he could not forbear, when an opportunity offered, to indulge in the white man's curse—intoxication. But when drunken he would never lose sight of his lordly position, and would bear himself as faultlessly as any of the barons of feudal times.

But with the civilization of the white man, these ancient lords of the forest have gone away to the far west, and not one remains to tell the citizen of to-day where they used to pursue the wild animals of the forest, or mark where the primitive wigwam sheltered him and his dusky family from the rigors of winter, or point to the little mounds here and there which contain the ashes of their cherished dead.

And now, as the frosts of over sixty winters have whitened my hair, and, instead of the lithe boy of fifteen summers, I find age creeping on apace, but would hardly know it were it not that the term old gentleman is so frequently made use of by others that I am reminded that I must submit and am obliged "to accept the situation." And these scenes furnish a sort of dreamy satisfaction, and in memory are again lived over in fancy.

The old Chicago road, almost the only landmark of civilization, again appears in its sinuous course from the northeast to southwest, and the enterprising emigrant, tricked out with the necessary means of travel, pursuing his devious way amidst forest scenery, with abundant herbage, bedecked with floral beauty unknown to these modern days, is seen in all the perfection of pioneer life. Again we live over those early days, interspersed with mingled recollections of pleasure and pain. We listen to the ring of the woodman's ax, the merry shout of honest mirth, the sincere fraternal greeting, the lofty hymns of praise ascending from devout and honest

hearts to Him who hears alike the prayer of the humblest and the most exalted of his subjects. And again we are parched with the internal fires of fever, dream of the cooling draught from the crystal fount of our boyhood's home, hear the death rattle of expiring kindred, stand again beside the open grave of those who were busy actors in the great drama of pioneer life, and shudder as we hear the rattling sand upon the coffin, and hear reiterated again and again "Dust to dust," "Earth to earth," "Ashes to ashes." And as we recount the names of those honest pioneers we find that, excepting here and there one, nothing remains as reminders of their presence and honest worth but the monuments they have erected by honest efforts, and the little green mounds which ever and anon we meet, beneath which repose the ashes of those whose memory will ever remain green with us, until we, too, are summoned hence to be forgotten of men.

The first house I looked upon in Woodstock was the neat log cabin of Benjamin Lair, who preceded my father in the settlement of Woodstock about three or four months. Benjamin was a man of sterling worth, industrious and honest. He settled on a farm of two hundred acres on sections one and twelve, his residence being on section twelve, on the north side of the Chicago road; and there he hewed out for himself a fine home and after about thirty years of pioneer life he laid aside the toils and cares he entered upon in May, 1834, and entered upon the rest of the Christian's hope; and in a few years his faithful, loving, Christian wife followed him, and their ashes repose side by side near one of the sparkling little lakes which render Woodstock so picturesque and beautiful. They left behind four children. Edwin, the eldest, now a gray haired man of nearly seventy, occupies a part of the old farm. Jacob, now, if living, is in Missouri. Catherine, long since dead, and Lucy, a resident of Jackson county.

The next house I came to in traveling west on the Chicago road was the cabin of Thomas McCourtie, on section eleven; he lived there a few years and finally settled on the same road, a little further west, on section nine.

He was a man of untiring industry, small in stature, but made up in energy what he lacked in ponderosity, and was successful in life; died at an advanced age, as did his worthy wife. They reared a large family: Michael D., who resides in Somerset, Hillsdale county; Andrew J., who lives in Woodstock; Amanda, who died on the old homestead, on section nine; Catherine, who died young; Rachael, now a widow, on section seven; Edith, who resides in Cambridge.

The next house west on that thoroughfare was the residence of Jesse Osburn, on the west line of section nine. It was a place of prominence in my life afterwards, for on the 13th day of March, 1839, I was duly installed

in the office of son-in-law to the proprietor; the office I have ever since held, and one which I do not intend to resign.

His house became famous as the Silver Creek Hotel,—the half-way house between Tecumseh and Jonesville, and where General Brower's line of stages held one of its stations. It was on the banks of Silver creek, the outlet of Silver lake, whose crystal waters bear testimony to the fitness of the name. He was a true pioneer, one of those apt men who could adapt himself to the exigencies of the times,—endure, without a murmur, the wants and privations such as the pioneer must always endure, and adapt himself to the luxury and refinements of society, however it may be advanced. He remained on the Silver creek homestead until his estimable Christian wife was laid to rest, over thirty-five years ago, where the shimmering brightness of the pellucid waters of Silver lake may be seen dancing in the sunlight, from the marble monument erected to her memory by loving hands. Soon after his wife died he removed to Kansas, where he went down like a shock of corn fully ripe and fit for his Master's use, honored and respected by all who knew him. He was the son of Abraham and Loretta Osborn, who were reared amidst the perils of Revolutionary times. They came from their old home near Ithaca, New York, at an advanced age, with their son, Samuel, and settled on section four, about the year 1836. Grandfather Abraham was a soldier of the Revolution, and Grandmother Loretta was one of those who escaped the massacre at Wyoming. She was then about twelve or fifteen years old, and at that tender age was made prisoner by the Indians. She saw her father murdered and scalped, and dared betray no emotion lest those red devils should visit upon herself the same fate. And, nerved to desperation, she, in order to save the life of her little six-year-old brother—Asel Finch, who afterwards lived at Tecumseh and was father-in-law to the late Judge Blanchard—carried him on her back sixty miles through an unbroken forest, with the gory scalp of her father continually in view, dangling from his murderers and her captors' belt. She and her little brother were afterwards ransomed. And to-day the ashes of Abraham and Loretta lie side by side, on a little elevation on section four, as peacefully and as sweetly as if the thunders of British cannon had never awakened their slumber, or the midnight yell of the savage and the fire-fiend had never struck consternation to their hearts.

Jesse left six children at his death, and three had preceded him to that silent shadow land whither we are all hastening.

The eldest living son, Alvin C., now owns the farm, in Woodstock, where his father lived, and just across the way from the old house he has erected one—a commodious and modern one, where his many old, and even new,

acquaintances from various sections of the country avail themselves of his hospitality, and enjoy a pleasant recreation amidst the beautiful scenery the neighborhood affords. But he keeps the old house, or at least that portion of it which came to his hands, intact, and stored beneath its roof are many relics of a bygone age, left him by his father.

"Uncle Jesse," as he was familiarly and respectfully called by his acquaintances, settled two new farms in Tompkins county, N. Y., one at Tecumseh, one in Woodstock and one in Kansas. He was one of the first settlers at Tecumseh, raised the first wheat in Lenawee county, from which was furnished the first cake at the first Fourth of July celebration ever held in Lenawee county. While at Tecumseh, he began to feel the need of an education for his children, and therefore removed to Detroit for a few years, that they might avail themselves of the superior privileges that city afforded. He always planted an orchard the first proper moment wherever he settled. And when age began to creep on, his friends would frequently say that he was too old to reasonably hope to secure any benefits thereby; but he would always reply to the effect that it was a duty he owed to those who should come after him, and while he might possibly not live to enjoy the fruits thereof, there would be plenty who would gladly accept of them, but that he believed he should be benefited by it himself, as he came of a long-lived race of men. He planted a very extensive orchard in Woodstock, of nearly all the known varieties of fruit, which, though now aged, stands as a monument to his skill and industry, and a source of pride to his descendants. The last one, in Kansas, now sheds, in springtime, the perfume of its blossoms over his last resting place, and its golden fruit in autumn, like jewels in a prince's diadem, contribute to the majesty of his untiring and honest industry, while the breezes from the undulating green of the prairies whisper a fitting requiem to his memory.

At the almost western boundary of Woodstock is a farm of thrift, where, in 1834, was the residence of Cornelius Millspaw, which was the first residence in what is now Woodstock, situated on the old Chicago road—as the Chicago road was the road of that day. It was a hotel—not such an hotel as we see in these days, oh, no! but far from it; and I fear if the modern traveler or wayfarer of to-day should be no better accommodated than were those who sought its humble and unpretentious accommodations, the bystander might not form a very favorable opinion of the Christian fortitude and forbearance of the traveling public. But the wayfarer of that day was content, although he was not hoisted to his couch of repose by the aid of an elevator, or indemnified against intrusion by locks and bars of modern improvement. He was content to ascend to the loft of the cabin by a rude

ladder, and felt as if fortune was propitious if he could be screened from the observation of the curious by the intervention of a friendly blanket, suspended from the bark-covered rafters by a couple of otherwise useless table forks.

The father of the writer, Nahum Lamb, settled in 1834, on section ten, on the aforesaid turnpike, where he continued to reside for about thirty years, and then went to North Adams, Hillsdale county, where he, at the age of ninety years, peacefully sank to rest, full of years and honors. His father, of Charlton, Massachusetts, was a soldier of the Revolution, who also lived to a great age.

Nahum married for his first wife Miss Holmes of Wales, Erie county, New York; by her he had three children. She died when I was twelve years of age. In about three years he again married. The second wife was Miss Davis of Wales, aforesaid; she is now living at North Adams, Hillsdale county; by her he had four children, three of whom are now living, the eldest of whom is postmaster of that place. He was named for Millard Fillmore, who was a fast friend of my father's, both before and since Fillmore became president of the United States. My father's Whig proclivities no doubt served to strengthen that friendship. The brother of President Fillmore used to teach school in old Wales, Erie county, N. Y., and I can well remember of Millard visiting his brother's school, and mending my goose quill pen many a time, I all unconscious of the exalted position he was to occupy in the coming drama of life. I then only looked upon him as a model military man who made a fine appearance when mounted on his favorite horse at our general parades, which to me—small boy that I was—was the height of human greatness, and he the chief central figure of the aggregated perfection.

My father was the first supervisor of Woodstock. He was elected when Woodstock and Cambridge were detatched from Franklin and assumed their rightful corporate independence in 1835 or 1836. The canvas was a quiet one, and the ballots, big with after consequences, were deposited in a hat kindly loaned by one of the new citizens of the town for the occasion. There were no stump speeches; no brass bands; no money squandered among the voters to influence the result; no ballot-box stuffing; no persistent office seeker to button-hole the voter and tell of his claims upon him because he had done any amount of dirty political work for the party; no scratching or slipping of tickets; no printers' bills to pay; and, when the result was declared, no direful threats of a contest before the courts to rob the lucky candidate of the satisfaction which his success warranted.

I have no data from which to write the result, but the most of the officers elected I can remember. Nahum Lamb, supervisor, residence on section ten; Thomas McCourtee, town clerk, section nine; David Turrell, one of the justices, section seven; Joseph Younglove, another justice, section thirty-six; Charles M. McKenzie, another justice, section twenty-seven, at the head of Devil's lake, to which he gave the euphonious name of McKenzie's port,—near where Allen and Brazee are now building each a hotel and store and where a little steamer now plies between the M. & O. railroad to Allen's landing in Rollin, Isaac Smith, another justice, on section ten, since the father-in-law of our venerable president, F. A. Dewey; Wardel W. Sanford of section fifteen, William Babcock, of section seven, and Benjamin Lair, of section twelve, commissioners of highways. Nelson Turrell, of section seventeen, treasurer, and I think, Edwin Lair, of section twelve, one of the constables. The others I do not remember, neither can I remember who were school inspectors, but all the officers were elected without question as to politics. But I think they were very evenly divided between Democrats and Whigs, and the beauty of the thing was, there was no third party in the field to render the political result uncertain. I think Willard Joslin, of section ten, who came to Michigan in company with my father, was one of the assessors, and perhaps, Levi Harlow, of section twenty-three, another.

My father and Mr. Joslin came by land with teams from Erie county, New York, and were on the road about seventeen days. We crossed the Maumee river by fording, at Perrysburg, and then we began to realize we were indeed in a new country. Nothing but reaches of marsh land, broken only by slight rises of scanty whortleberry barrens, upon which, here and there, was a dreary settler, who immediately paid for his rashness by chills and fever which rendered his stay quite certain, unless relieved by death, which not unfrequently happened. We got our teams mired in those treacherous marshes and were obliged to camp out one night in that then malarious and desolate region, with nothing to eat ourselves, and nothing for our teams but some poor marsh hay, a stack of which stood like a lone sentinel of the desert to greet us, and near by was a bit of board nailed to a tree, upon which appeared in chalk letters a caution to travelers to be careful of fire, lest their only means of food for teams should be destroyed.

We finally floundered through the marshes and got to Dundee, where plenty again greeted us, and then we took the LaPlaisance Bay Turnpike, which was newly built and not fully completed to Tecumseh. When we came in view of Tecumseh, its beautiful surroundings were a pleasant contrast to the Michigan desert we had crossed, but which has since, by untiring industry and skill, become a fine and thrifty country.

But lest your patience should be wholly exhausted, I must forbear further mention of the early settlers of Woodstock, feeling that I have not done justice to the matter by those I have mentioned and still a greater injustice to others whose names do not in this article appear, who were the peers of any herein mentioned.

But old Woodstock lies there, spread out just as it was, so far as the face of the country is concerned, when the first white man's voice awakened the echoes amongst her green hills or reverberated over her plains or the peaceful calm of her sparkling waters. Her majestic oaks have given place to beautiful fields of plenty; her green and floral decked landscapes are now dotted over with the homes of affluence and plenty. Where the scream of the loon and the howl of the wild beast or the yell of the savage were all that disturbed the calm repose of nature, now is heard the screech of the locomotive, the hum of busy life, the thundering of machinery, while the beauties of civilization and the evidences of educational advancement appear.

And so, as I bid adieu to the old pioneers of 1885, who have battled successfully and long with privations and hardships in converting a wilderness to a land of plenty, a source of pride to her people, and an honor to the Union, I would say in the language of another:

"So, dearest friends, in calling up the past,
We find our early friendship of that sort
That dwells in memory, for it was enshrined
With unforgotten names now dead.
Kind-hearted, faithful, full of zeal and love,
In grave-yard now their abiding place.
Beneath the green sprigs they now repose in peace,
While we a little longer wait,
Cheered by the recollection of their love.

"And so in future years, should we be spared,
May we recall this one more happy hour;
This group of well-known faces; every hand
Strong in the grip fraternal; every soul
Softened and sanctified by fraternal love."

RECOLLECTIONS OF SOME OF THE PIONEERS OF BELLEVUE.

BY JOHN F. HINMAN.

In writing up this manuscript of recollections, I find it necessary to mention myself many times, but trust my hearers will not come to the conclusion that I am vain enough to consider myself as one of the "distinguished men of Bellevue."

I came to Bellevue, from Castleton, Vermont, on the 14th day of August, A. D. 1838, and, in company with my brother, Benjamin F. Hinman, went into the mercantile business. Bellevue, at that time, had a grist mill, saw mill, blacksmith shop, and in fact was the county seat of Eaton county, where his honor, Epaphroditus Ransom, dealt out justice, as I have since learned, in small doses, to those who digressed too much from the strict rules, as laid down by Sir William Blackstone. But people in other parts of the county soon began to think that Bellevue was getting along too fast, and an effort was made, which succeeded in removing the county seat, together with Judge Ransom's court, from Bellevue to Charlotte, where it now remains.

The first and only criminal trial that was held in the circuit court at Bellevue, to my knowledge, was the trial of Abe Talladay, for borrowing and selling Holder Hart's wagon. Abe was the owner of a span of horses, and borrowed Hart's wagon to haul a load of goods from Detroit. On arriving at Detroit, he ascertained that a steamboat would leave the next morning for Buffalo, and Abe came to the conclusion that this was his last and only chance of visiting his old home again. So he made up his mind that he would dispose of his team and wagon, shake the dust of Michigan from his feet, and leave for Buffalo, which he did. Mr. Hart, on finding out what had happened, got a requisition from Governor Mason on the Governor of New York, for the return of Abraham Talladay. This requisition was placed in the hands of Daniel Mason, a deputy sheriff, who proceeded to the State of New York, where poor Abe was delivered up, and brought back to Michigan in irons. There was no jail in Bellevue, but after some little effort, Abe got Eli Cushing and Philo Campbell to go on his bond as bail. This enabled Abe to be

at large again; but, about six weeks before the trial was to come on, Abe began to get uneasy, and was making his arrangements to leave. His bail hearing this, delivered him up to the sheriff, and Abe was tied with a strong rope and taken to a blacksmith shop, where an iron ring was riveted to one of his ankles, a big chain attached, and he was kept chained in the second story of Carpenter's store until Judge Ransom's court held a session. On the trial, James Wright Gordon defended Abe, and George C. Gibbs was the prosecutor. Gordon got the case, cleared Abe, and for his services Abe gave him a spotted cow.

In the early history of Bellevue a good many amusing things happened, and as the town was made up of quite funny characters, this commodity, fun, was considered about equal to legal tender.

In the year 1845 there was a Methodist minister in Bellevue by the name of Reynolds, a very clever man and also quite a talented preacher. Reynolds and Mr. R. J. Grant, then a resident of Bellevue, went one day down to a swamp near Mr. Ackley's, in the town of Convis, and found the whortleberries very large and plenty, so much so, that they loaded their vehicle in a short time. On their return to Bellevue it was noticed that they had met with exceedingly good success; but nobody could ascertain from them where this wonderful swamp was located. My friend Martin T. Brackett, however, being on the lookout, saw them start off next day and proposed to me that we should take their track, and he thought we could also find whortleberries. We harnessed up our horse and followed on down to Ackley's, where Reynolds and his friend Grant had left their horse. After leaving ours we followed them into the swamp and traveled about for several hours, but found berries very scattering. We hallooed; but no answer came. Reynolds and his companion kept quiet. We got no response from them. Finally Mr. Brackett and myself held a council and concluded to separate, one go on one side of the swamp, and the other to go on the other side and travel until we came together again.

After separating I had not traveled very far before I came to a tamarack which had fallen down, and upon stepping upon this tree it enabled me to look beyond a little water place, and just over this place I discovered the article so long sought after, for the whortleberry bushes were completely bent down, they were so loaded with fruit. I stepped down from my place of observation and as I was getting over this water place, caught off a handful of berries and put them into my mouth. These, with the effort in getting over, set me to coughing; somebody, a little distance off, hearing me, called out, "halloo!" I thought to myself, I have hallooed nearly all day and nobody has been kind enough to answer me, now, whoever you may

happen to be, you are at liberty to "halloo" as long as you please, I shall not answer you. But with all my efforts I could not stop coughing, and presume, in my efforts to suppress it, I made a strange noise. All at once, Rev. Mr. R., for it proved to be him, commenced pounding on a tree and hallooing "ste-boy," and after repeating this for some time and getting no response from me but my suppressed cough, he dropped everything and ran—and such time as he made has never been recorded, particularly in that swamp. Reynolds ran to Ackley's, and when he arrived there he was so much exhausted that it was some time before he recovered sufficiently to tell what was the matter. After having restoratives administered, and on recovering his speech, he told Ackley that a large black bear had chased him out of the swamp. It is hardly necessary to add that friend Brackett and myself very soon came together, got our receptacles full, had a good laugh and returned home. Rev. Mr. Reynolds did not find it convenient to preach in Bellevue the next year, and as I understood at the time, seceded from the Methodist and joined the Congregational church.

One of the early pioneers of Bellevue was David Lucas, a chair maker by trade, and also a great lover of sport—the stories and anecdotes that could be told about Mr. L. would fill a large volume—in fact, he turned almost everything into fun, and where he did not make it directly himself, he would make it through others.

Norman L. Boothe was also one of the pioneers of Bellevue. Judge Boothe came to Bellevue about the same year that I did, and I knew him well; was for some time associated with him in the mercantile business. Boothe was a good business man, and the people of Bellevue and other parts of the county honored him with various offices, viz.: supervisor, justice of the peace, town clerk, and under our old constitution he was elected county judge and held court monthly at Charlotte. He was a good legal man and many a time Brackett has found that Boothe, in managing a suit before a justice, was quite enough and sometimes a little too much for him. In the year 1838 Boothe resided in the village of Bellevue, but owned a farm up the creek about a mile. On this farm he planted, in the center of a corn field, a patch of watermelons. In the fall three young men, by name of Hyde, DeRiemer, and Holden, organized themselves into a tasting committee, and came to the conclusion that the time had arrived in which that watermelon patch should be examined, and thought it would be committing no violation of the law to go up and make Boothe's watermelon patch a friendly visit. So, after a consultation, up they went; but while in the act of feasting themselves on some of the largest and finest melons, another committee of thieves, viz., Allen, LaBar, and Grant, also appeared in the corn adjacent to the melon patch,

and, on making reconnoissance, heard some one talking. The latter committee of thieves advanced cautiously and discovered that Hyde and his companions were thieves like themselves, and concluded to frighten them away before they, the second set, should enter the melon patch. So they secreted themselves among the corn and commenced throwing stones, which had a similar effect to that the old man's had in the fable, when he threw at "the young sauce box" in the apple tree; all the difference was, the boy knew who threw the stones at him, but the first committee of melon thieves were in blissfield ignorance as to who shied the stones at them. But they got out of the patch considerably quicker than the boy got down from the tree. Dropping their melons, they called upon their legs not to stand and let their heads and bodies suffer, and their legs responded to the call. The speed that they made had never been equaled in getting out of a melon patch, up to that time, and I have my doubts if it has been surpassed since. The sequel was, that after the first lot of thieves had disappeared, without knowing who had frightened them away, the second lot of thieves took full possession of the melon patch, and, after feasting themselves, returned to the village, and reported to Lucas, who, being always ready for anything in the way of fun, wrote a notice, giving a minute and accurate description of Hyde and his companions, saying, "that unless they called immediately and settled for those melons they would be prosecuted to the extent of the law," and signed Boothe's name to the notice. This notice Lucas posted up in the bar room of the "old tavern." The following evening Hyde happened into the tavern, saw the notice, read it, and, supposing it to be genuine, put it into his pocket. The next morning Mr. Boothe, who had been sick, was out to his barn, when he discovered three fellows peeking out from one corner—they evidently having a dread of being invited to appear in Judge Ransom's court. Finally one of them (Hyde) came sneaking up towards Boothe, thinking, of course, how he should manage and what he should say to get himself out of the scrape, and whined out in a very feeble voice: "Good m–o–r–ning. We've come up to settle for them–for them–them–water–water–watermelons." Judge Boothe, who knew nothing about the matter, said, "What watermelons?" Hyde then, getting up a little artificial courage, said, "Didn't you write that notice and stick it up in Grant's bar room?" "No," said Boothe, "I don't know anything about a notice." "Ki–rist!" said Hyde, "that is some of Doc. Clark's work;" and the three left with steps much lighter and quicker than those which brought them there. Hyde was so angry when he came to take a sober second thought, that he changed his politics from Whig to Democrat, supposing that some Whig had put up the notice to impose upon and make fun of him. This

afforded a good deal of satisfaction to Boothe and Lucas, who were both Democrats—in fact, every one concerned in the melon patch were Democrats, except Hyde, who finally went over.

Lucas was a great sportsman, and in his day, very few men who came in contact with him, got the better of him with the target rifle or cards. On one occasion a man came to Bellevue to shoot with Lucas for money; the man had a fine rifle and was a good shot, probably as good or better than Lucas, but in order to win the money Lucas had to out-general him, which he did in the following ingenious manner: he had a particular place where he did his shooting, and it was a location that made it necessary to shoot directly across the wind. When Lucas shot he had a man stand at the side of the target holding an umbrella to shade it, pretending that he could shoot better to have the target shaded, but the true object was to telegraph in relation to the wind; for instance, when the wind was blowing, the man at the target would hold the umbrella in his left hand, and when it was still, in the right hand. The other man did not understand this, and the consequence was that Lucas took the money. In the summer season, Mr. Lucas's dress usually consisted of a cotton shirt, linen pants and a palm leaf hat, and he usually walked in the middle of the road. In the spring of 1840, he came into our store one morning, and said that he had made up his mind that vegetables were healthy, and he was going to have a garden with all kinds of vegetables. He looked over the box of garden seeds, selected what he wanted, and went home to plant his garden. Now, he had a neighbor, Mrs. S., who had one of those long-nose swine, one of the kind that is always poking their noses into other people's affairs. After Mr. Lucas had got his garden stuff nicely growing, Mrs. S's old sow took it into her head that she would make Mr. Lucas's garden a friendly visit to ascertain what kind of vegetables he was raising; so one night the old sow went to Lucas's front gate, poked her nose under it, and very soon had it so fixed that she walked in and made the contemplated visit. She wasn't very particular where she put her feet, or of what vegetables she tasted. In the morning Lucas ascertained what had happened during the night, and enjoined his boys, should that sow make the garden another visit, to come to the shop immediately and let him know, for he was determined to fix her so she would remember it the balance of her days. One day the sow got into the garden and the boy ran to the shop to inform his father. The old gentleman, on getting the news, started barefooted to punish the sow. Upon arriving at the gate, he says: "Now, boys, you go around her and I'll give her Hail Columbia when she comes out here." The boys went around and the old sow immediately made for the gate, where Lucas stood to punish her. When she came up her mouth was

wide open, and Lucas says to himself, "Now is my time," and at the same moment kicked his bare foot right into the sow's mouth and she naturally closed her mouth on his foot. Lucas fell over on to his back, stuck up his foot and hallooed: "Jesus! Jesus!! Jesus!!!" The people ran from every direction, and when we got there, the man lay flat on his back, his foot sticking up, and looking as though it had been run through a threshing machine. The balance of that summer he was around on crutches. On one occasion Mr. Lucas was in our store, and was mimicking a drunken man, that he had met somewhere out of town, (Lucas was a great mimic, he could almost beat the original) when Samuel Herring of Kalamo came in. Mr. Herring, said, "Lucas, how far will you shoot at one of those cheeses, and pay a shilling a shot?" Lucas says, "Forty rods." "Done," says Herring. So down they went, put up the cheese, and the second shot pierced the cheese, and Lucas carried it home.

Few people living in Michigan at the present time realize the hardships that many people underwent in the early settlement of the State. In August, 1838, Dr. Oliver J. Stiles lived in Vermontville, and at that time, at most seasons of the year, between Vermontville and Bellevue, the road was one continuous mud hole. The doctor had occasion to visit his uncle, at Ceresco, and of course, in making this visit, he went on foot. In looking about his uncle's farm, the doctor discovered that his uncle had a large number of small pigs, and remarked that he would like to have some of those pigs up at Vermontville. His uncle says: "Oliver, you may have as many as you will carry up there, in welcome." The doctor thought that now was his time to furnish Vermontville with pork. He procured a bag, caught five of the pigs, and successfully landed them in Vermontville, carrying them on his back the entire distance of about twenty-five miles. After the doctor had caught the five pigs and got them into his bag, his uncle laughingly said to him: "Now, if you'll put the old sow in, you may have her, too." I saw the doctor and his pigs, as he passed through Bellevue.

In the fall of 1842 I went on horseback from Bellevue to Vermontville, and from there north to the town of Sunfield, intending to get back to Vermontville to stay over night. On getting through with my business at Sunfield it was nearly dark, but supposing I would have no difficulty in finding my way back to Vermontville, I started, and after traveling some time, discovered that I had taken a different road than the one by which I came. At the same time it appeared to me that my course was right and would lead to Vermontville; so I kept on until near midnight, when a wolf howled, then another, and they kept increasing until it seemed to me that I was surrounded by at least twenty. Some of them came so near that I could

plainly hear the rustling of the leaves and brush through which they traveled. Finally, I heard a dog bark, and soon after saw a light. On approaching the house from which the light shone, it proved to be occupied by an old acquaintance by the name of Codding, who lived in the town of Chester, east of Vermontville. I was glad to part company with the wolves, and was made welcome by Mr. C. during the balance of the night.

Calvin Phelps, commonly known as "Old Esquire Phelps," was one of the early legal lights of Bellevue, and many a time he has had charge of a lawsuit, sometimes against D. D. Hughes, and at others against M. T. Brackett. This was when Hughes was known in law as an infant; and at that time the old esquire was thought to be a match for either of them; in fact, he was looked upon by some of the people to be legal wisdom itself. At this time there lived in the town of Walton a man by the name of John Miller, who, as it afterwards proved, was partially insane. Miller was quite a hunter, and killed a good many deer. He always carried a portion of the blade of a butcher knife, in a leather case, in his pocket, to use in skinning his game.

Miller got it into his head that a large amount of property had been left to him, and that some of this property consisted of real estate, located in Detroit. He took legal advice of "Old Esquire Phelps" about the matter, and sent Phelps to Detroit to look up the property. Phelps, on his return, went up to Walton to make his report; and in order to keep everything secret Miller and Phelps went down under a hill, got on to the fence, when Phelps made his report, in substance, that there was no property that he could find in Detroit belonging to Miller. At this Miller became excited, drew out his knife, and commenced sharpening it on his boot. Phelps said he wanted some water: Miller replied, "don't trouble yourself about water, you'll not want water long." Phelps thought that if his legs were good for anything it was a good time to give them a trial, jumped down from the fence, and ran for his life. Miller followed a short distance, but Phelps out-footed him and made his escape.

The next day there was quite a gathering at our store, where Phelps was relating the story. Esquire Hunsicker was present, and in a laughing manner said: "Why, Phelps, they say you run." Phelps, who had a peculiar way when he talked of drawing in his breath, said in reply: "Esquire Hunsicker, if you had been in my place yesterday, I tell you what it is, I shouldn't have craved the job of doing your washing." This reply settled the question, and turned the laugh on Hunsicker.

William B. Hill, who died in the insane asylum at Kalamazoo in the year 1881, was one of the pioneers of Bellevue, and I knew him well. He was

among the first who erected a lime kiln and burnt lime. Mr. Hill came to Bellevue during the year 1836, and resided there about nine years. He was one of those peculiar men, full of schemes and hard days' works; would work hard all day and then go to Marshall and back on foot during the night. He was also quite a hunter and trapper, and in those days game of all kinds, viz.: bear, deer, wolves, etc., etc., were very plenty. On the morning of Saturday, Dec. 4, 1839, Peter Downs, who resided in Convis, came to Bellevue and reported that he saw a bear on his way, and that the bear was making his way west. The alarm was given, and about a dozen of us started out with dogs and guns, Mr. Hill being one of the company. We went into the town of Convis, where we soon struck bruin's track, followed him across section 31 in Bellevue and across sections 1 and 2 in Pennfield, and from there we went into Assyria, Barry county, where the dogs overhanled the bear and he took to a tree. The dogs made a terrible uproar, and we concluded we had him safe. But Hill could travel so much faster than any of the company that he got to the bear first, and bang went his rifle. When the balance of the company got to the tree, Hill had the bear with a bullet hole through his head. You will observe that we followed this bear into three counties—Calhoun, Eaton, and Barry—where he was shot. We cut a pole, hung the bear on it, formed a procession, and bore bruin's remains in triumph into Bellevue, where he was dressed and his carcass cut into small pieces, and anybody who wanted a taste of bear meat had their wants supplied.

Michael W. Walker, who died a few years ago, was one of the early pioneers of Bellevue, and his name brings to my recollection several matters that happened during the Presidential election of 1840. At this time Bellevue was a Democratic town—in fact, Eaton county was in the hands of that party, as was also the State. During that campaign Mr. Greeley printed his celebrated paper, called *The Log Cabin*, in which he dealt out severe blows to the Democrats.

Among other things that he published was a speech made by the late Charles Ogle, of Pennsylvania, against the appropriation for furnishing the executive mansion at Washington. His speech abounded in sarcasm, and was so amusing that thousands of copies were printed for general circulation. The Whigs of Bellevue got up a club for *The Log Cabin*, and among the subscribers was one Lysander Brooks, a blacksmith, who paid his fifty cents for his paper and became quite a zealous Whig. Now, Walker was, on the other hand, a very zealous Democrat, and remained so until the day of his death. At the time of this campaign Walker had the job and was

building a bridge across the creek at the foot of Main street in Bellevue; had got his job nearly completed—had the railing, in sections, set up on the sides of the bridge but not fastened. Walker was a very loud talking man, and when he laughed you could hear him for almost any distance, his laugh was so hearty. Brooks and Walker frequently had political combats, but Walker could talk so much louder and faster than Brooks and was so much better posted that he generally came out ahead. Brooks had just got his *Log Cabin* containing Mr. Ogle's speech, and having heard it read in our store he came to the conclusion that it would be just the thing to use in squelching Walker. So down to the bridge he goes, armed with his *Log Cabin*, saying, "Here, Walker, here is something that I guess will open your eyes a little." Brooks was an uneducated man, but his zeal made up in part for his ignorance. In his effort at reading the speech to Walker he had to spell out some of the words, and in pronouncing Ogle's name he pronounced it "Oglee." After Brooks got fairly to reading the speech he became so enthusiastic that he thoughtlessly leaned against the railing a trifle too hard—the railing gave way, and down went Brooks, railing and *Log Cabin*, about fifteen feet into the water below. Walker just lay down and roared—you could have heard him at least half a mile. The people of Bellevue, and I among the rest, ran down to ascertain what the matter was, but on looking over into the water we soon discovered poor Brooks, frothing and blowing to extricate himself; and finally he came out, exclaiming, "I've saved my *Log Cabin*, by thunder!"

In the early history of Bellevue, when slavery was tolerated by both the Democratic and Whig parties, there was a little handful of the class called Abolitionists. At the time spoken of Bellevue was a Democratic town—yes, it was the stronghold, the banner town of the Democracy. At this time there came to Bellevue a man by the name of Joseph Treat, an Abolitionist. Mr. Treat was at that time an Abolition lecturer, and proposed to deliver such a lecture, in the evening, at our school-house. I happened at the time to be one of the school board, and was applied to for the use of the school-house. Perhaps it will not be out of place to mention here, that in those days it cost something, even in Michigan, and particularly in Bellevue, to be an Abolitionist and be identified with that party: such a person was pretty sure to be called all the bad names that could be mustered up by both parties—such as "dam'd Abolitionist," "nigger worshipper," etc. But permission was given for Joseph to deliver an Abolition lecture; notice was given accordingly, and at early candle-light, the few people who were in favor of the abolition of slavery, each with a tallow dip, assembled at the

school-house to hear what Joseph had to say. Among those identified at that time with the Abolition party was a woman who was then called "the widow Newton." Mrs. Newton at that time would weigh about 200 pounds and was well proportioned. Mrs. Newton was at the meeting. Joseph commenced his lecture, with very few preliminaries, and went over the old story of the great injustice done by holding so many millions of human beings in bondage. He was not severe upon the owners of slaves, but was quite moderate in denouncing those who held those people in servitude. That made no difference with a certain class who then lived in Bellevue—it was enough for them to know that there was an Abolitionist holding forth at the school-house. So, after holding a meeting at Shapley's grocery and organizing for an attack on Joseph, down they came. There were the "Hickok Engineers," "Lucas Sharp-shooters," "Reed Artillery," together with the "Hart Light Infantry." The individuals mentioned as having been the leaders of this affair have all, long since, been called to that place from whence no traveler has ever been known to return. The school-house was surrounded, and the most unearthly yells were made that it was possible for them to make. But no impression was made upon Mr. Treat, who stood with his back to a window, seemingly taking no notice as to what was going on outside. There was a curtain hanging at the window, so that he was out of sight from the rabble on the outside. The glass in the window was broken by the captain of "the engineers," the curtain pulled down, and then came the fun, if that word is proper to be used, for now came the eggs against Mr. Treat's back, thick and fast, and for a time it was uncertain whether he would be compelled to *re-Treat*, or be able to hold his ground. Just as he was about to surrender and give up the ship, "the widow Newton," that I mentioned above, marched into the breech, between Mr. Treat and the window, and then the eggs came from the "sharp shooters" against her back, whack! whack!! whack!!! but not an inch did she budge—there she stood weighing 200 and well proportioned, as firm as a rock, while Treat went on with his lecture, apparently in perfect security; for just imagine, for a moment, those noble breast-works in his rear! such a breast-work as no military man in modern times has been able to call into requisition. While the eggs were coming against the widow Newton's back, one happened to careen, and a portion of it hit me on the side of my head. I thought at the time, and have not changed my opinion since, that that egg was laid by an unhealthy hen. Another egg glanced from the widow's back and hit Kingsbury, so that he and myself were among the wounded. The attacking party of military heroes, after having held a council of war, came to the conclusion that a charge must be made, and "the Hart Light

Infantry," consisting of a company of small boys, were supplied with goose quill squawkers, and after marching them into the house, they squawked Joseph out. Mr. Treat was obliged to *re-Treat;* his breast-works could keep him harmless from eggs, but they could not protect him against the goose quills. The leaders who took a part in that row have since died. Bellevue is now an enterprising town, and some of the best citizens of Michigan make it their home.

John Spaulding was one of the early pioneers of Bellevue, and died there about eleven years ago. About the year 1840, there came to Bellevue a young man by the name of Fox, who was by profession a Yankee clock peddler. Fox was, in his way, a regular genius; he could doctor sore eyes, remove a corn from a man's foot, talk in a Methodist meeting, doctor a horse, remove a potato from the throat of a choked cow, and, in fact, could do almost anything that anybody could do. But his grand specialty was in selling clocks. The price of his clocks was fifteen dollars, no more, nor no less,—fifteen dollars he must have invariably, if he made a sale; but he would arrange the terms of payment so that anybody who happened to have five dollars could buy one. He must have five dollars down and a promise of ten at some future time. Consequently, anyone who wanted to know the exact time to blow their dinner horn, made an arrangement with Fox for one of his clocks. Mr. Spaulding, among others, made a bargain for one of these clocks and paid, to bind the bargain, five dollars. Fox not having any with looking glasses in the door, was to forward one to me for Mr. S. In due time the clock was sent, according to agreement, and I delivered it to Spaulding *in good order.* After S. had used the clock for about a month, he came one day and brought it into our store, saying, "Here is that damned clock, I can't make it keep any kind of time." He had ascertained that such a clock could be bought anywhere for about four dollars, and concluded that to return it to me he would only be out five dollars, and even if he bought another and paid five dollars he would save five dollars in the end. After S. had left the clock, I examined it and saw that S. or somebody else had bent the pendulum so that it could not run. I straightened the pendulum; set it running, and it has run ever since and kept good time. It now sits on a shelf in my house ticking out the hours of night and day with as much regularity as any clock. Mr. Fox never returned to Bellevue after he left. I have had this clock in my possession about forty-five years, and should Mr. Fox make a demand on me for it, I am ready to surrender it to the owner. There was no man in the country who liked a little fun any more than Mr. Spaulding. A good many years ago Mr. Spaulding lived in the village of Bellevue and kept a tavern,

and while he lived in the village somebody in the town of Kalamo was so unfortunate as to have his log house and contents burned. Mr. Ruluff Butler took it upon himself to go around and ask subscriptions and contributions for the unfortunate ones. He came to our store and reported the case, asking anything that people had to spare that would be useful. Mr. Spaulding was in the back part of the store and overheard Mr. Butler when he was advocating the claims of the unfortunate family. Mr. S. immediately made his exit through the back door, ran over home, dropped his coat and replaced it with an old ragged one that he had discarded, and returned to the store, where he met Mr. Butler, who repeated the story of the unfortunate man who had lost everything, and also stated that anything in the way of clothing would be thankfully received. Spaulding said: "Mr. Butler, I am not rich, but when I hear of such a case as you have mentioned I just feel like taking my coat right off my back and sending it to them!" At the same time, he drew off his coat, folded it up, and handed it to Mr. Butler, saying: "There, take my coat to the man!" Mr. Butler, of course, did not understand the joke, and the tears actually came into his eyes at the self-sacrificing spirit manifested by Mr. Spaulding. Mr. Butler told the story, and repeated it several times during the day, that Bellevue had one noble specimen of a man living within the village limits, to his personal knowledge, and that any town might well be proud to have such a man for an inhabitant. Mr. S., of course, enjoyed the fun, and laughed about it years after it happened.

The origin of the name of Battle Creek has been in dispute for some time,—some persons claiming one thing, and other persons claiming something else. Very many people, strangers, suppose from the above name that a tremendous battle must have taken place at or near the city of Battle Creek.

The name originated in the following manner, and I had the story from Col. Mullett's own lips. It was in the spring of 1839 that I met Col. John Mullet, at Bellevue, Eaton county, where he related to me the following narrative in relation to the name of the stream now called Battle creek:

"In the year 1825 I was employed by the United States government to make a survey in Calhoun county, and while making a survey in the western portion, our camp was located near a small lake on, or near, section fourteen, and near the river, in the town of Pennfield, and while there we were considerably annoyed by the Indians. There seemed to be a few lazy vagabonds among them who would rather hang around our camp and beg something to eat than to obtain it elsewhere. We had given them occasionally, but our stock had got so reduced that we were in danger of running

short ourselves. I instructed the two men left in camp to give those lazy Indians no more. One day, during the absence of myself and two of our men, who were engaged in our duties in the survey, two Indians came to our camp and made a demand for some flour and other provisions. The two men left in camp informed them that we had no more to spare, and that they must seek a boarding place elsewhere. The Indians insisted on helping themselves, which soon brought things to a focus by way of a fight. There was nobody killed, or very much hurt. One of the Indians was knocked down, but soon got up and both went away, causing us no more trouble. When we surveyors came into camp that night, we had quite a laugh over the battle, and when I came to make up my field notes, I said: 'Boys, what shall we call this stream?' Taylor says, 'Call it Battle Creek,' and almost as soon as the words were out of his mouth, I put it down BATTLE CREEK, which name it bears to the present day."

The city of Battle Creek received its name from the stream which was named by Col. Mullett and his companions.

A former historian of Calhoun county, has inserted in his history a huge story about guns being used in this *terrible fight*, which gave the bloody name to Battle Creek,—but somebody in writing up an account of that terrible battle was somewhat mistaken, as there was not a gun fired or used at all during the battle.

Several historians, so-called, have written articles about the origin of the above name, and some of them claim that the Indian name for Battle Creek is Wappokisko. That word may mean Battle Creek, or it may mean something else, or it may mean nothing. Col. Mullett, if living, resides in Detroit, and the facts about the origin of the name can be ascertained. If the Colonel is dead, his field notes can be found and examined and the question about this great and bloody battle be settled beyond any question.

THE PIONEER MINISTERS OF WASHTENAW COUNTY.

BY REV. LORENZO DAVIS, OF ANN ARBOR.

It is with the design to perpetuate the memory of the worthy pioneers in the Christian ministry of Washtenaw county, that this paper is prepared;

and in preparing it, I have confined myself mainly within the circle of my early acquaintance with them. It is eminently proper, however, to give a brief outline of the labors of those who first penetrated the new settlements of the county, and brought with them Christian truth. With the first ministers I had no personal acquaintance. I became a resident of the county in 1828, about four years after the first settlement. The introduction of the gospel was contemporaneous with the first settlers. In Dr. Pilcher's "History of Protestantism in Michigan" I find the following record:

"REV. ELIAS PATTEE,

a Methodist preacher, was appointed to the Detroit circuit in September, 1823. Isaac C. Hunter was his colleague. With the increasing population these ministers found increasing demands for labor; and the work was much extended as the new settlements increased or came into existence, and these itinerants were ready to follow them and administer to them the word of life. Mr. Pattee extended his labors as far west as Ypsilanti and organized a small society at Woodruff's Grove, as Ypsilanti was then called, in the summer of 1825. This was the first Christian church organized in Washtenaw county, or at any point in Michigan west of Wayne county. Efforts had been made to build a church in Detroit, and partly finished in 1826 and 1827. It was known later as 'the old brick church on the common.' Mr. Pattee was permitted to travel as far east as New York City, to raise funds to finish the house. He was absent about three months, and was so successful (?) in his mission, that when the trustees came to settle with him they found that, after applying all collections and donations towards defraying his traveling expenses, which they had agreed to pay, they owed him two dollars and fifty cents." A very discouraging prospect truly.

Mr. Pattee being the first preacher who visited these new settlements, and who organized the first religious society in the county, it is highly proper, I think, to give a more extended sketch of the man and his labors. It is said he would travel on a circuit as long as he could get anything to eat and wear, and then he would stop and go to work and earn money and then resume his ministerial labors.

Mr. Pattee was born in Vermont, September 11, 1784, and died in Iowa in 1860.

He was converted in the State of New York in 1807, and in a few months thereafter was licensed to preach, and joined the New York Conference. His first work as a preacher was assigned him in Canada. After some years of missionary labor in Canada, now Ontario, he joined the Ohio Conference, and was a member of that Conference at the time when he was appointed to

Detroit circuit, and during this year visited Ypsilanti. He located in 1838; so he was not a member of the Conference at the time of his death. Dr. Pilcher says of him, "He was a very good Christian man and always true to the church." The following notice of him is found in "Connables's Genesee Conference:"

"He commenced his itinerant career in 1807. He was large of stature, commanding in personal appearance, dressing in breeches, stockings, and shoe-buckles, which costume, with his graceful natural attitude, set off his portly figure to great advantage; strong in lungs and voice, and, although dignified, zealous and emotional, he was regarded by many of the people of those days as a very powerful preacher. An old German brother being interrogated as to the character of a camp-meeting from which he had recently returned said: 'It was a poor, tet (dead), tull time, and no goot was tone till dat pig Petty comed; but mit his pig fist he did kill te teivel so tet (dead) as a nit, and ten te work proke out.'" The Methodists of that day were fond of the demonstrative. "This," Dr. Pilcher says, "was in his early ministry. His zeal continued, and his voice, even in family devotions, sometimes sounded like a trumpet. He did much good in his day." His great labor, and the excessive and imprudent use of his lungs, placed him on the superannuated list at a comparatively early day. He had sufficient native talent to have made one of the very first preachers in the church if he had had the advantage of a good education. Dr. Pilcher further says of him, "that he was a tall, bony, coarse featured man, and well advanced in years, with very limited scholarship, and without polish in the pulpit or out of it." I know of but one person now living who remembers Mr. Pattee. That person is Mrs. Alvin Cross, of Ypsilanti.

The second minister in order of time who settled in the county was

REV. MOSES CLARK,

who located a farm in the township of Ann Arbor, in 1825, but as he held no pastoral relation to any church in the county, and remained in the county but a short time, but little is known of his ministrations. He was a regularly ordained minister of the Baptist Church, and while living on his farm in this county held a pastoral relation to a Baptist Church in Farmington. I know of but one person living in the county who remembers Mr. Clark. That person is John Geddes, of Ann Arbor, and where he went is not now known by any one. The following facts relating to him I have from Hon. E. D. Lay, of Ypsilanti, who knew him in the State of New York:

"The last time I saw him was in January, 1852, at Corunna. He told me

he was living at Vermont Colony and expected to spend his days there." It is highly probable that while living in Ann Arbor he held religious services in the village, but we have no record showing that such was the fact, nor is there any one here who remembers such an event. The next preacher whose ministrations were enjoyed by the early settlers, was the justly celebrated and truly evangelical minister,

REV. JOHN A. BAUGHMAN.

Dr. Pilcher says that Mr. Baughman, then in his youth and in the vigor of his Christian ministry, was appointed to Detroit circuit, which embraced all the settlements outside the city, in 1825. Some time in November of that year, he visited Ann Arbor and stopped with Colonel Allen, father of John Allen—one of the proprietors of the village—lately from Virginia, and preached in his house. He remained in the place several days and preached every evening. This was the first introduction of religious services into the place of which we have any authentic record. In the spring of 1827, a Mr. Brown, who had two daughters, who were Methodists, settled here. At the request of those young ladies

REV. MR. COSTON,

presiding elder of Detroit district sent Mr. Baughman to Ann Arbor to organize a church, and on the twenty-ninth day of July, 1827, he formed a class consisting of Eber White, Harvey Kinney, Hannah B. Brown, Rebecca G. Brown and Calvin Smith. The place was taken into the circuit and was supplied the first half of the year by

REV. GEORGE W. WALKER,

and the last half by John Janes. Mr. Walker was born in Maryland, November 26, 1804. He was baptized and educated in the Catholic faith. He apostatized from that church and connected himself with the Methodist Church and entered the itinerant ministry in 1826. He spent two years in Michigan. Dr. Pilcher says of him, "No swollen river, or dismal swamp, or dangerous fen could daunt the lion-heart that beat in the bosom of George W. Walker." He fulfilled his mission and returned to Ohio. He was a laborious and useful man—a man of more than ordinary talents, and commanded the respect and esteem of all who knew him. He died in great peace in the fifty-second year of his age. We have no further account of Mr. Janes than that, while on the circuit which included Ann Arbor as before stated, he found the girl of his choice for a wife in the person of Hannah B. Brown, before mentioned, and was married to the young lady in the fall of this year, 1827. Miss Brown was a sister of Deacon D. B. Brown of Ann

Arbor city. Dr. Pilcher pays a high compliment to Miss Brown in the following words:

"She was a very talented young lady, well educated, and was the chief agent in securing the organization of the Methodist Church in Ann Arbor." Zarah H. Coston was the first presiding elder who visited Ann Arbor and the churches in this county. Of him but little is said in history.

A change was made in the presiding elders in 1829, and Mr. Coston was transferred to the Pittsburg Conference and

CURTIS GODDARD

was appointed to the Detroit district. The history says of Mr. Goddard that he was "an excellent and worthy man." He continued on the district three years. He located in 1834 and had served the church as a minister twenty years. He was an excellent preacher and the first Methodist preacher that I ever heard in Michigan. After his location he returned to his former home and has been lost to our sight. He was a native of Connecticut. His works do praise him.

I must not conclude these sketches of the early preachers without giving more prominence to

MR. BAUGHMAN,

whose ministerial life was mainly spent in Michigan, and largely in Washtenaw county. He labored twelve years in Ohio and thirty-two years in Michigan. He was in the full sense of the word a pioneer preacher, being, in many places, the first to preach to the people. He received forty-three appointments and never failed to go to them and heartily to do the work assigned him. Physically he was a strong man. He was a warm-hearted Methodist minister. Strong in faith, ardent in his work, and very successful in winning men to the faith of the gospel. Mr. Baughman died at his home in Detroit, March 1, 1868, aged sixty-five years. His birth-place was Hereford county, Maryland.

The first religious meeting which I was permitted to attend in Michigan was held in Ypsilanti, in the summer of 1828, from which time I date my knowledge of the early ministers of Washtenaw county. The meeting to which I refer was conducted by

REV. WILLIAM PAGE,

then of Ann Arbor. Mr. Page was a Presbyterian minister, who came to Ann Arbor in 1826, and remained about four years. As I remember him he was a man of polished manners, college-bred, and a good and useful preacher. As he resided in Ann Arbor but a short time he is remembered by but few,

not more than four or five, perhaps, of the present citizens of the county. He was followed by

REV. MR. PETTIBONE,

of whom there is no record save the bare fact that he preached in Ann Arbor one year. No one remembers him except the venerable Lorin Mills, of Ann Arbor, now eighty years of age, and as robust and healthy to appearance as he was forty years ago. Mr. Pettibone boarded at his house during his stay in Ann Arbor. The Methodist churches in the county were supplied in 1828 by

BENJAMIN COOPER,

a very quiet and sweet-spirited man, who did little else than to organize the circuit and put it in form. This is the only record we have of the sweet-spirited Cooper. I remember of seeing him, and of hearing him preach at a quarterly meeting held in Ypsilanti in 1828. At the conference in September, 1829,

LEONARD B. GURLEY,

late of the North Ohio Conference, was appointed to Huron circuit. Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti were embraced in the work. Mr. Gurley was a man of wonderful power in the pulpit. These places have enjoyed the ministrations of many of the best preachers in the Methodist church, but in all that contributes to the intellectual and spiritual enjoyment of Christians, either in the pulpit or in social life, Mr. Gurley was the peer of any one of them. He remained in Michigan but one year. He died recently in Delaware, Ohio, where he had lived for many years. He had seen more than eighty years, nearly sixty of which were given to the Christian ministry. During the year 1828, Rev. Mr. Page preached occasionally in Ypsilanti.

REV. N. M. WELLS,

of Detroit, also visited that place a number of times and preached to the people. They were both Presbyterians. Mr. Wells died recently at a very advanced age,—nearly 100 years. He was a very excellent preacher and highly esteemed by the people with whom he labored for nearly three-quarters of a century. In July, 1829, a Presbyterian Church was organized in Ypsilanti, consisting of twelve members. In the fall of 1829

REV. WILLIAM JONES

began preaching there. He was a zealous but very eccentric man. Some good was done by him, but he abruptly closed his labors in the spring of 1830. There is no further record of him in my possession. The text of his last sermon, "Up: get ye out of this place, for the Lord will destroy

it," showed that he was not hopeful of good from staying longer. Possibly he might have feared that the sad doom of the "cities of the plain" might be repeated by their wicked village, and to save himself, as possibly he might not be included among the righteous, it were best to make good his escape, and so he did.

I now approach a period of more than ordinary interest. Up to this time no settled pastoral relation had been formed in the county, except such as were recognized by the itinerant policy of the Methodist Church, and that cannot be regarded in the light of a settled pastoral relation, though for the time being the relation of pastor and people was fully recognized; but under the rules of that church the pastoral relation continued only two years at longest, and frequently it terminated after one year's service. About this time large accessions were made to the new settlements, and among the number who settled in Ypsilanti, in 1830, was

IRA M. WEAD,

the first pastor of the Presbyterian Church in that village. As this devoted man, from his untiring zeal, and uniform Christian and ministerial demeanor, added to his long pastorate, did much toward moulding the moral and religious character of the people, not only of Ypsilanti, but in all other parts of the country as well, I shall take the liberty to give a more extended notice of the man and his labors than my limited knowledge of those of whom I have spoken would allow me to do. I was not only personally, but intimately acquainted with him. He was the chief instrument, under the Divine blessing, of arresting my attention to the consideration of spiritual interests.

Mr. Wead commenced his work soon after his arrival at Ypsilanti, and the little pioneer church, inspired by his zeal, worked earnestly and grew rapidly. During the first four years of his ministry, 113 were added to the church, which rendered it self-sustaining. Six hundred and fifty dollars from the home missionary society had served to tide the church over the bar of pioneer weakness and set it fairly afloat. Mr. Wead continued to labor in the place as stated supply until the autumn of 1834, when he was in due form installed as pastor. In the further consideration of the life and labors of Mr. Wead I shall quote largely from a sketch of him from the pen of Mrs. Mark Norris, one of the most intelligent and religious women of Washtenaw county, and for almost a lifetime a member of the Presbyterian Church in Ypsilanti. She says of him: "Ira Mason Wead was born in Hinesborough, Vermont, January 14, 1804. He was the ninth of a family of eleven children. He prepared for college with his brother-in-law, Rev. Mr. Johnson of

Hopkinton, N. Y., and entered the University of Vermont, at Burlington, in the sophomore year, graduating in 1825, after which he entered the law office of Judge Fine, in Ogdensburg, N. Y., where he remained one year. It was during this period that his attention was particularly called to religious subjects, and his conversion took place. Immediately his thoughts were turned toward the ministry, his law studies were abandoned, and he soon after entered Andover theological seminary, going through the whole course of three years.

"In the spring of 1829 he was licensed by the association of Andover to preach the gospel. * * * * * After much deliberation, inclination, as well as a sense of duty, led him to choose the west as his field of labor. * * * * * In May, 1830, he was married to Miss Caroline N. Dutton, of Hillsborough, N. H., and came immediately to Ypsilanti, arriving early in June. At that time, the few members of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, thirteen in number, who had entered into covenant the previous fall, were living widely apart in the settlements surrounding the new village—two, four and six miles, sometimes more. * * * * * *

"The young minister and his wife found here a mixed population. Many good people; some bad. Society was then in a transition state. Whisky drinking and profanity were looked upon as venial sins, and the Sabbath was thought to be 'more honored in the breach than in the observance,' by too many. Having been expected for several weeks, he received a welcome from those who waited for his coming.

"One of his first public acts, where he mingled with the whole people, was to take part in the patriotic celebration of Independence day, July 4, 1830, making a prayer. The oration was given by the late E. M. Skinner. In no department of his labor was his influence more powerfully exerted than over the minds of the children gathered into the Sunday school. Many of the Sunday school children of that day are among our best Christian people. Many others have gone to other States, where their influence for good is yet felt.

"One of these children is now a missionery in Northern India, sent from the church so long blessed with the labors of this pioneer minister. * * * * * There were some persons, then residents here, who felt the influence of this new minister, and rebelled against it. They aroused no little opposition, not wishing the light of the gospel let in on their practices. This, however, did not alarm the calm and fearless minister.

"He sometimes preached when stones were thrown in at the windows of the 'old red school-house,' the place where the people then assembled. Often,

when riding in the darkness to meet an evening appointment in an outlying neighborhood, he had been threatened with rough treatment by the way, but nothing moved him from the purpose in view. Sharing with his people all the self-denials of the situation, he often combined the duties of the pastor with those of the sexton."

Mr. Wead was thoroughly in earnest in his work, whatever it might be. He had a remarkable talent for business. Said a business man: "If Mr. Wead's capabilities and judgment had been applied to amassing wealth, he might have been a rich man." Compared with the salaries of ministers of the present day, that of Mr. Wead was a very meagre one. With the aid of the missionery society, his people were able to raise four hundred dollars, upon which he was obliged to live. Ministers, I think, do not feel obliged to receive the bag of potatoes, or the ten pounds of pork, or the half barrel of soft soap—as I knew one minister to do—on subscriptions at the present day. Six hundred dollars a year was the maximum of his salary received during his ministry with the Ypsilanti church, covering a period of more than seventeen years.

I pass over many interesting incidents in the history of this truly good and useful man, and regretfully close by saying that some of his people, from causes which I will not narrate, became restive under his ministry and desired a change. Mrs. N. says that many hearts were riven by the results which followed. In the summer of 1847 he joined those wishing a change and asked the Presbytery to dissolve the relation. This was accomplished with great effort and by the smallest majority. The following October he removed with his family to Chicago. On the Sabbath before leaving he preached his farewell sermon from the text: "Wherefore I take you to record this day that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you the whole counsel of God."

I come now to the close of this good man's life, a life of "faith and works." I have made this sketch longer than I intended and, if an apology is needed, it is found in my desire to impress upon all the fact that the fruits of the life I have so briefly noticed are seen to-day in the moral and religious character of the people with whom Mr. Wead's ministerial life was mainly spent. "He being dead yet speaketh." He died at Ypsilanti on the night of the 30th day of November, 1871. Mrs. Wead and four children —three daughters and one son, survive him. I will close this paper with a short sketch of the life and labors of

REV. FREDERICK SCHMID,

whose ministerial life was devoted to the promotion of Christianity among

the German people of this county. Hon. Emanuel Mann, of Ann Arbor, has furnished me the material from which to make the following record. The venerable F. Schmid, the first Lutheran pastor in the State of Michigan, came to Ann Arbor in 1833. He was not only the pastor of the various German settlements in Washtenaw county, but was in labors most abundant and in journeyings oft, seeking out the German settlers over the State. Educated in the mission house of Basle, Switzerland, he had the mission spirit in an eminent degree, and with many prayers and sacrifices commenced and carried on for years the first mission of the German American Church among the North American Indians. He was also the founder of the Synod of Michigan now in connection with the general council. Like not a few of the old German pioneers from Wurtemberg who were educated in Basle, Father Schmid had his own troubles in his long and eventful life. In this intensely practical atmosphere, where principles rapidly developed into actual life, he suffered greatly from withdrawals of pastors and churches from the Synod because of its too Lutheran character. These went to the "United Synod of the West." Not less was he distressed and embarrassed by the withdrawal of others to the Missouri Synod to whom his Synod was not sufficiently Lutheran. Even the missionaries he had trained for the Indian mission among the Chippewas were carried away by the last movement, taking both the Indian and German congregations with them. He did pioneer work in all portions of the State. He served as pastor of the Ann Arbor church thirty-eight years. Two large churches in Ann Arbor are the outgrowth of his services, and some fifteen or twenty in the county, besides many others in various parts of the State, had their birth through the labors and sacrifices of this remarkably devoted Christian worker. Father Schmid was born in Waldorf, Wurtemberg, September 7, 1807, and died in Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 3, 1883. My personal acquaintance with Mr. Schmid was somewhat limited, though I often met him, but owing to his inability to speak English readily, and my very limited acquaintance with the German language, I was unable to carry on a very extended conversation with him which I much regretted, for he was a man of excellent attainments, and of a truly Christian spirit. "His good works do follow him."

PIONEER LIFE IN OCEANA COUNTY.

BY HARVEY TOWER.

The year 1850 found me in Barry county, the proud possessor of a wife and baby. Falling in with a gentleman who told me that Oceana was a good county for a man without a home, after a prospecting tour of some weeks, I concluded to seek my fortune there. But as it is nearly forty miles north of Grand Haven, beyond which there were no roads at that time but the beach of Lake Michigan, the best way to get there was a difficult question to decide, and in what manner could supplies be secured in that then unbroken wilderness, so far from productive settlements, was one of no less import. We had learned that fish were plenty there, but we would have to take our chances of getting flour for bread, and if nothing better presented itself we could subsist on bread, milk, and fish the first season. But the question arose, "Where will you get your milk?" Therefore, to provide against any emergency, "for the baby's sake," it was concluded to take with us a couple of cows. Every day's delay, every intervening obstacle served but to increase our anxiety to start for our future home, until we finally adopted for our motto, "Oceana, or bust."

We lived near the Thornapple River, which empties into the Grand, and that into Lake Michigan, on whose shore nearly forty miles north lay our imaginary "Eldorado." We started down the Thornapple in a "dug-out," not such as the settlers of the prairie States have to live in until they get rich enough to build a house, but a *boat*, actually *dug out* of a pine log. Ours, which we had constructed and poled up the river, for the purpose of moving our effects, was twenty-eight feet long by about three feet two inches wide. Our party consisted of myself, wife and child and two men hired for a year, whom we called for short "Charley" and "Bill." Charley was commissioned to drive the cows; myself and Bill, though both green boatmen, managed the craft. Casting off the line, our little boat started down stream, now gliding along smoothly, now with increasing speed and running close to rocks, some of which were just below the surface of the water, others rearing their ugly heads above, causing our hair to stand erect and our unaccustomed nerves to tremble with fear. But when we shot out

into Grand River we found a less rapid current, and the next twenty miles (by the river) to the Grand Rapids, our passage was more pleasant than otherwise. But as our little boat neared the dam, at the head of the rapids, and the sound of that mighty column of water, dashing furiously on the rocks below, broke upon our ears, was it a mark of cowardice that we hesitated? But remembering our motto, "Oceana, or bust," our little craft was headed for the opening, and down the chute and over the rapids in safety she shot, like an arrow, to still waters below, passengers and spectators breathed easier, and, resuming our oars, which had been laid aside for poles while running the rapids, a little over a day's pull brought us to the mouth of the Grand River, and gave a part of our party their first view of Lake Michigan, with her mad waters beating furiously upon the shore.

Here we secured the first fish on our voyage, and, Charley having arrived with the cows several hours in advance of the boat, we had milk for supper. But yet we were far from being happy. More than thirty miles of high-rolling waves, upon which our little craft dare not venture, lay between us and the land of wild game and shingle-bolts. Could we ever go on, or was our plan a failure, were questions of deepest concern to us, but, meeting that veteran shoreman, Woodruff Chapin, information was obtained from him that greatly relieved our anxiety. He told us our plan was the best that could have been devised, and he cheerfully gave instructions by which we greatly profited. Following his advice, we awaited a calm, and then, with appliances for hauling our boat out upon the beach in case the lake again became rough, we started out, and the second day, a little after noon, we pulled into White River, and on that July evening, in 1850, we walked over into Oceana county. The natural inquiry is, What did you find there? Everything, I answer, which nature could bestow necessary to make a wealthy and prosperous country, but inhabitants. Good land, good timber in great variety, excellent water, a healthy and much milder climate (seldom below zero) and more nearly equalized in consequence of its contiguity to the lake than that of the interior counties in the same latitude; plenty of game—deer might be seen, from a single buck or doe to flocks of twenty and upwards. Trapping-game was also plenty, while as to whitefish, from ten to fifty barrels to a haul, with seines below the average length, was not unusual. Remote as we were from market, we soon came to realize the great advantage we possessed over the inland counties just opening up to settlement and without railroads. As for inhabitants there were eight families, comprising about thirty-six persons. They were living at Claybanks, on the old Indian clearings (of which there were not yet grown up to tim-

ber probably two hundred acres or more), and at Stony Creek, where William M. Ferry had located pine lands, and contracted with Thomas Phillips to build a small water saw-mill, which was put into operation in the fall of that year (1850). Some two or three years later Rector & Cobb built a small steam saw-mill at Pentwater, and in 1856 Charles Mears, of Chicago, another at the same place. Those three little mills and a few small parties of men making shingle-bolts at different points along the shore comprised almost the entire business of Oceana county for the first six or seven years, but very little farming land having up to that date been brought under cultivation. The "bolters" (not the "mugwumps" by any means) in the spring of 1853, as well as some of the mill-men, got a serious set-back. The United States Timber Agent and Marshal visited the shore and put "U. S." on some of the lumber and almost all of the shingle-bolts and shingles that they could find, thus "tying up" nearly all of the previous winter's "out-put" for several months, leaving the owners badly in debt and their families without means, in many cases, to obtain the most common necessaries of life.

The claim set up by the officers was, of course, (and in too many cases it was true) that the timber for the lumber, etc., was cut on government lands, and therefore the labor bestowed upon it was forfeited. After keeping the inhabitants suspended between hope and fear for three or four months, meanwhile leaving a "sub" to watch the seized property, there was a sham sale to a puppet bidder, who, soon after, began to ship his pretended purchases. The first fleet of vessels that loaded made a clean sweep of every man's pile as far as they went, thus dispelling the hope, vainly entertained by some, that something would be kept for the laborers. Suspense was now ended; the design to take all became patent, and when the vessels came back for other cargoes, fire ("spontaneous combustion," probably,) had stolen the march on them and they had to go elsewhere for cargoes, or return to Chicago light, to tell their story and claim pay for the trip. Our trade was principally with Chicago and Milwaukee, Lake Michigan lying between us and our "base of supplies." Having to ship our products off the beach by means of scows, navigation was open to us but about five months of the year, within which, of course, supplies for man and beast must be provided for the other seven. In the fall of 1854 winter supplies for several families with their men and teams, were purchased and put on board a vessel in Milwaukee harbor, under contract to deliver them at Little Point Au Sable, which she failed to do. After watching and waiting anxiously for several weeks on short rations, without intelligence from our schooner, a man was dis-

patched to Kalamazoo, a distance of over one hundred miles (then the nearest telegraphic communication with Milwaukee) to learn, if possible, what had become of her. In answer to an inquiry came the following: "Supplies all put back in storehouse; vessel laid up for the season." The result was that business was broken up for that winter. As we afterwards learned, the captain and his owner quarreled, the captain left the vessel and the owner would not get her out for the promised trip. For several years, Grand Haven was our nearest postoffice, the mails being carried by private enterprise. It cost twenty-five cents besides regular postage, for a letter, and other mail matter in proportion. Previous to the organization of Oceana county in 1855, it had been attached to Ottawa for municipal and judicial purposes and she used Ottawa jail for about three years after her organization. Our earliest settlers were not only men without means, but very few of them had even held town or county offices, and having to commence anew, that is, open new dockets and issue processes, without forms in many cases, or other guides than the statutes, with the construction of which they were entirely unacquainted, it is not strange that many incidents relating to the judicial and other public business were highly ludicrous, as the relating of a few will show. For some three years or more after Oceana county had been organized no lawyers settled there. But the saying, "no lawyers, no lawsuits," did not, in this case, prove strictly true.

A man was found in the woods, dead. Some thought, and related circumstances which, standing alone, seemed to indicate that there had been a murder committed. The matter caused intense excitement in our little community, and as the story passed from one to another, it came to be generally believed that such was the fact. A coroner's jury examined the matter, and found in accordance with the popular clamor. Suspicion rested on two hunters who had been boarding in the dead man's family. They were arrested, and underwent a three days' examination, which terminated in the attorney for the people making a motion for their discharge, on the ground of insufficient evidence against them. Although the facts elicited on the examination satisfied the prosecuting attorney (appointed by the judge from another county) that the man killed came to his death by the accidental discharge of a gun in his own hand, probably four-fifths of our inhabitants did not accept that theory. And, it having incidentally come out in course of the investigation, that a widower in the neighborhood had a short time before dropped the remark that, "if he had such a wife as Mrs. G., (the wife of the supposed murdered man) he should be a happy man." Suspicion of the murder at once turned upon him. He was then and there arrested, but after a short examination, was also discharged on the motion

of the prosecution. The prisoners were, in both examinations, defended by a man who made no pretensions to a knowledge of law or the rules of evidence. His clients, in the former case, not having money sufficient to compensate him for the time spent in his defense, he presented his bill of twenty dollars to the board of supervisors, who, like clever fellows, as they certainly were, generously allowed it. In the latter case, his client, several months afterwards, brought in, to pay for his defense, a handsome lot of maple sugar, thus relieving the generosity of the board. Several years later, about the time of the organization of the county, the Legislature passed the law now in force taxing dogs. How our board of supervisors disposed of said law, the following resolution, as it stands in their journal of proceedings, will show:

"WHEREAS, The present law, authorizing a tax on dogs, is believed to be unconstitutional by all;
"AND WHEREAS, The said tax is oppressive and burdensome on that class of our people least able to bear the same;
"AND WHEREAS, There are but few sheep in the county to be worried or killed by dogs;
"AND WHEREAS, The protection of sheep seems to be the prime object of said law, now therefore,
Be it resolved by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Oceana, That the supervisors of the several townships of this county be instructed not to tax the *dogs* in their several townships."

But, strange as it may seem, this action was wholly disregarded by the Supreme Court, who afterwards passed upon and sustained the law.

Nor were our early justices of the peace much trammeled by legal technicalities. One of them sentenced the sheriff of the county (or ex-sheriff) to imprisonment in the county jail, for a term of years, for shooting his neighbor's hog. That prisoner appreciated the reserved right of the writ of *habeas corpus*, by which he regained his liberty. Another justice sentenced a man to jail for *debt*, and the constable, a faithful officer, started with his prisoner on foot, for Ottawa jail, a distance of some thirty-five miles. But meeting the plaintiff, in whose favor the judgment was rendered, a compromise was effected, and the debt of about forty dollars was settled by the payment of a gallon of whisky, then costing *thirty-eight cents*. Previous to the foregoing conversation, which resulted in the settlement, the prisoner had several times attempted to escape, but the faithful officer, more fleet of foot, as often had caught and brought him back. Another magistrate, when applied to for a warrant for an Indian, was too busily engaged to leave his business and go to his office to consult books of forms (if he had any), so, pulling from his pocket a yellow envelope, upon it he issued the following warrant: "Bring him before me forthwith, d—n him, for cause.—JOHN BEAN, JR., J. P."

Our constables, too, were faithful officers and men of pluck, as one instance must suffice to show. A process was placed in the hands of one of our Governor constables, who promptly arrested his prisoner, who, less oblig-

ing than he who started thirty-five miles for jail on foot, refused to walk even ten miles to the justice's office, where he was to be tried. This defiance of authority greatly exasperated the Teutonic functionary, and there being but one team of horses in the neighborhood, he was for the moment at a loss what to do; but there happened to come along a loaded team just in time to be pressed into service, and the irate officer, in the best English he could command, thus addressed the driver: "Rufe, you knows I'm constable; vell I comman' you by the name of the Peoples of dis State Michigan dat you load off dem shingle-bolts so quick as you can, and carry dis dam ugly cuss to Squire Randall's office so quick dem hoss can go dare." "Rufe," like a good citizen, promptly obeyed, and in less than two hours delivered his passengers at the place assigned and was honorably discharged. Many more true stories might be told to illustrate the efficiency of our early executors of the law, but these must suffice.

The first doctor in the county (and he was one of the very first settlers) was Dr. Thomas Phillips, who is still in practice here. His beat for several years, without a rival, extended along the lake shore, from Muskegon north to Lincoln, a distance of over fifty miles. His only road was the lake beach, and, for want of better conveyance, he generally traveled on foot. Summer and winter he might have been seen, frequently stripped of his clothing, holding his medicine bag and clothes on top of his head with one hand, while with a pole in the other he steadied himself against the current, wading the several streams emptying into the lake. At one time during the prevalence of a contagious disease (small-pox, I believe), which had been scattered along the shore, he had forty-three patients on hand, a daily visit to which required over forty miles' travel.

Our first minister's name was Grow (a Baptist), who traveled on foot from what is now Muskegon county, a distance of twenty miles, every two weeks, to give us religious instruction. He obeyed the scriptural injunction, by taking with him neither "purse nor scrip," when he came and when he went. Another, Timothy Brigham (Methodist), acting in the double capacity of preacher and shoemaker, moved in about the same time, so that the condition of our souls (or soles) need not have been neglected.

L. D. Grove was the first lawyer who settled in Oceana county. C. W. Dean came next. Both put out their "signs" at Pentwater. When lawyers became more plenty, Mr. Grove, "unable to maintain the unequal combat, quit the plain." Mr. Dean, after several years' residence in the county, during which time he represented it one term in the Legislature, opened an office in Chicago, where he is still in practice. Since those days,

the bar of Oceana county has contained some able lawyers, of whom at least three have been chosen as circuit judges in different circuits of this State.

There was an Indian reservation of two townships in the northeast part of the county, to which the red men were given possession in 1858, when they were moved to the county by the government, from which they received an annual annuity averaging about $1,300. There were about thirteen hundred, a part of which number belonged to a like reservation in Mason county, but, as is remembered, all were paid off annually at Pentwater. As showing the tact of an agent and the influence of a good dinner, an incident might here be related. One year, when the government agent, Rev. Mr. Fitch, came to pay the Indians the stipulated annuity, they declined to receive it, because, as they contended, the amount offered was too small. The more they smoked and talked over it, the more determined they appeared to be. Finally, the agent, remembering that "a soft answer turneth away wrath," ordered two fat oxen, ten bushels of potatoes and other food in proportion, which were prepared by the Indians, and cooked, under the direction of the agent, in large kettles borrowed for the purpose. Long tables were constructed of boards, on which a bountiful dinner was spread, and a "bugler" sent out with his horn to notify the anxiously waiting children of the forest that the feast prepared by the "Great Father" at Washington was ready. They came to the table by scores and by hundreds, and, after grace, partook of a bountiful dinner, under the genial influence of which they received the amount first offered, *less the cost of the feast*, without a murmur or sign of dissatisfaction. *Moral:* If you have a difficult matter to adjust with your neighbor, call on him soon after dinner.

The first postoffice in the county was established at Claybanks, about 1854, and ten years later the number of postoffices scarcely exceeded a half dozen; they now number twenty-two. The first school district was organized in 1855 and there were probably not twenty scholars between five and twenty years in the county; now there are eighty-seven districts and at least four thousand scholars.

There were at the election of the first county officers in 1855, seventy-two votes cast; in 1856, one hundred and three were cast; in 1864, five hundred and thirty-three; in 1884, three thousand two hundred and seven were cast for president. The population has increased from two thousand three hundred and seventy-three in 1864 to not far from fifteen thousand in 1884.

Farming is, of course, the principal business, but other pursuits are by no means neglected. The men who early took the lead in business, excepting, perhaps one, were opposed to the sale of intoxicating drinks, and the saloon

business was held back for several years, but at last it got a good foothold and whisky was sold by the drink as well as by the gallon. But they who sold it were not the worst of "saloonists." One of them had his bar over a little crystal brook which issues from the foot of a hill but a half mile away, and although his trade in the liquid he called whisky became quite extensive for such a place, one barrel of twenty-five cent whisky and a pump to raise the crystal stream that flowed beneath his bar made a supply that lasted a long time. But very few, if any, went from that bar drunk. Whether true or not, I cannot say, having never tried it, but it used to be asserted by men whose veracity on most subjects was unquestioned that one "could not get drunk at Stewart's bar." But it would be useless to deny that the water of that little creek actually tasted of whisky, for from that fact it took the name of "Whisky creek," which it retains to this day. Another vender kept his whisky barrel so near Stony creek that when the faucet had been left leaking or a little of the whisky had been left in the glasses over night, or spilled on the floor, more than one who came in the morning for his dram or on other business has seen icicles hanging from the faucet to the floor, and ice in the glasses and on the floor where the so-called whisky had been spilled.

Perhaps the state of public sentiment as to the organization of the county, and some of the attending difficulties, can as briefly and clearly be shown by reproducing a short article written by myself several years ago for the *Pentwater News*. It was as follows:

"Just how our county machinery was put in motion, I presume very few ever heard. In February, 1855, the act to provide for the organization of Oceana, Mason and Manistee counties, was passed by the Legislature and the first election of county officers was held at Stony Creek, (now Benona) on the first Monday of April following. The county convention nominated John Barr for sheriff, Amos R. Wheeler, for treasurer, and Harvey Tower for clerk and register. The remainder of the ticket is not remembered. Charles A. Rosevell aspired to the office of sheriff, and Malcomb Campbell to that of clerk and register, and vigorously pushed their claims in that direction. But after a spirited canvass the whole of the regular ticket was elected. The act provided that when, by a certain day, therein named, the clerk and register and treasurer elect should file their official oaths with each other, the official machinery of the county should begin to move, having a legal existence. On the last day of the time allowed for filing said oaths, the officers elect, with several prominent citizens, met to consider the question whether, after all, it were not better to remain attached to Ottawa for municipal and judicial purposes, as our taxes

then were very light, than to incur the much greater expense of supporting a separate organization. But as the people had expressed a desire to organize by electing their officers, it was deemed best to perfect the organization. How the oath was to be taken was a question that seemed greatly to trouble some of the knowing ones, anxious to avoid any error that would vitiate the proceedings and insisting that the officers "must be sworn in on the Bible." But to those upon whom devolved the duty of qualifying *that day* there was a matter of greater concern than the manner of administering the oath, the nearest officer qualified to do which residing at White River, fully fifteen miles distant, the only road being the sandy beach of Lake Michigan. Before a conclusion was reached, the clock marked two P. M., and it took another hour, at least, to obtain horses for the journey. About three o'clock Tower led off, mounted on his elegant 'Brutus,' Wheeler closely following on his less showy but more plucky 'old Bob.' Arriving at White River, after some delay, Justice J. D. Stebbins was found who, going immediately to his office, administered the oath with great dignity.

"Meantime the horses had rested, and the officers, full-fledged (save filing their oaths officially), mounted their steeds for home, which they reached just ten minutes before twelve o'clock, midnight, and just in time to file their papers before the time allowed by law expired. To say that the rain fell in torrents would give but a faint idea of the storm encountered on the 'home-stretch' of that romantic ride. I doubt if it ever rained harder since the time of Noah. The clothing of the riders was wet through, and the water ran down, filling their boots, and running over in streams. Arriving at Stony Creek we found

'The fire fair blazing and the vestment warm;'

And the new treasurer, after his first official act of filing the clerk's oath, came from an adjoining room with glass and decanter in hand, remarking as he appeared, 'Tower, I don't believe a little good Bourbon would hurt either of us.' What could Tower do but 'take a little?' which act finally completed the organization of Oceana county."

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

BY EPHRAIM S. WILLIAMS, OF FLINT.

The Williams family dates back in the history of the British islands to a remote age. The name is of Welsh origin, and the descendants among the mountains of Wales claim to trace their ancestry back to the time of "Rodric the Great," king of Britain, about the year 849. Others claim that the family has descended from Brutus, the first king of Britain, 1100 years before Christ. The famous Oliver Cromwell is said to have belonged to a branch of this family. The earliest representative of the name in the American colonies is believed to have been Robert Williams, who emigrated from Norwich, England, and settled at Roxbury, Massachusetts, about the year 1638. Among the noted men of this wide-spread family have been Roger Williams, the pioneer settler of Rhode Island; Colonel Ephraim Williams, killed at the battle of Lake George, in August, 1755; General Otho Holland Williams, a prominent officer in the American army during the Revolution; Hon. Charles K. Williams, chief justice of Vermont; Hon. Norman Williams, of the same State; Hon. Archibald Williams, of Quincy, Illinois, and many others prominent in the field, in the pulpit, and at the bar.

My father, Major Oliver Williams, one of the pioneer settlers in Michigan, and of Oakland county, was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, May 6, 1774. He came to Detroit in 1808, established the mercantile business there, purchasing his goods in Boston, carting them overland in covered wagons to Buffalo, and shipping thence by water to Detroit. He ordinarily made two trips a year, on horseback, between Boston and Detroit. During the winter and spring of 1810–11 he built, at the River Rouge, a large sloop, which he named the "Friends' Good-Will," and in the summer of 1812, just previous to the breaking out of the war between the United States and Great Britain, made a voyage to Mackinaw, acting as super-cargo. At Mackinaw his vessel was chartered by the government to take military stores and supplies to the garrison at Chicago, then a small military and trading post. She was also to bring back a cargo of furs and skins for the government and himself. The commanding officer at Macki-

naw, Lieut. Hanks, furnished father with a box of ammunition, twelve stand of arms, and a non-commissioned officer and six men as a guard against Indians, who were then openly hostile, and it was known that war was imminent. Before his return from Chicago he was decoyed into the harbor of Mackinaw, which had in the meantime been captured by the British, they keeping the American flag flying over the fort, and they were made prisoners. His vessel and cargo were taken possession of for the benefit of the British government, on account of his vessel being under a government charter. The name of the vessel was changed by the British to "Little Belt," and it formed a part of the British squadron and was captured the next year by Commodore Perry on Lake Erie. At the time of the battle she mounted three guns. She was burned at Buffalo the following winter, having, with two others, been driven ashore by a gale.

Father was paroled, sent to Detroit under charge of British officers; was at Detroit at its surrender by Gen. Wm. Hull, and, with other citizens, was marched through the province to Kingston as prisoner of war. In time they were exchanged. He then visited his family in Concord, Massachusetts, and soon after returned to Detroit to look after his business and property, which he found scattered to the winds. Detroit and the entire frontier had been laid in waste. The most that he saved from the general ruin was his residence, on the corner of Jefferson avenue and Bates street, running back to Larned street, in front of Ste. Anne's Church, and twenty acres in the then called *Bush*, on Woodward avenue, somwhere about Winder street, all of which he sold when he bought his farm in Oakland county.

In the fall of 1815 he moved his family from Concord, Mass., to Detroit. Mother and eight children, myself the oldest, then about thirteen (born February 7, 1802), traveled with spring carriages, and their goods (what were necessary) in double covered wagons, to Buffalo, stopping at the Cold Spring Hotel, near Buffalo, kept by one Col. Miller. Buffalo, we found in ruins, it having been burned by the British. We remained nearly three weeks before passage could be obtained to Detroit. At last, the small schooner, "Mink," owned by Messrs. Mack & Conant, of Detroit, was procured, and under the care and kind protection of the late Hon. Shubael Conant, a particular friend of my father, we embarked for Detroit, where we arrived, after the very short passage of nine days. Our vessel was becalmed about one mile below the city, then at or opposite the G. Godfroy's tannery. Father, seeing the vessel, expecting us aboard, and passing on the road just at evening, hailed us, and enquired if his friend Conant was on board, and his father's family; Mr. Conant answered: "Yes." Soon father came on board and requested the captain to set us on shore,

which he declined; but two of the children being sick, Mr. Conant requested the captain to do so, he assuming all responsibility, and we landed, and, with Mr. Godfroy's carriage and a cart, we were conveyed to our home, on Jefferson avenue. We rode and walked up past the fort, whose frowning guns, pyramids of balls and strong stockade, with its heavy gates, were all new and strange to us. The people all turned out to see the Yankees, and as we passed along by the curious, one story and a half French houses, the women greeted us little ones with a kiss, saying: "*Ah, to mon petite Boslinien!*" We found Detroit a very strange place, walled in with high pickets, with three large, very heavy gates, and two regiments of United States soldiers lying in tents outside the pickets, on the rise of ground about where now stands the Detroit Opera House, the Kirkwood, Market, etc. The old fort also was full of soldiers. At each gate of the city stood a United States soldier on guard, and no one passed in or out without a password. The city contained probably only about five or six hundred whites. Father opened a hotel and boarding house, raised a large gold ball for a sign, and it was known as the Yankee hotel, with the sign of a pumpkin. His house was over-run with eastern people, as the troops were mostly eastern men, many of them from Massachusetts, and father and his family became great favorites. We had many eastern boarders, to-wit: Mr. Thomas Palmer, Calvin Baker, Paul Clapp, Wm. Brewster, Levi Cook, and Orville Cook and others. Levi Cook taught school in part of Mr. Thomas Palmer's store, which I and my brothers and sisters attended until he commenced other business.

As I have said, Detroit was a strange place. The old market stood in the centre of Woodward avenue, south of Jefferson avenue, with a whipping post at the northeast corner, where criminals were whipped for petty crimes, and sold for fines and costs to the one who would take them for the least number of days' work on the streets. I have often seen them whipped and gangs of men at work on the streets, often many with ball and chain, and made to work out their fines and costs of suits, instead of being a city or county charge. We boys had an old two-horse sleigh, with bar-iron shoes (no cast-iron shoes then), and a dozen would often get on and ride down hill in the winter, going on to the river quite a distance. There was no Atwater street then; the river came up to the rear of Mr. James Abbott's storehouse deep enough for boats and canoes to unload furs, sugar etc., which was about half the length of what was then the Abbott block, where he lived and had the postoffice for many years. The old Frenchman used to run the ferry with a large canoe until Mr. Ezra Balding put on a scow and boats. There were only three brick buildings—the Governor Hull house, that

stood where the Biddle House now stands, the Government store house, and the old bank on the Major Kearsley corner. I clerked it awhile in this building for Mr. Melvin Dorr, a dry goods merchant, who afterwards settled on a farm near Little Springs and was superintendent of the building of the United States turnpike to Saginaw, which was built six miles north of Flint city, one hundred feet wide. Father purchased all the fruits on the orchards on either side of Detroit river and put up many winter apples and made a large quantity of cider—one year packing two thousand barrels of apples and making seven hundred barrels of cider. Apples sold for twenty shillings and twenty-four shillings per barrel, and cider ten dollars per barrel for all he could make, most of which went to Ohio. I recollect I took ten barrels in a boat to Mr. Henry I. Hunt, merchant, for his use and he paid me one hundred dollars, (ten dollars per barrel) everything in proportion. Potatoes were two and two and a half dollars. Whisky sold for two dollars per gallon by the barrel. Butter, fifty and seventy-five cents per pound; roasting pigs, two and three dollars each; turkeys, from twelve to twenty shillings. All these things were brought from Ohio—little vessels plying all the time in this trade, buying our apples and cider.

Many families who left Detroit during the war, returned in 1816. Governor L. Cass brought his family to reside there. The currency was mostly shinplasters and what was called "cut money"—that is, a Spanish dollar, for instance, was cut into halves, quarters and eights, which passed current for small change, and many times it was cut into nine shilling pieces, from one dollar. The troops were paid off for long back pay, and money flowed like water—everybody had plenty. Many of the troops were discharged (times expiring) in Detroit and settled on farms in Oakland and other counties in the State. Being first-class eastern men, they made many of our best citizens. Lieutenant Blake resigned in Detroit, and afterwards became the noted Captain Blake, of the lakes, and finally settled on a farm in Oakland county. Colonel John Hamilton, of Flint, was discharged a sergeant in Detroit. I have seen all these men march Detroit streets, and lived by them in after years. Mr. Samuel Munson, father of Mr. Henry Munson, of Detroit, is now living at East Saginaw. He came to Detroit in 1816 or 1817, and tended bar for my father. Being about my age, we used to slide down hill together, on Woodward avenue. We boys had a large skating park, of several acres, the water in the fall coming from the upper part of the city and flowing the low grounds in the rear of old Ste. Anne's Catholic Church. This water ran out across Woodward avenue on Congress street, making its way to the river down that low ground, or valley. It was crossed on Woodward avenue by a bridge, perhaps three or four rods long, made of

round poles and pole railing—the same as we were glad to make over streams and mud holes in the country, in the settlement of the same. These places have been filled up by the improvements of the city, and splendid business buildings erected thereon. I have lived in the State ever since those days, and am astonished when I look in vain for our old play grounds. About where the old Michigan bank stands, there was in that hill a small fort open then to the river, where stood one or more guns and mortars, used for throwing shot and shell across the river during the war of 1812; there being the foundation of an old church and a burying ground in Jefferson avenue, we had to crook around to the south side of the street to get down street. I remember seeing this foundation and those bodies all removed and the street improved. On the 14th day of August, 1817, President James Monroe visited Detroit and was received with public honors. My father was then city marshal, and was conducting the procession through the city. Passing his residence on Jefferson avenue, mother beckoned him, when he dismounted, went into the house, called Dr. Brown, next door to us, and in a short time a son was born to him, which was named James Monroe Williams. He now lives in Santa Rosa, California, has raised a large family, and is now "grandpa." His wife was a sister to the late Judge Crofoot, of Pontiac.

The first steamboat upon Lake Erie, the "Walk-in-the-Water," visited Detroit in the summer of 1818. She was a great wonder to the French and Indians, in fact to us all, being the first I or any of our family had seen. I recollect one circumstance which I never shall forget. The steamer landed at what was then "Wing's wharf," at the foot of Bates street, originally built by Henry Hudson and called "Hudson's wharf." It was built on bents and planked over, about ten feet wide, running to the channel; at the end was a large pier, with an ice-break, laid of square timber and filled with stone, also a pier built in same way about half way, and carts could drive out there, turn round, fill their barrels with pure water and water the city. I have described the wharf; now for what took place. On the deck of the old "Walk-in-the-Water" stood Lord Selkirk, with cocked hat, English coat and breeches and buckles, talking with some gentlemen, when Hon. Austin E. Wing, United States marshal, walked up and arrested the lord for crimes committed against the Hudson Bay Fur Co., in the Hudson Bay country years before, and the lord and Marshal Wing walked up town together.

In the fall of 1818, my father, Calvin Baker, Jacob Elliott, my uncle Alpheus Williams, and others, made a journey to Oakland county, on horseback. They had a French guide. Following the Indian trail towards Saginaw,

they crossed the Clinton River at Pontiac. After exploring the surrounding country, my father selected three hundred and twenty acres of land in the vicinity, or upon a beautiful lake, which he afterwards named Silver Lake. After an absence of three or four days, the party returned. Their report electrified the staid, quiet inhabitants of Detroit, among whom the belief was general that the interior of Michigan was a vast impenetrable and uninhabitable wilderness and morass. In the winter of 1818 and 1819 father started with his horses and wagon, provisions and tools, and three men for his new home, to build a house for the reception of his family in the spring. This was the first team and wagon ever driven to Pontiac, taking three days, cutting his road and bridging streams and bad places. The few families then at Pontiac had packed their supplies on ponies or on their own backs. There were Maj. Todd, Orson Allen, son-in-law of Maj. Todd, and one other man and his wife all living in one (not large) log house. Father's house was of hewed logs laid up very nicely, fifty feet long and twenty wide, one and a half stories high, with a shake roof. In March, 1819, he moved his family into his unfinished yet comfortable house and all commenced to make a farm among the Indians, flies, mosquitoes, snakes, wild game, and fever and ague. Father used to say, when asked if we had the ague, "Yes, we had a little about thirteen months in the year." Our family suffered much from sickness, privations and lack of the comforts of life. Mother and sisters lived there six months without seeing the face of a white woman; then my aunt and her daughter made us a visit from Detroit, stayed with us a few days, helped us and cheered us up. The summer of 1820 father raised and finished a large barn, 40x40, which was the first frame raised in Oakland county and which still stands upon the old homestead in a good state of preservation. I was one who drew the pine logs from a pinery, about one and a half miles from the old home, for the finishing and enclosing the barn. The plank boards and shingles were sawed and made on the place. The Indians were kind and very friendly during our sickness, bringing us many luxuries in the shape of wild meat and berries of the choicest kind. We found them not bad neighbors. The winters of those days were not much like 1885; no snow of any consequence until March, and then we got barely enough to enable us to get up our year's stock of wood. I have driven team to break up our land through the months of December, January and February, as we would now in May and June. We used three and four yoke of good heavy oxen, to plow the oak openings, among what we called the "nigger-heads" (the heads of the oak scrubs that had been burned off). I recollect the first field of wheat of about six acres we had; when in the milk the yellow birds commenced coming. The first we saw delighted us, but

they increased and destroyed every head of grain, and we never cut a straw. This we thought rather rough, on the start.

Father kept a few goods and we boys traded considerably with the Indians, collecting a good many furs and skins, sugar, wax, etc., which we sold in Detroit, procuring in exchange many comforts we could not get from the new farm. Every spring while I remained at home I would take a load of furs, sugar, etc., to Detroit. I could not go direct, the roads being impassable; consequently I used to go by way of Mt. Clemens, taking two and three days, usually staying at Mt. Clemens over night with Colonel Clemens, going from there out to the lake and then down the lake and river road (this was a little like pioneer life). Often I had to stop, when night overtook me (very few taverns, if any), with farmers who had nothing to eat but baked potatoes and milk, but who afterwards became fine farmers and leading men. The road direct from Pontiac to Detroit became, after some travel, almost impassible, so wet and muddy to any depth.

Father purchased a corn mill, which was put up in a tree in the yard; the hopper would hold half a bushel or more. With two cranks we boys would grind out a bushel of corn when wanted, which gave us nice corn meal. The neighbors also came and ground their corn, and this proved a very great convenience to the neighborhood.

Deer and all wild game were very plenty. We boys became quite expert hunters. I hunted considerable, but for a long time could kill nothing, often having deer stand all around me, distant from three or four rods to ten, fifteen, and twenty. I would take the nearest, aim and fire, but could not get one, although I was a splendid marksman—could hit the size of a quarter of a dollar twice out of three times at twenty rods. The trouble was, I was excited, and in sighting a deer I would see the deer's body, and, of course, I would fire above the deer. My younger brothers had killed many, and they laughed at me, to my great annoyance. I started out one morning early and said to myself, Now, if I get a shot, I will be calm and take time and take good aim, as if shooting at a mark, I will have no more fooling. I had not got out of sight of the house before I saw a deer about twenty or thirty rods from me. I took deliberate aim, drew a fine sight, and my deer fell. Then to get him home. I thought I could carry him on my back, as I had often seen the Indians do. So I fixed him, got him on to a log, and then on to my back, and started, but did not go far before I backed up to a log and let him off. After a little I started again, but it was no go. I was in sight of the house for which I had started. Such a looking object as I was! I had daubed myself from head to foot with blood and deer hair. Oh, how I looked! but I marched bravely home, for I had killed a deer. The family

were at breakfast as I went in. As soon as my father saw me he and my brother shouted, "He's killed a deer!" Mother, good woman, smiled and said, "Why, Ephraim, how you do look! Just look at your clothes." I said, "Never mind, mother, I have killed a deer." I was then over the buck fever and could kill a deer every time I fired on one. Father took his horse and wagon and we went and brought him in. We never spent much time in hunting, for we could go out an hour or two, morning or evening, and kill a deer. Our lakes were almost black with ducks, spring and fall. We could kill a mess in five minutes near our house. I recollect father and myself crawling beside a fence leading from the barn to the lake, and, upon his giving the word, we fired together into a flock of ducks near the shore, and we got eleven large, fine, black-neck ducks. An Indian family by the name of Wa-me-gan lived on the high bank near the house, and were a fine, friendly family. Wa-me-gan started out one morning a-hunting, went in north a few miles, when it commenced snowing. He fell upon an old bear lying under a turned-up tree. We supposed he found and wounded him, and the bear made fight. The old man defended himself, losing his knife and tomahawk in the fight. The bear struck him on the head, cutting gashes with each claw like a blow from a tomahawk, the thumb claw taking out one eye. We supposed this blow knocked him down, then the bear bit him through his legs and arms terribly, and left him for dead. The old man recovered, went a few steps, set his rifle beside a tree, sat down with his head on his hands and knees, and was found frozen dead. His sons found him, after one or two days' search. It had snowed several inches; his knife and tomahawk were never found. The sons followed the bear, but never found him. My brother and myself took the horses and sleigh, and, with his sons, brought him in. He was buried on the farm. This grave was always protected, and I presume it is to this day.

In the fall of 1822, Mr. Rufus Stevens, his brother, A. C. Stevens, and myself went from Silver Lake to Saginaw on horseback, following the Indian trail. We found the two companies of United States troops in their tents, hard at work building the stockade and their winter quarters. We remained a day and returned. There was not a house from Waterford to Saginaw. The winter of 1822-3, Colonel John Hamilton, Harvey Williams and myself each took a team and load of supplies and provisions for the troops, Mr. Schuyler Hedges accompanying us to see the country, The soldiers had cut a road through the woods and pine windfalls for sleigh track. Going out we put all three teams on each load to draw it across Flint River and up its banks. We slept on the south bank of Cass River, between two large fallen pine trees. In the morning we were under about four or five

inches of snow. It snowed all day. We arrived at Saginaw and crossed the river not until after dark, having traveled only about twelve miles. The soldiers took charge of our teams and put them in warm stables and we were ushered into good, warm quarters and fared sumptuously. We left next afternoon and slept that night at Cass River, where we found a vacant log house. We got our horses into it and with rails we built a big fire in the fire-place and camped for the night. It was a very cold night. Our horses and ourselves suffered severely. Of that company I am the only survivor, the Messrs. Stevens, Hamilton, Williams and Hodges all have crossed the river, where we must all follow ere long. My sister Caroline married Mr. Rufus Stevens and moved to Grand Blanc, Genesee county, in 1823, they being the first settlers in that town. In the fall of 1824, a party of eight young men and girls visited my sister, Stevens, traveling on horseback, there being no road, but only an Indian trail. Next morning we rode to Flint River, seven miles, (where the city now is), crossed the river on the rapids where the dam and mills now are; explored the surroundings, which were beautiful, being an open oak forest like an orchard. We could see for miles around, having been burned over, and could see the wild deer feeding on the acorns in from twos to droves of often a dozen. You may think this exaggerating but it is not, for they were as plenty as sheep. It was not unusual to see in the fall of the year, droves of twenty and even more. In those days we could not ride through the oak openings without seeing deer feeding on the rolling hills, in all directions. The oak openings were perfectly beautiful, being from June a perfect flower garden.

In the year 1821 a militia company was formed in Pontiac and vicinity. Calvin Hotchkiss was the captain. I hold a commission, as ensign, under Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory, dated June 13, 1821. A regiment was afterwards formed, and I hold a commission as its adjutant, dated the 11th day of August, 1824. I think the above was the first company and regiment formed in the Territory. We were well uniformed and equipped. Had a grand regimental parade every fall, in Pontiac. To have a parade ground, I engaged men and mowed off the brush and cleaned off the ground from Pike street to the river, on the west side of Main street, in Pontiac, where the Hodges House stands; Calvin Hotchkiss, colonel; David Steward, lieutenant colonel; Henry C. Brunson, major. We soon had three or four rifle companies, in full uniform, commanded by Captain John Hamilton, Captain Archibald Phillips, Captain John Hamlin, and so on. We used to have fine parades and any amount of fun. We also had one company of horse, about thirty strong, commanded by Captain Daniel Lyon.

Father and mother were married in 1796, in Concord, Mass. Mother's name was Mary Lee. They had a family of fourteen, ten boys and four girls. Father died in 1834. Mother died April 1, 1860, and in January, 1884, seven of those children were alive, six being of the eight that came to Detroit in 1815. Two died in California during the summer of 1885. March 13, 1825, I married Miss Hannah Melissa Gates, on her Grandfather James Harington's farm, near the village of Auburn, Oakland county. I built a log house on part of the old homestead, and lived there until I moved to Saginaw. My daughter Mary (afterwards Mrs. Hiram Walker of Detroit) was born September 25, 1826. We had a family of seven, of whom four are still living. In 1829 I moved to Saginaw, our party going on horseback, I carrying my daughter before me on a pillow. My wife's sister and several others accompanied us. The first night we camped out at Pine Run. The next day we arrived at Saginaw, and made our home in the officers' quarters—a very comfortable place, inside the stockade, until I built on the corner of Mackinaw and Washington streets. In 1828 my brother and myself commenced the Indian trade, under the firm name of G. D. & E. S. Williams, which we continued about twelve years, under the auspices of the American Fur Company, of which James Abbott, of Detroit, was agent. There were no roads. We had, with others then at Saginaw, to go on horses (or ponies) from Saginaw to Grand Blanc, some forty odd miles, and not a house or white family the entire distance, carrying our children before us. Often, from high water and bad roads to get through, we were obliged to camp out for the night, and so always went prepared for the emergency. Over bad places, swamps, etc., we crossed on fallen trees, old logs, etc., carrying our wives and children on our backs, while the men took the ponies through or around places almost impassable. We usually traveled in companies of a dozen or more, for mutual protection and assistance. My oldest children, Mary and Olive, had only Indian children for playmates. The chiefs gave them Indian names, in token of their friendship. The wives and daughters of the chiefs would take them to the pay grounds, and, under the direction of the chiefs, they would draw their share of money the same as, and with, the Indian children. We bought our goods for the Indian trade, and also for what little white trade there was of the American Fur Company, and sold them our furs in the spring.

Perhaps it is well to give a short sketch of the city of Saginaw at this time. The government made it a military reservation, and troops were sent there in the summer of 1822, being a part of the third regiment, U. S. troops. They were ordered there from Green Bay, for the protection of the

frontier. They were under the command of Major Daniel Baker, and remained at this point about fourteen months. Here they lost some valuable officers, Lieutenant Baker, the major's brother, and Lieutenant Allen, and about a dozen men. This discouraged the major, and they were ordered by the war department to Detroit. The venerable and beloved Dr. Pitcher, of Detroit, who was then assistant surgeon in the regular army, and had reported to Major Baker at this time, was in attendance upon the garrison. The event of withdrawing the troops tended to draw away attention from the Saginaw Valley, and retarded immigration. The military reserve was purchased of the government by Samuel Dexter, of Dexter, Mich., for seven or eight thousand dollars. We rented the property of Mr. Dexter, and occupied it until we built up town, on Mackinaw street. Mr. Dexter often urged my brother and myself to purchase the property, which at one time he offered to us for seven thousand dollars. He afterwards sold it to Dr. Millington, of Ypsilanti, for $11,000, who, in turn, sold it to Mr. Norman Little, for himself, Mackie, Oakley and Jennison, of New York city, for $55,000—a nice little speculation in a short time for the doctor.

Then commenced the building of Saginaw City. In 1836 Mr. Norman Little came from Detroit, with Governor Mason, by the steamboat "Governor Marcy," the first steamboat that ever plowed the waters of the Saginaw River. The citizens all took a ride on the "Marcy" up the Tittabawassee River, above Green Point (which is the head of Saginaw River), a mile or two, got aground, and were most of the day getting off and back to the city, being a hard day's work instead of a day of pleasure. The expenditures of the firm of Mackie & Co., of which Mr. Little was a member, in their efforts to build up Saginaw City, by the erection of various expensive structures, some of which still stand as monuments of their enterprise, amounted to a very large sum, and, followed so soon by the financial crisis of 1837–1838, it is not to be wondered at that trouble and embarrassment ensued, causing further active efforts on their part, at that time, to build up Saginaw City almost entirely to cease. Disappointed, but not discouraged, Mr. Norman Little turned his attention to the east side of the river, and in 1850 induced Mr. James M. Hoyt, of the old firm of Eli Hoyt & Co., of New York city, and his son, Mr. Jesse Hoyt, to become interested with himself, each one-third, in the site and business of East Saginaw. In the year 1834–1835 my brother and I (G. D. & E. S. Williams) built the first steam mill, with one saw, ever built in the Saginaw valley; and, I think, the first in the State, Harvey Williams owning one-third, he furnishing the engine and boilers. In after years it was burned down. My brother, G. D. Williams, built a fine mill afterwards, on the point opposite the first one. That was burned

down. Then his sons built a first-class modern mill on the river, and it, with salt block and fixtures, still runs.

When G. D. & E. S. Williams commenced the Indian trade in 1828 we occupied the sutler's store, outside the stockade; and, as I have said, lived inside the stockade in the officers' quarters. We built the red store and occupied it as long as we continued trade. Reaume, a Frenchman and an old Indian trader, (who was at that time, 1828, and at that point the agent of the American Fur Company, and was trading under them), and the Messrs. Campau had had personal difficulties of long standing, which had become an inveterate feud, creating unprofitable divisions with the Indians, amounting with them to fierce partisan hatred. The current becoming turned against Reaume, and his personal safety endangered, his store was kept closed too much of the time for him to continue a profitable agent of trade for the company at that post. Judge Abbott, the company's superintendent at Detroit, selected the Messrs. Williams as the successors of Reaume, who became the owners of his entire interests in his Indian trade. The hatred had become so strong against Reaume by the opposition traders that they endeavored to and did set the Indians against the out-posts. Dequindre, an active young Frenchman, clerk of the store at the forks of the Tittabawassee, was driven out of his store, by a very ugly Indian, called *White Devil* or *Wah-be-man-e-too*, White Devil taking possession with his friends, of the store, drinking and enjoying themselves until the employés came home from the woods. The clerk fled to Saginaw, got lost, and was frozen badly before he got in. This was the state of things we found when we commenced the trade in 1828. The traders had become savage toward the Indians, and often abused them for little or no cause, which we had to put a stop to, putting in their written agreements if anything of the kind was done, without good provocation, they would be discharged.

In arranging for our winter trade, in the fall of 1828, we considered it very important to reëstablish and open the trade at the *Forks* where the store had been broken up, that being a good business point, and it was thought best that I should go to that post. I consequently prepared to do so, with a good stock of goods for the trade. I chose for my assistants, interpreter and runners, Jacob Gravenrod, one of the best interpreters in the whole country, and the two younger Rays. Prudent friends endeavored to persuade me not to embark in an enterprise so evidently fraught with danger, but my own and the company's interest required the venture, and I, with my assistants, soon arrived at the post. The opposition store, with three men, was about sixty rods from mine. The Indians in this section were, at this time, considered the worst and most dangerous in all the country, but about

the best hunters and trappers of valuable furs, and it was a very important post to be maintained. I was successful in taking in a large lot of valuable furs, such as beaver, otter, martin, mink, fisher, bear, coon and muskrat and doeskin. My men were absent from home most of the time gathering furs from the Indians; therefore I was alone and experienced many unpleasant affairs, a few of which I will relate. I soon gained the friendship of the Indians and they behaved well toward me and my men, only when put up to mischief by the opposition, who were half-breeds, and, being jealous of our success, could, with a little whisky, cause the ugly ones to give us serious trouble, but always, when sober afterwards, say they were sorry and ask forgiveness. It was necessary to have an Indian guide who understood where the hunters and trappers were in the interior. The opposition house had a very good one, who had been their guide for years and not good for much else. During the winter Gravenrod and myself, when about retiring one cold and snowy night, heard a "bang" on our outer door; soon again, another. We asked who was there; "bang" again, harder than before. We told him to go away or he would get hurt. "Let me in;" "bang" again. I picked up a hickory sapling about three feet long we had been using and crept carefully to the door, unfastened the inner door, unhooked the outer door (having double doors), and when the "bang" came again, threw open the door and sprang out.

He ran, I after him, down toward his home, the snow being about a foot deep. I came up to him in about twenty rods, struck him over the head with my hickory, and he fell into the snow. I gave him one or two good cuts across his thighs, and left him. The next morning I left for Saginaw, on business, on an Indian pony, and as I was about starting, the fellow came in, painted black; said he was drunk and was sorry; said he was put up to it. I told him we wanted nothing to do with him, to go home and keep away from us, or he would get worse punished. I left for Saginaw, and when twelve or fifteen miles on my way, I heard a slight noise, and, looking around, this fellow, with a shotgun on his shoulder, was trotting along behind me, looking black and ugly as possible. It gave me a little start, yet I knew he was a coward. I asked him what he was following me for. He said the clerk had sent him down for some goods. I told him to take the front and trot ahead, and I kept him in the front the rest of the way to Saginaw. On my return he came to the store, said he was sorry and ashamed of what he had done, wished me to forgive him, and, if I wanted him for a guide, he would leave the opposition and join us. Good guides were very scarce, and he being an excellent one, we took him. We found him very useful, and he remained with us ever after.

Indians are peculiar. If they feel they have been abused or punished undeservedly, they never forget it, and sometime will retaliate on you or your property; but when they deserve punishment for doing wrong, if partially drunk, they know it, and will invariably, when sober, come and say you did right; that they were wrong, and ask to be forgiven and to be friends, and they will ever after be good friends and do anything for you. This very thing is the cause of much of the trouble with the Indians in the western portion of our country. Government officers and traders misuse them, rob them of their reservations, their game, and often of their wives and daughters, at which they feel injured and abused. I often think they are not so much to blame, after all. During this winter two parties of Indians came to the store from different sections, and of different totems, between whom a feud existed, of long standing. After trading their furs, they had a drink together, and began to talk up the old feud. Gravenrod and myself made up our minds there would be trouble, and we must guard against it as much as possible. There were about twenty, and they were ou side the store. I proposed they should not come into the store, unless they gave me their knives at the door. Only one refused. I stood on the inside of the door, which, being low, one had to stoop a little. This one said he would come in, and I said he should not, unless he gave up his knife. He lowered his head to rush in, and I met him between the eyes with my fist, and he went to the ground. He jumped up and handed me his knife. This man's brother was a chief, and a powerful man, called Chee-a-nin-nee (Big Man). The leading man from the other party was called As-see-nee-wee, one of the finest built men I ever saw. These two leading ones became the contestants, the rest of each party trying to prevent hostilities, and Gravenrod was doing his best to separate the two, as they had clinched each other. I stood by the door, in the rear of Big Man. Gravenrod called to me at the top of his voice to pull Big Man back, for he had a knife and would kill As-see-nee-wee. I sprang and caught Big Man by the shoulders, and sprang back with all my strength, separating them, and we all came down upon the floor. Old Man, his brother and two or three more all had hold of the old man, his brother and myself holding him down, and it was all we could do, the old fellow roaring and frothing at the mouth with rage. He had dropped his knife. We got the advantage of him, so his brother could hold him. They told me to get a rope and we would tie him. Hearing this, he begged us not to tie him, and he would give up and be quiet. Tying is something an Indian fears and looks upon as degrading. While this was going on, Gravenrod got the others out of the store and started them off to their camps. It was now getting dusk. I spread some deer skins beside

the chimney, in a corner, and his brother got the old man to lie down, and he soon got to sleep, and his brother watched him all night. During the night As-see-nee-wee came to the door and asked Gravenrod to let him in, which he did. He was about sober. He came to my bed and said if I would let him have a knife, he would fix the old man so he would never trouble us again; if I would do so he would give me a big beaver skin, then worth about $15. I said, "No; ain't you ashamed of yourself, you coward, to take the life of that good old man while asleep." He shook my hand and said, "You are right; let me out and I will go home." In the morning they all met friendly, and soon left for their several homes. I have often thought how we barely escaped being injured. It was a terrible fight, bloodless, however.

The winter passed without any more excitement. One pleasant day in the spring, while alone, I saw Mr. White Devil coming up from the other trading house apparently a little "set up," and I thought he would probably give me a call. I had not seen him all winter. I had kept a good hickory cane, about an inch in diameter, in the store in case of necessity, which I took in hand. White Devil came in, threw off his pack of traps and fixtures for his spring trapping, seated himself on a stool, looked ugly and about half tight. He raised his head and says, "*Mis-shay-way,*" (my Indian name, meaning Big Elk,) with an insolent and defiant bearing, which a half-drunken Indian only can assume, "give me some whisky." I refused. He placed his hand upon the handle of his tomahawk, drew his knife, and repeated the demand more fiercely than at first, and was met by another refusal as defiant as his last demand. He then sprang for me (I standing beside the door) with uplifted tomahawk and knife, aiming a blow at me which, if I had not warded it off, would doubtless have proved fatal. With my hickory cane, and keen eye on his movements, I took him on the side of his head and felled him to the floor, and being about to repeat the blow, the discomfited hero begged for mercy. Getting up, after recovering from the stunning effects of the blow, I ordered him to leave the store, which he did and sat down in front of it in apparently deep thought, his head in his hands and blood flowing from his nose and mouth. After a little he called me to come to him, and expressed great mortification at the outrage he had attempted, and, to confirm his sincerity, promised that on his return from his trappings, if he had good luck, I should have all his furs except enough to pay his debts at the other store. I told him never to attempt anything again on me, for he would not escape as easily. I had no confidence he would keep his promise, for he had always been a fast friend of the opposition. But he did, faithfully, and became my fast friend, and would stand

by my side in case of any trouble with Indians as long as he lived. I got about fifty dollars' trade on his return and all future trade. He was a desperate fellow, had killed several during his time, and all the Indians stood in fear of him. He was finally killed. He and another hard case sat down opposite each other with a bottle of whisky between them, and commenced talking over their exploits, which was the best man, etc., exchanging drinks, until they drew their knives and commenced striking for each other's hearts, and White Devil was killed, and the other nearly so. White Devil is the same man who I have said broke up and took possession of the store the winter before I went in charge. This winter settled the question of quietly holding the Forks trading post during remaining years of trade. During this winter's trade of mine at this post, my wife and daughter were with my father, on the old homestead, at Silver Lake.

We established stores at River Au Sable, with a clerk and two men; one on Cass river, clerk and two men; one at Sebewaing, clerk and two men. We also commissioned several Indian women with goods to trade for us. Many were very good traders and collected many furs, and were usually very trusty and would render just account for every dollar. My brother and I owned a small sloop of about thirty tons burden, called the "Savage," which plied constantly between Saginaw and Detroit, and many a time she was looked for with much anxiety, as often not a barrel of flour could be gathered in the valley. One spring, cranberries were very high in Detroit and Buffalo, and that spring there were any quantity on the Shiawassee low lands. We told the Indians we would buy all they would bring us. They went to picking, and we took the "Savage" and filled her full in bulk, after filling all our barrels and boxes. I think we had one thousand five hundred or two thousand bushels. She left for Detroit, I went overland. Mr. Abbott told me there was a man from Buffalo buying all the cranberries he could. We sold him the entire cargo, delivering by the "Savage," at Buffalo, at two dollars and fifty cents per bushel. We bought about one hundred bushels of other traders at eight shillings per bushel. We thought this a very good little operation.

It has been mentioned that the ancient Chippewas imagined the country which they had wrested from the conquered Sauks, to be haunted by the spirits of those whom they had slain, and that it was only after the lapse of years that their terrors were allayed sufficiently to permit them to occupy the "haunted hunting grounds." But the superstition still remained, and in fact, it was never entirely dispelled. Long after the Saginaw Valley was studded with white settlements, the simple Indians still believed that mysterious Sauks were lingering in their forests and along the margins of their

streams for purposes of vengeance; that "Manesous," or bad spirits in the form of Sauk warriors, were hovering around their villages and camps and the flank of their hunting grounds, preventing them from being successful in the chase and bringing ill-fortune and discomfiture in a hundred ways. So great was their dread that when (as was frequently the case) they became possessed with the idea that the "Manesous" were in their immediate vicinity, they would fly as if for their lives, abandoning everything, wigwams, fish, game and all their camp equipage, and no amount of ridicule from the whites could convince them of their folly or induce them to stay and face the imaginary danger. Some of the Indian bands whose country joined that of the Saginaws, played upon their weak superstition and derived profit from it by lurking around their villages or camps, frightening them into flight and then appropriating the property which they had abandoned. There was a time every spring when the Indians from Saginaw and the interior would congregate in large parties for the purpose of putting up dried sturgeon, which made a very delicate dish when properly cooked, and was much used in those days by the first families of Detroit. We used to purchase considerable of it for our use. The Indians would select the best, flay them, hang them across poles in rows, about four feet from the ground and two feet apart, then a gentle smoke was kept under them until they were perfectly dry, then packed up in bales of perhaps fifty pounds each. Where they accomplished this was on the Point Au Gres (as it was then called). At a certain time every spring the sturgeon would come upon this point, which was very shallow a long distance out, and in the warm sun would work themselves to the shore until they would lay and roll like cord wood, perfectly helpless, and here the Indians would go among them and select the best. I have been on the point at these times and seen the performances. It was great sport. A little Indian will wade in to about a foot of water, find a big sturgeon (some are very large), strike a small tomahawk in his nose, straddle him; the sturgeon will carry him through the water at quite a speed, the little fellow steering by the handle of his tomahawk, not letting him go to deep water, and when he feels tired of the sport he runs his fancy nag ashore. When their sturgeon was dry, and often put up in bales for summer use, then poor, lazy, worthless Indians from a distance, having an eye to supplying themselves with provisions which they never labored to obtain, would commence, in different ways, to excite their fears that the "Manesous" were about their camps, until at last they would take to their canoes and flee, often leaving almost everything they possessed. Then the "Manesous" (the thieving Indians from the bands who had cun-

ningly brought about the stampede for the sake of plunder) would rob the camps of what they wanted, and escape to their homes with, perhaps, their summer supplies of fish, and often of sugar and dried venison. I have met them fleeing as above; sometimes twenty or more canoes; have stopped them and tried to induce them to return, and we would go with them (as we were going by their camps); but no, it was the "Manesous," they said, and nothing could convince them differently, and away they would go, frightened nearly to death. I have visited their camps at such times, gathered up their effects that were left, and secured them in some one camp from destruction by wild animals. After a while they would return and save what was left. During these times they were perfectly miserable, actually afraid of their own shadows.

It was not alone on their annual fishing expeditions to the lake that these things occurred; similar scenes were enacted by their hunting parties in the forests of the Shiawassee and Flint, and at their summer camps, the beautiful inland lakes of their southern border. I have had them come from places miles distant, bringing their rifles to me, asking me to examine and re-sight them, declaring that the sights had been removed (and in most cases they had, but by themselves in their fright). I always did, when applied to, re-sight and try them until they would shoot correctly, and then they would go away cheerfully. I would tell them that they must keep their rifles where the "Manesous" could not find them. At other times, having a little bad luck hunting or trapping, they became excited and would say that the game had been over and in their traps, and that they could not catch anything. Have known them to go so far as to insist that a beaver or an otter had been in their traps and gotten out; that their traps were bewitched or spell-bound, and their rifles charmed by the "Manesous" so that they could not catch or kill anything. Then they gave a great feast, and the medicine man or conjurer, through his wise and dark performances, removed the charm, and all was well, and traps and rifles did their duty again. These things have been handed down for generations, and so through all the domains of the Saginaws their lives were made miserable by their superstitious fears; and they expiated the crimes committed by their ancestors against the unfortunate Sauks.

The Indian trade was attended with many strange incidents. Where there was opposition each party was on the lookout to get the advantage of his opponent in starting on expeditions for trade unknown to him, or, wherein it was thought they could not follow on, to get by the opposition's traveling posts so they would not know it. I started one bright, cold winter morn-

ing, about sunrise, for the bay and lake shore, with one man. We had an old style French cutter, with high back, loaded full of goods and provisions for the trade; the ice was fine, and, with skates, on we shoved the sleigh before us. We were going with great speed down the river when, about in front of where East Saginaw now stands, we found ourselves on new ice formed the night before, over an air hole. We left the cutter to save ourselves, on strong ice, when our cutter dropped into the river. Our load consisted of corn, one two bushel bag of flour, a large bundle of dry goods, silver ornaments, etc., for Indian trade, a bundle of traps, hatchets, ice chisels, etc. We soon worked our load up to the strong ice and got all out, except the traps, etc., which went to the bottom. Our goods, being on top of the load with our blankets and provisions, were not wet. The corn and flour were pretty wet, and ourselves very wet. The question was should we return (being only about a mile from home) or load up and go ahead? If we returned the opposition would take our place, and laugh at us, and get the trade we expected to get. We decided to go ahead. The ice being fine for skating we were not long going to the mouth of the river, and, running along the bay a few miles beyond O-kaw-kaw-ning (now called Kawkawlin) river, we drew up under a sand bank and evergreens where the sun came down warm. We made a good fire, dried ourselves, took a lunch and started on. Reaching an Indian camp, where we had a squaw trader, we left part of our corn and flour for her trade and what goods she wanted, and left and camped at the River Au Gres, making our day's run some fifty miles or more. Next day we arrived at the River Au Sable, where we had a trading post. We had sold our corn and flour before we reached the River Au Gres, where we camped the first night. The cotton bag with the flour had wet in, and considerable flour stuck to it. I requested the squaw to dry it and keep it until my return. While at the Sable a heavy wind broke the ice up, in the bay and lake, making it difficult to get back. Having to keep along the shore, we left our cutter, and with packs on our backs, made our way slowly homeward. When we got back to where we left our flour bag we had about used up all our provisions, always depending much upon the Indians; but, the ice being gone, we found them very destitute, in some cases almost starving, as the lake Indians depended on fish for their living, going out a great distance to fish through the ice, often getting camped down for the night by a fire. The young men came in from hunting, but had killed nothing and they had nothing to eat. I asked the squaw if she had cleaned the flour off the bag that stuck to it, being wet. I supposed she had, she said she had not, thinking we might want it on our return she brought it forward, and it being heavy I told her to scrape the flour off and cook it up for our suppers. She was

more than pleased to do so. I told her to cook it the way she could make the most of it. She made a large kettle full of *Per-quish-a-gan-nor-bo*, flour mush made about like our paste, only thin, so you eat it with a spoon. I asked her then to give it out to all her family. She gave us a good pan full, which made us a good supper. This night was very cold and the following morning extremely so. I supposed our paste was all gone, but no, this good woman had kept a pan full for our breakfast, which she gave us hot and good. As we were about to leave and bid them good-bye the old father of the large family who laid in one side of the wigwam almost helpless, fumbled over his bags near him; he took out a dried fish, about the size of a medium whitefish, and addressed me with, "My son, this is a very cold morning, you have a very cold trip, you will find it very cold traveling on the ice on the other side of the point, you have nothing to eat and you will find the Indians on your route very poor and hungry, take this fish. It's the only thing we have left; I have kept it in case of necessity; this cold spell will make ice so my sons can go out and catch more; you will need it more than I." I thanked him and said "no," and handed it back to him, he would not take it but insisted I should do so. I cut the fish in halves and handed him a half, and told him I could not take it all from him; he accepted the half, and we shook hands and departed.

We soon crossed the point and found it as the old man said, severely cold and the ice slippery, obliging us to keep nearer the shore on the old ice and snow. We traveled until in the afternoon, it was so cold we could not stand it, and, seeing a smoke in the woods, we concluded to make for it, and take quarters for the night. We found the women and children all out digging in about eight or ten inches of snow for acorns, which was all they had to eat. These they boiled and made a kind of mush, which was not very bad. We took quarters for the night with them, for it was a long distance before we should find another camp. About dusk one or two hunters came in with a large, fat raccoon, and there was much rejoicing all around. They soon had him dressed and in the kettle, and, when cooked, the lady of the house kindly presented us with one shoulder of Mr. 'Coon, in a clean, wooden dish, which was really more than our proportion, and, with our half fish, we made our supper. It was awful cold; they kept fire all night, still we could sleep but very little. We started in the morning, without breakfast, traveled all day and until after dark, when I became about tired out, and told my man we must go in shore and camp, for I could not go much further. He thought the same. He said we must be near the Indian camp, where we left corn and flour on our way out, and just at that moment he said, "I smell smoke," and he gave an Indian whoop, and a dog

answered. This was a cheering sound, so we rushed in toward shore, and soon arrived at the camp, where lay beside the camp a dozen or more fine, large, fresh trout the old man had just brought in from the bay. Oh, how good they did look! We never saw a more gratifying sight than when the woman and her two daughters met us at the door and welcomed us in (they were our trading women I spoke of). They had a nice, clean, warm camp. They soon laid down some mats and made a place for us. The old man said, "You must be tired and hungry." We replied, "Yes." I said, "I am almost dead." We laid down and the women took off our moccasins and leggings, which were frozen on our feet. They were cleaned off and hung in the smoke for morning use. The girls pounded some corn, and soon a kettle of hominy was cooking, with a kettle of those beautiful trout, and a cake of bread baked in the ashes. "You bet" we had a feast and plenty kept warm for breakfast. Never could any one be more kindly treated and cared for. We we were now a good hard day's walk from home. I was not used to such marches and it was very hard for me. My man could stand it better, being an old traveler for years and used to it. The next morning we started for home, both with pretty heavy packs on our backs. We soon entered the mouth of the Saginaw River, where we found plenty of snow. We arrived home about sundown and all were glad to see us. This was New Year's day and Mrs. Williams had gotten up a New Year's dinner for all, my brother, his wife, and the men, expecting me home. After washing, changing clothes, and a general cleaning up, we sat down to a splendid table and happy home and happy New Year. We should not have had as hard a trip but for the ice breaking up. I always had pleasant trips every spring in a birch canoe, going as far as Thunder Bay (where I suppose Alpena is now situated), gathering furs along the coast and bringing home the store and men from Au Sable. They also had a large bark canoe and we usually had them both loaded, their capacity being two tons each. Often we could only make the river and run up as far as where Bay City now is, where we would make our camp on an old Indian camping ground, not being able to run the river in the night.

The Indians are peculiar for telling stories, and delight in listening to others from the traders. They will lie, smoke and tell stories, which are very long, half the night. When we get camped down with them for the night, a chief, perhaps, or the head of a family, will say, "Well, come, tell a story," as they call it, *art-soo-kay*. They usually begin and make it mostly as they go on. One I heard told, was as follows: He commenced to explain how the beaver came by his large, flat tail, and the muskrat by his round one. He said: "Originally, the beaver had the round tail and the muskrat

the flat one. The beaver was at work, building his dam across a small stream, for the purpose of forming a small pond to live in. After cutting his timber and brush, floating and placing it in his dam, and getting it ready for sand and gravel, he could not contrive how he should transport his sand and gravel, to make his dam water tight. While in this state of mind, a muskrat came along, with his broad, flat tail, examining the beaver's works. He inquired how he would get his sand and gravel for his dam. Beaver said he had been thinking it over, and thought perhaps they had better exchange tails for a time, or until Mr. Beaver could finish his dam. Muskrat having no particular use for his flat tail, consented to accommodate his friend beaver, and they exchanged. Beaver went on and carted sand and gravel on his flat tail and finished his dam. Then muskrat wanted to trade back, but beaver, finding it just what he required for his work, objected to changing back, and beaver being a large, stout fellow and muskrat a small one, the latter stood no chance to contend with beaver, and so they have always remained to the present time." This story relates to many facts of the beaver's life which my friends are acquainted with. Their working in past years—remains of their dams—are to be seen at this day in very many places in our State, showing their wonderful ingenuity. When they are at work, building their dams, they keep an old, experienced beaver as sentinel on watch, and upon the appearance of anyone, or hearing any strange noise, he will strike his tail upon the water in such a manner as to give a loud sound, upon which signal all disappear in an instant and remain until the watchman, by another signal, notifies them all is right again, and they go to work.

If an Indian discovers the beavers at work, and has ever so good an opportunity to kill one, he never fires upon them, fearing it may break up their work. He prefers to trap them in a quiet way. The Indian first discovering their works claims them as his own property, and preserves them from year to year, only catching a few each year, as he may require, to pay his debts, in case he has bad luck otherwise. No other Indian ever presumes to set his traps without the owner's consent. Somehow, they know if an intruder has trapped their game, and soon find out, through the traders or otherwise, who it was, and demand pay for what they stole, unless otherwise satisfactorily settled. The following is another story they often tell: "The animals called a convention, to meet at a certain time and place, to consult upon grave matters for their mutual benefit. After being called to order, a chairman chosen and many big talks made in great confusion, the turtle arose to make a few remarks, in answer to what had been said by some of the members of the convention, when he was called to order by the skunk

and others. The turtle became displeased, and withdrew from the convention in disgust, and leaving, he was followed by Mr. Skunk. Turtle being followed closely, and much annoyed by his pursuer, he ran up a tree, getting out of the way of the skunk, and soon the convention broke up, and the turtle came down and went home." They will spin these stories to a great length. I have thought we have some modern conventions, with troublesome skunks in them. I think this must suffice for stories, although I could give you many more. You already have the Ne-war-go affair.

I would like to give a few instances of the Indian cures which I have witnessed. The old chief speaker, O-Gee-Maw-Ke-Ke-To, was the head chief and business manager of the Saginaw Indians. He was stabbed across the body so the lower part of his liver came out about an inch. The conjurer or Indian doctor said he must die unless a piece of his liver was cut off and cooked and eaten by him, which was done and he was cured and lived many years. Another fine man and splendid hunter, at one of their feasts (on the ground where East Saginaw stands), became intoxicated as well as the rest. He rolled against the fire, and being unconscious one side of him was literally cooked; the flesh came off his side, leaving his ribs bare, and his thigh and arm to the bone. No one supposed he could live but a short time, but they went to work and cured him, and he was able to hunt and carry a deer on his back. They caused the flesh to grow over all the bones perfectly. He lay on his back six months before he was able to get up and about. I often visited him, and the whites rendered all the assistance and little necessities they could for his comfort. I suppose our doctors would call that patent-medicine treatment. It was done without the drugs of the present day. Their medicines were all taken from the woods and the ground. It was perfectly wonderful to see the cures they would perform. Another one was the case of a young married man, whom I knew very well, living near us, at Green Point. He was in the woods, a short distance from his camp. He cut down a tree for a coon, and, in falling it, somehow caught his foot as it fell, so fast that he could not extricate himself. Night coming on, he unjointed his ankle and crawled home. He was cured and lived to good old age, and was an excellent trapper,—going in his canoe. I went one spring with a canoe loaded, and three Indians, with supplies for our store at the Forks. The water was very high, flooding the settlers on the river bottoms. Mr. Whitney was one flooded out. He was at Saginaw when I left, and wished me to look into his house and see how things were. Mrs. Whitney was at a neighbor's, on the opposite side, on a high bank. We ran up to the door, opened it, and found the floor afloat, about three feet of water in the house; their dog and cat on the floating

floor. We took them in the canoe across the river, to Mrs. Whitney, and went on our journey. At another time a sudden freshet raised the ice, which was a foot thick, from the shores. It being necessary to get supplies to the store at the Forks before the ice broke up, we laid timbers from the shore, on to the ice at Saginaw, got a loaded pony and sleigh on to it, and I went to the Forks, stayed over night, covered up the pony, and fed him in the sleigh. He stood on the ice all night. We took the load off on poles, laid from ice to shore. Next day we loaded with furs and returned to Saginaw, not getting off the ice the entire distance, some thirty miles or more.

Small-pox broke out among the Indians and the poor creatures were frightened and fled in all directions; a great many died. Although some of their villages were only a few miles from Saginaw, there never was known one of them to expose a settler on the river and come into town. We had several men who had had the small-pox; they ventured to take supplies to them and the citizens joined and would send a canoe load every day to the nearest families. I went to the Forks in the summer after, in a canoe (this was the only way we traveled). I found two Indian persons partly buried in the sand at the water's edge, where they had crawled down to drink and died there. The settlers turned out, upon being notified, and buried them. Some were found dead in their camps, when their friends had fled and left the sick to die.

I was appointed postmaster at Saginaw by President Jackson and held the office several years, until the spring of 1840. I built the first postoffice with boxes. I was also elected register of deeds and county clerk. I procured the first record books for deeds and also record of mortgages and had them approved by the judges. In the spring of the year, in high water, the ice being gone, the wall-eyed pike would run up the Saginaw in great numbers, running on to the Shiawassee meadows which were over-flowed for miles, from three to six feet deep. One beautiful warm spring morning, Major William Mosely and myself proposed to go up the Shiawassee River about four miles and have a little sport, spearing in the evening by torch-light. I took a large canoe, one man, our lunch basket, blankets, etc., expecting to stay over night. Arriving at the Indian camps the water for miles was like a mirror in the hot sun. We went out a short time and found the water alive with fish. We speared a good many, with much sport. The Indians proposed if I would buy the fish they would all go out and spear enough to fill our canoes. I agreed to do so, and in an hour or two they came in alongside my canoe. I would count the fish, taking each Indian's name and number of his fish on a pass book. We loaded our canoe, and I engaged two others, loaded all, and got home before dark, when we set men to work

cleaning and packing for market. Next morning, the result of our day's sport was thirty barrels, then worth and sold for five dollars per barrel. These fish were in schools and the water black with them. An Indian stood in the bow with a spear, while one in the stern would hold the canoe still on one of these schools and the spearsman would fill his canoe, often bringing up three and four fish at a time, averaging from three to six and eight pounds each. We used to take a good many with seines in the Saginaw, opposite the city, but it was not a success, there being so much sunken floodwood.

Daniel S. Ball and Hon. Sanford M. Green built the first grist mill at Owosso, Shiawassee county. I think they purchased the mill site from my brothers, A. L. and B. O. Williams, of that place. Our sloop "Savage" brought the mill-stones and all the machinery from Detroit to Saginaw. Judge Green and a gang of men, with much hard labor and vexation of spirit, boated it up the Shiawassee, to Owosso. The judge is still well, residing at Bay City, and is judge of that district. These were pioneer days in earnest.

In the winter of 1830 I left Saginaw, in a cutter, for my father's, at Silver Lake and Pontiac, with Mrs. Williams and daughter, whom I left on a visit until the summer of 1830. Mr. Louis Moran, who carried the Mackinaw and Sault Ste. Marie U. S. mail from Saginaw to Detroit once a month during the winter months, accompanied us. He had Mrs. Antoine Campau, who was going to Detroit for a visit with her friends until spring. We took the ice up the Cass River, and on one of the rapids my sleigh broke through, letting the water into the cutter enough to wet our clothing, lunch basket, my wife's and daughter's feet and lower part of their dresses, and our robes some. We got out into strong ice, got the water off as well as we could, and I wrapped their feet and clothes up in the dry part of the robes and blankets, and, finding the ice unsafe, we made our way through the woods for the road, and got as far as Pine Run, within about twelve miles of Flint, where we camped for the night on an Indian camping ground. We found part of an Indian camp of barks, which we placed so as to break off the wind, and, with a good fire, we passed the night, Mr. Moran and myself keeping a good fire all night. I dried all I could of our wet effects and had them dry for wife and daughter in the morning, for the rest of our journey, arriving at father's that day. Several times on leaving Saginaw in the spring for Silver Lake, I went with the family up the Flint River, in a canoe, rather than by the road through the woods. At that time of the year, on account of high water, the road was almost impassable. It took two hard days' work to make the journey to Flint, the river being high and very rapid. I had the assistance of two or three Indians to work us up.

In closing up our business every spring, before leaving for Detroit to sell our furs and prepare for the next winter's trade, I had a good deal of writing to do. The mosquitoes were so annoying, I would set a table in the middle of the store floor, with a kettle of smoke under it, and write until almost blinded. My eyes would get so sore I could scarcely see for some time after, but this was the only way we could write. They were so bad, the only way in the morning, going to the river for water, was, when twenty or thirty feet from the river, to shut eyes and mouth, run, dash the pail into the river, fill it, and run almost for life. By eight or nine o'clock P. M., the cattle and horses would come rushing from the woods for the clearing, where we kept large smokes for them—they would be covered black with mosquitoes and blood. We had to enclose our beds, windows, doors, and even the fire-place with millenett, if not they would come down the chimney and fill the room full. I never saw anything like it. As we cleared and made improvements, they fell back, and in a few years they became less troublesome.

The first winter after commencing trade, in 1828, we put up five packs of muskrat skins, 500 in a pack, making 2,500, and this was more than the traders had been in the habit of putting up. The last year of our trade, at the end of twelve years, we put up fifty-six packs of 500 each, making an annual increase up to 28,000 muskrat skins, in those days worth from twenty-five to fifty cents each. All other furs increased in proportion. Martin skins—we only took in the first year about 400 or 500. They increased annually, until we took in from 1,500 to 2,000. They were worth from one to two dollars each.

I left Saginaw in the spring of 1840 for Pontiac, where I went into business. Times changed and I did not make it a success. In the fall of 1849 Mr. Hiram Walker established a grocery store at Flint, under a Mr. Wright, who had been a clerk some years for Mr. Walker, and who, towards spring, got homesick and wished to return to Detroit, and said he could not stay any longer. The store was doing a good business, and Mr. Walker did not want to withdraw the store.

He proposed to me to go to Flint and take charge of the store, which, after our talking the matter over, I concluded to do. I was then living in Detroit, and Mr. Walker and wife and daughter (now Mrs. Theodore Buhl), boarded with me. The first of April, 1850, I left for Flint, to take charge of the store, managed it several years and had a large trade. In 1852–3 I built a three-story brick block, finished off a store, and in the rear a postoffice, the first one in Flint with drawers and boxes, and this was the first three-story brick block in Flint.

I was appointed postmaster by President Pierce when he was elected, and held the office for eight years, until the election of President Lincoln. During that time I was elected mayor of the city of Flint, where I have since lived and have seen our city grow up from a wilderness, without a single house, to a beautiful city of ten thousand inhabitants. I used to camp on the river bank where is now Bay City, with over twenty thousand inhabitants. East Saginaw, from a wilderness to a city of equal population, Saginaw City to ten or twelve thousand, and several smaller towns, in fact, the whole Saginaw Valley is almost a city its entire length. It seems almost like a dream when I look back to its primitive state and now see the cities and railroads running in all directions, and the country covered with beautiful farms. Genesee county, I think, is one of the finest agricultural counties in the State of Michigan. When I first went to Saginaw we were a part of the town of Pontiac, where we had to go to vote and transact our town business. The first white child born in Saginaw was my daughter Julia (now Mrs. Charles Hascall), born September 9, 1833. The second female child was Mary Jewett, 1834. The first male white child was William Williams's son, born March 12, 1834. When I was postmaster at Saginaw the mail was first carried by Joshua Terry in a valise, most of the time on his back; it used to come to Flint in mud wagons, and often through the Grand Blanc woods the passengers would get out and with rails pry the stage wagon out of the mud, rarely arriving at Flint before 10 or 12 P. M., and often we had to sit up all night for it, to distribute and make up the mails for Saginaw to leave early in the morning. It is very different now.

The mails from Saginaw to Mackinaw and the Sault St. Marie were carried on the backs of half breeds, or on dog sleighs. I have put up ninety pounds of mail matter, leaving out all books and heavy newspapers. A man would carry that weight on his back, besides his snow shoes, blanket, provisions, hatchet and tin cup. Several times I took my man and goods and went with him as far as Thunder Bay collecting furs. I was astonished to see how easily he carried his load. All his provisions were parched corn pounded fine and Indian sugar, mixed with cold water and drank. He said he could travel farther on that than any other, even pork and bread.

I remember some other little incidents of my early days in Saginaw, and of Indian peculiarities, which I will try and give some other time.

COMING TO MICHIGAN.

BY MRS. RICHARD DYE, OF IONIA.

Pioneers of Michigan, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This hour is to me filled with more than ordinary pleasure, for it gives me an opportunity to look upon the faces of those who, in their youthful days, bade a long farewell to all the privileges and enjoyments of their happy and peaceful homes of the East. It affords me the cheering presence of those whom fortune has in some degree remunerated for the long and weary days of toil and suffering, and whom Providence ordained to be the founders of this great and beautiful State. And among them I am glad to see the youth and maid, who shall love, honor and transmit to future generations the blessings for which their fathers and mothers toiled. But, alas! the present joys are marred, when I remember that many of those whose names were so dear to us in those days of anxiety and misgiving, have left us; but we are solaced with the hope that they have gone to a haven of unclouded rest. The departed have traveled that road which is destined for all men once to pass, and as they look down from their heavenly homes, may we not entertain the thought that they join us in our greeting?

We are here to-day in the midst of luxury, surrounded by all that combines to make life happy, and as we look out over the beautiful streets of this city, and then back, as it were, through the vista which reaches into another generation, our minds are filled with memories of scenes of the past. Then let us recount briefly a few of those scenes through which we wandered, and review the long and weary paths over which, in bygone days, we plodded our weary way through the dark and almost impenetrable forests of this now beautiful State, and in so doing we may discern some of the trials and tribulations of the Michigan pioneers.

How clearly do I remember the day, in the month of May, 1837, on which I left my beautiful cottage home in Herkimer, New York, where I, in the spring-time of life, had been blessed with plenty and happiness, and where the hospitality of friends was ever the characteristic of their lives. How sorrowful was the parting, as my friends came flocking in by groups to bid me adieu

and to bring some little token of affection and remembrance. It seemed so hard to tear away from those I loved so much, knowing, as I did, that we would never meet again. On leaving my home, I was burdened with more anxiety and care than the average traveler is accustomed to meet, for the reason that my husband had started about ten days before me, leaving me, with two children, to follow. Fortunately, however, there were several persons besides my children who accompanied me, among whom were Mr. Dye's brother, mother and sister, all my father's family, except one brother and sister; thus making the company a pleasant one.

In those days we had not the accommodation of railroads, our only means of traveling being by canal. It was our fortune to secure passage on the first boat going West, which was owned by Captain Howell. It was a curiosity to me to ride on such a conveyance, as I had not done so before. After riding some time at that slow rate which such boats are noted for, it gradually grew very disagreeable, and I at last became completely disgusted, as I was confident that I could walk more rapidly myself. Soon, however, we were given a cause for greater complaint, for, as we moved down the canal, the report reached us that there was ice ahead, and that it would be several hours before it would be cleared so that we could reach Buffalo. It was, therefore, not without difficulty that we finally succeeded in reaching a port, for we found that the ice had worked into the canal from the lake, so as to render it almost impossible to land. At last, however, we succeeded in reaching land, and, learning from the captain that we could not leave until morning, we retired for the night. In the morning we were recommended to the "Daniel Webster" by a friend, Mr. Cospell, who had crossed the lake several times, and who stated that the boat mentioned was the safest one on the lake. Complying with his recommendation, we boarded it, but were surprised to behold the most obnoxious place I had ever witnessed. It was filled with foreigners of every description, and fairly alive with the "dregs of humanity," whose indulgence in tobacco and liquors fraught the air with an odor too vile to be described by human language. After some time we were informed that we could not leave that day, and, it was thought, not that week, in consequence of the lake being filled with ice. Learning this, we determined to rent rooms on shore and to board together, which resolution we succeeded in putting in effect after some difficulty.

Day after day we awaited the time of our departure, but the ice still prevented our progress. At last, however, we learned of the determination of the captain to go through the ice, as he had made a wager of five hundred dollars that he could go through. Preparing for our departure, we had but little trouble in once more boarding the boat. Before us, as far as the eye

could reach, lay a deep bed of ice, and behind us the city of Buffalo, with its many people pacing to and fro. At this moment the melodious strains of some far off band greeted our ears and sent a thrill of joy to our saddened hearts. At last our boat made one bold push and stood in the midst of ice as tight as a wedge. A feeling of intense agony came over me as I realized the still more hazardous situation in which we would soon be placed; for, after the combined efforts of crew and passengers had gradually forced our boat from its confinement among the broken columns of ice, the land gradually receding from sight, a fearful gale arose and we found ourselves surrounded by roaring waters and gigantic cakes of ice. On through the foaming billows we dashed, into the gloomy, turbulent waters of the lake, at last being hurled into the bed of fury, where we thought that surely we would be lost. But I had company in that melancholy hour. The men, becoming exhausted, at last sank down into the boat, while the women wept and prayed for Divine assistance, imploring the Ruler of all storms to quiet the angry waters. It was but a short time, however, before we began to feel the storm subsiding, and it soon passed over. At eleven o'clock at night we arrived at Dunkirk, where we had to stop for repairs, as the boat was very badly broken, having, at the time we reached port, only one paddle on the wheels. That night we rested well and in the morning enjoyed a good meal.

The boat being repaired, we started once more on our voyage, with a bright day before us and everything seeming favorable for its consummation without further danger or trouble. Again the sight of land left us, and once more we were surrounded with a dreary waste of waters, with no object to look at save the dark nimbus of heaven and the blue waters beneath. At last we discerned a small object in the distance, which became larger and larger, until we finally recognized a ship, known as the "Uncle Sam," coming toward us at great speed, and before it could be mastered the two ships collided with such force that all on board feared they would be drowned, but from this spell we were soon relieved, as no serious injury had been done to either vessel. Again feeling secure and being quite exhausted, we retired for the night. In the morning we awakened to behold before us the grand old harbor of Detroit, and on the dock my husband. There was great rejoicing then, and in a few hours we took our departure from the boat.

We next set about preparing for our journey to our future home. Enough provisions were secured before leaving Detroit to last, at least, two years. We loaded one barrel of flour on our wagon and shipped the rest of our provisions around the lakes, so that they would come to us by the way of Grand Rapids. The provisions that we loaded on our wagon we thought would last us to the end of our journey. Thus the day was passed in preparation

and nothing else occurred worthy of recollection. The days flew away as we traveled through the almost unbroken country, seeing nobody save our little band of pilgrims, and hearing nothing save the howling of wild animals, in the dark primeval forest, where the echo would resound through the hollow quietude of nature and the world seemed hushed with the solemnity of death. At night we camped by the side of some stream, or stayed, whenever we could, at some farm-house, resuming our journey as early in the morning as possible.

The first village at which we stopped was Pontiac, where we remained over night, at the house of an old friend, and spent a few of the most joyous hours of my life. We proceeded in the morning on our journey through the unbroken wilderness, meeting meanwhile, some bands of Indians, with which we did some trading. We finally reached those terrible swamps which lay in the valleys of this country, the largest of which was about two miles across, and the only way we succeeded in crossing was, by having one of the men to take a long pole and, standing on the end of the wagon tongue, probe the water on either side and also in front, so as to ascertain the depth and thereby to prevent us from being drowned or otherwise injured. That night we stopped at the house of a Dr. Laing, taking lodging only, for which, in the morning we paid the usual fee of five dollars.

It was some time before we took shelter in another house and, meanwhile, our provisions becoming very scarce, we had to be as economical as possible, living chiefly on bread made of Indian corn. At last the crisis came; overcome by hunger, tired and exhausted, wet, cold and disheartened, we found ourselves at the very door of starvation. After traveling all day we were not able to obtain shelter or relief till very late in the evening, when we came to a log hut, where we partook very heartily of the hospitality of those living there and rested for the night. In the morning we resumed our way, very much refreshed, Our journey throughout was marked with hardship, toil, suffering, cold, hunger and almost starvation, and to add to our troubles there was an abundance of flies, gnats and mosquitoes, which were so numerous that the sky was completely darkened. The only way by which we were able to free ourselves from the mosquitoes was by cutting branches of small trees and using them as brushes. It would require too much time for me to describe in minute detail the scenes through which our journey led us, but they are nevertheless, as fresh in my memory as the events of yesterday or to-day.

At last, our journey ended where our little cabin stood surrounded by tall trees, through whose branches the rays of the sun came pouring serenely down, and we thanked God for having brought us safely through our long

and weary journey. The place where we settled was about six miles from the now beautiful city of Ionia, and as the custom among the settlers was to aid every one that came into the settlement, it was not long before we were provided with a comfortable home. We still met with some difficulty, however, for on several occasions we were at the edge of starvation in consequence of our provisions not reaching us promptly. But after many days of anxiety we received all our provisions, and were able to assist many of our needy neighbors, and received in return their heartfelt thanks and blessing. The Indians were all around us, and some of them caused us trouble by their treachery and stealing, and we had to take care that nothing was left around within their reach. As a rule, however, they were generally honest in their dealings, never taking advantage only when it was taken of them.

The years have rolled away. The country has become more thickly populated, and now we have before us all the benefits and blessings of the earth, with happiness for our portion instead of woe and want. No poisonous serpents hiss, nor howling animals, fierce and wild, roam the fields where we were wont to find them on every side. Our youthful days are gone, our toils and privations are over, and now

> Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
> To bless the pioneers to-day;
> While some have passed away to rest,
> With all our greatest wishes blessed.

And thus it was and is, my friends. Where once was heard the howling wolf is now the peaceful home. Where once was seen the towering forest is now beheld the beautiful city, with its prosperous people, its many avenues, and its busy marts, and where the cold hand of starvation covered the weary pilgrim, now health, happiness, and abundance shed their mingled delights over the enchanting scene, while fields, teeming with their rich products, now lend a helping hand to swell the streams of commerce of this glorious and prosperous republic.

Now, in conclusion, let me again say, that it is a source of great pleasure to look around and see those gray heads and decrepit forms still adorning the country. May their noble efforts stimulate the present and future generations of the earth to greater deeds of usefulness, and may their names be crowned with the coronet of Heaven.

Mrs. Dye has furnished for publication, in connection with the foregoing paper, the following memorial notice of her brother, Mr. Vine Welch, one of the pioneers of Ionia county:

MEMOIR OF MR. VINE WELCH.

In the death of Vine Welch, which occurred in the city of Ionia, the departure of one whose life entered very largely into the early history and development of Ionia county is mourned. The pioneers were a brave and vigorous class of men, the worth of whose

lives to the history of the State can scarcely be too highly valued. Not the least among them was the one whose death is referred to above, and whose life we proceed briefly to sketch.

He was born in Schoharie county, in the State of New York, October 9, 1819. At the age of seventeen he came with his father to Michigan. This was in the autumn of 1836. The rest of the family came in the following spring. They settled in the township of Easton, in Ionia county, on what is now known as the Pike farm, about six miles from the city of Ionia. He was married to Miss Parnal Sprague on the 6th of February, 1853. The fruits of this marriage were seven children, five boys and two girls, four of whom are still alive. In his earlier life, he followed different occupations at different periods. At one time he did a good deal of boating on Grand River, and is said to have been the first man to run a steamer from Lyons to Grand Rapids. At another time he followed blacksmithing in Ionia. About twenty-nine years ago he settled on his farm in Keene, and began the work of clearing it up. Here the really hard work of his life was performed, To take a farm of two hundred and forty acres in a state of nature and clean it of its forests, and bring it under cultivation, to erect its houses and barns, etc., etc., must of necessity involve a large amount of weariness and toil. He was also a contractor in the building of the Detroit and Milwaukee railroad bed. Thus his life was an active and energetic one, the fruits of which will remain as a blessing to society for generations to come, yes, for *all* the generations of the future. He not only contributed much to the material prosperity of the community, but much also to her social, moral, and religious interests. He was converted in the fall of 1855, and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which he remained a consistent member until his death, and much of the time he was an efficient official member of the same.

And thus for nearly half a century has he lived among this people. For the major part of this time he has gone in and out among them as a Christian man. His life was active, energetic, and upright. He possessed the sturdy virtues of the better class of pioneers. As a neighbor he was kind, as a friend ever true, as a business man he aimed to be just, as a husband he was loving and true, as a father affectionate and tender. The loss of a daughter a few years ago, one who had grown into beautiful young womanhood in his home, was an overwhelming grief to him. His soul never passed fully out from beneath the shadow of that great sorrow until it passed out of this life into that other and better life, where the shadows never fall and where sorrow never comes.

The only remaining members of the large family to which he belonged are John B. and Ezekiel Welch, of Ionia township, and Mrs. Polly Dye, of Ionia city. Thus the pioneers are going, one by one they are gathering home. Soon the last one of that heroic race will be gone, but may their memories never die.

"Dearest brother, thou has left us,
Here thy loss we deeply feel;
But 'tis God that hath bereft us,
He can all our sorrows heal.

"Yet, again we hope to meet thee,
When the day of life is fled;
And, in Heaven, with joy to greet thee,
Where no farewell tear is shed."

COPIES AND TRANSLATIONS OF PAPERS IN POSSESSION OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT DETROIT.

THE PONTIAC MANUSCRIPT.

NOTE.—The original of the following document is written in French, and it is conjectured to have been the work of a French priest. It was preserved in a Canadian family at Detroit and afterwards presented to the Historical Society. A copy of this manuscript was furnished by General Lewis Cass to Mr. Francis Parkman, Jr., who makes frequent reference to it in his "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac." In a note, Mr. Parkman says concerning this manuscript: "As a *literary* composition, it is quite worthless, being very diffuse and encumbered with dull and trivial details; yet this very minuteness affords strong internal evidence of its authenticity. Its general exactness with respect to facts is fully proved by comparing it with contemporary documents. * * * The manuscript appears to have been elaborately written out from a rough journal kept during the progress of the events which it describes." Under the direction of the Committee of Historians of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society the following translation has been made by Mr. Rudolph Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors of the *Michigan Volksfreund*, of Jackson, Mich. Of the original, several important portions have been defaced or torn away; where, however, it was possible, in the case of defaced words, the translators have supplied the words appearing in brackets; or, in other cases, as explained in notes by them.

JOURNAL OR HISTORY OF A CONSPIRACY BY THE INDIANS AGAINST THE ENGLISH, AND OF THE SIEGE OF THE FORT DETROIT, BY FOUR DIFFERENT NATIONS, BEGINNING ON THE 7TH OF MAY, 1763.

Pondiak, great chief of all the Ottawas, Sauteux, Foxes, and of all the nations of the lakes and rivers of the north, a haughty, vindictive, war-like and easily offended man, on pretence of some insult which he claimed to have received from Mr. Gladwyn, commander of the fort, calculated that, because he was great chief of all the nations of the north, no one but himself and those of his nations should inhabit this part of the earth, where for some sixty years and more the French had made their home for the facilities of trade with them, and where the English had ruled for three years by reason of the conquest of Canada. This chief of a nation, whose main reliance was in treason and in those whom he fascinated by his showy appearance, resolved within himself the complete annihilation of the English and

Canadian people, and in order to succeed in his project, which he had not yet communicated to any of his nation, the Ottawas, he enlisted them in his cause by an address. Only too ready for any bad deed, they did not hesitate to obey him, but finding themselves too weak for this enterprise, the chief tried to draw the Fox nation into his party by a council. This nation was governed by a chief named Ninivois, a man without back-bone, and very easily carried away, who knowing Pondiak as his great chief, and being a felonious character, listened to him, and he and all his band joined him. The two nations contained about four hundred men, and this number not appearing sufficient, the question was to draw the Huron nation into their projects. The Huron nation was divided into two bands, governed by two different chiefs of different character, and nevertheless both led by the same Jesuit father, their missionary. Of the two chiefs of this nation, one, named Také, was of the same character as Pondiak, while the other, Teata, was a very discreet man, of consummate prudence. The latter was not easily gained over, and not being inclined to wrong-doing, he would not listen to the runners of Pondiak, and sent them back the way they had come, while the runners who went to the first band of this nation, found willing ears, and received war-belts in token of joining Pondiak and Ninivois, the chiefs of the Ottawas and Foxes. It was voted by twigs that Pondiak and his partisans should call a great council, to be held on the 27th of April, when the day and hour of the attack should be decided upon, as well as the measures necessary to prevent their plans from being discovered in the meantime. According to the manner of counting amongst the Indians, it was stated in the above mentioned call that this council should be convened on the 15th day of the moon, which was Wednesday, the 27th of the month of April.

When the time for the council had arrived, the Foxes, led by Ninivois, and the Hurons, led by Také, proceeded to the place of meeting, on the Ecorse river, about four leagues below the fort, towards the southwest, being the place which Pondiak had selected for his camp-ground towards the end of winter, so as not to be troubled in his projects. This proceeding, which was not customary with him or his people, set the French to thinking, without, however, getting at the cause, since the Indians are frequently rather capricious. The council was held between the three nations, the Ottawas, Foxes and the bad band of the Hurons. Pondiak, as great chief of all the nations of the north, presided and took the floor. He exhibited, as reason for acting as he did, war-belts, which he pretended to have received from the great father, the King of France, for an onslaught upon the English, then mentioned the pretended insults which he and his people

had received from the English commander and his officers, and concluded by speaking of a blow which a soldier had given to one of his men while running after his cousin. He was listened to by all as their chief, and to flatter his vanity and increase his pride, all promised to him to do his bidding. Delighted to see so much submission in three nations, containing four hundred and fifty men, he, cunning as he was, profited of their weakness to get complete mastery over them. For this purpose, he related to them during the council a story of a Wolf Indian, who had been in heaven and had seen the Master of Life, with such eloquence that it had on them all the effect which he had desired. This story deserves a place here, because it seems to be the source of one of the blackest attempts upon the English nation, and perhaps on the French, if God, in His mercy, had not disposed otherwise.

The story is told as follows: An Indian of the Wolf nation, desirous to see the "Master of Life," as all Indians call the good God, resolved to undertake the journey to Paradise, which he knew to be his residence, without having communicated anything to his nation, or to his village. But the question arose as to the way leading there, in order to succeed in his project, and not knowing anyone who had been there and could show him the way, he began to juggle, in the hope of securing good luck, by dreaming, as it was the general rule amongst all Indians, even those who had freed themselves from most superstitions, to put great faith in their dreams, and try their best to dream them over, as this story will show farther on.

The Wolf Indian imagined in his dreams that it was only necessary for him to start, and that in his travel he would see the heavenly abode, which induced him, on the next day, early in the morning, to equip himself for traveling and hunting, not forgetting to take, besides his provisions and ammunition, a large kettle; and thus he set out on his journey to heaven.

The first seven days of his voyage were rather favorable for his design. He marched on without being discouraged, firmly convinced that he would arrive at his aim, and eight days had fairly passed without his having met with anything which would put obstacles to his desires. On the evening of the eighth day, at sun-down, he stopped, as usual, at the border of a small prairie, which seemed to him fit for camping, on the bank of a creek. While preparing his sleeping place, he observed, on the other end of the prairie where he camped, three rather wide roads starting from one point, what seemed to him somewhat singular. Nevertheless, he continued to work, preparing his resting place, so as to have shelter against the weather, and built a fire. While doing his cooking, it appeared to him that the more it darkened by the setting of the sun, the brighter the three roads became,

which surprised him to the point of frightening him, and he hesitated some moments what to do—whether to stay in his camp or to go away and camp further off, but by thinking it over, he remembered his juggleries, or rather his dream, and that he had only undertaken his journey in order to see the Master of Life. This brought him back to his senses, and, believing that one of these three roads was the one which he must take to reach the place he was seeking, he resolved to remain where he was until the following day, when he would take one of these three roads, without choosing. But his curiosity hardly left him time to take rest. He abandoned his camp, started out on the road which seemed to be the largest, and marched on for half a day without seeing anything to stop him, but on resting awhile to take breath, he suddenly saw a large fire, which came out of the ground and drew his curiosity to it.

While going nearer to observe better what could only be fire, the more he advanced the larger it seemed to grow, which frightened him to the point of returning in his steps to take another road which was less wide than the first. When, having marched the same length of time as on the other, he saw the same spectacle. This awakened anew his fright, which had quieted by the change of the road, and he was obliged to change once more and take the third road, in which he marched a whole day without discovering anything. Suddenly something appeared in his view like a mountain of marvelous whiteness, which astonished him greatly; nevertheless, he advanced resolutely enough to see what there was of this mountain, at the foot of which he saw his road no longer, which made him sorry, not knowing what to do to continue his way. In this dilemma he looked all around him and saw on the top of this mountain a woman whose beauty dazzled him and whose garments made the whiteness of the snow appear dull, and who was seated. This woman said to him in his own tongue: "Thou seemest astonished no longer to see the road which leads thee to where thou wouldst't go. I know that long thou hast desired to see and to speak to the Master of Life and hast undertaken this journey only to see him. The way to His abode leads over this mountain, and to scale it thou must leave behind all that thou hast and undress entirely. Leave all thy things and garments at the foot of the mountain, no one will wrong thee and after bathing in the river which I shall show thee, thou shalt ascend." The savage Wolf obeyed the voice of this woman in every point, but there remained one difficulty to vanquish, that was, to know how to get to the top of the mountain which was plumb upright, without path and as smooth as glass. He questioned the woman upon the mode of ascending and was assured if he was truly anxious to see the Master of Life, he must make the ascent without other help than that

of his left hand and left foot. This appeared impossible to the Wolf who, however, encouraged by this woman, commenced the task of ascending and succeeded by very hard work. When he arrived at the top he was very much astonished not to see any one. The woman had disappeared and he saw himself alone, without guide, to the right of three villages, which made him confused. He did not know them, but they appeared differently constructed from those of his people, neater and in better order. After dreaming some time as to what he should do, he advanced toward the one which seemed to him to look the neatest, but after having proceeded a little more than half way along the top of the mountain, he bethought himself of being nude and was afraid to proceed farther; but he heard a voice which told him to go on, he need not fear; having bathed, as he did, he proceeded in confidence. He did, therefore, not hesitate to go up to a place, which seemed to him to be the village gate and stopped there, waiting for it to open that he might enter. While he examined the beautiful outside appearance of the village, the gate opened and he saw coming to him a beautiful man, clothed wholly in white, who took him by the hand and said that he would satisfy him and let him speak to the Master of Life. The Wolf allowed himself to be led and both arrived in a place whose beauty had no equal, and which the savage could not sufficiently admire, where he saw the Master of Life, who took him by the hand and gave him a hat trimmed all around in gold, to sit down upon. The Wolf hesitated to do so from fear of spoiling the hat, but was ordered to do so and obeyed without reply.

The savage being seated, the good God said to him: "I am the Master of Life, whom thou desirest to know and to whom thou wouldst speak. Listen well to what I am going to say to thee and all thy red brethren. I am He who made heaven and earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, all men, and all that thou seest, and all that thou hast seen on earth. Because [I have done this and because] I love you, you must do what I say and [leave undone] what I hate. I do not like that you drink until you lose your reason, as you do; or that you fight with each other; or that you take two wives, or run after the wives of others; you do not well; I hate that. You must have but one wife, and keep her until death. When you are going to war, you juggle, join the medicine dance, and believe that I am speaking. You are mistaken, it is to Manitou to whom you speak; it is a bad spirit who whispers to you nothing but evil, and to whom you listen because you do not know me well. This land, where you live, I have made for you and not for others. How comes it that you suffer the whites on your lands? Can't you do without them? I know that those whom you call the children of your Great Father supply your wants, but if you were not bad, as you are,

you would well do without them. You might live wholly as you did before you knew them. Before those whom you call your brothers came on your lands, did you not live by bow and arrow? You had no need of gun nor powder, nor the rest of their things, and nevertheless you caught animals to live and clothe yourselves with their skins, but when I saw that you went to the bad, I called back the animals into the depths of the woods, so that you had need of your brothers to have your wants supplied and cover you. You have only to become good and do what I want, and I shall send back to you the animals to live on. I do not forbid you, for all that, to suffer amongst you the children of your father. I love them, they know me and pray to me, and I give them their necessities and all that they bring to you, but as regards those who have come to trouble your country, drive them out, make war to them! I love them not, they know me not, they are my enemies and the enemies of your brothers! Send them back to the country which I made for them! There let them remain.

"Here is a prayer which I give to you in writing, to learn by heart, and to teach it to the red men and their children." The Wolf answered that he could not read. He was answered, that after his return to earth, he had only to give it to the chief of his village, who would read it and teach it to him and to all the red men by heart, and that it should be said evening and morning without fail, and to do what he had just told him and to tell it to all the Indians in the name of the Master of Life; to drink but one cup, or two at most, daily; to have but one wife and not to run after the wives of others, nor after the maids; not to fight amongst each other; not to make medicine, but pray instead, because in making medicine they speak to the evil spirit to drive from off their lands those dogs clothed in red, who never have done aught but evil; and if you have need of anything address me as your brothers do, I shall give to you as to them, but not for selling to your brothers that which I have put on earth for nourishment—in short, become good and you shall want nothing needful. When you meet one another, salute; do not give him the [left hand, but the] hand of the heart. Before all things, I command that you say every day, morning and evening, the prayer which I have given you. The Wolf promised to do well what the Master of Life had said to him, and to recommend it well to the Indians, and that the Master of Life would be content with them. Upon this, the same man who had led him in by the hand came to take him back, and led him to the foot of the mountain, where he told him to take all his things and return to his village, which the Wolf Indian did. His arrival there greatly astonished those of his nation and village, who did not know what had become of him, and who asked him where he came from. It being

enjoined upon him not to speak to any one before he had spoken to his village chief, he only motioned with the hand that he came from above. Upon entering his village, he made directly for the hut of the chief, to whom he gave what had been given to him, the prayer and the law which the Master of Life had given him.

This adventure was soon noised about amongst the residents of the village, who came to hear the words of the Master of Life, and who carried them to their neighboring places, from which people came to see the pretended traveler, and spread the news from village to village until it reached Pondiak, who believed in it as we believe an article of faith, and instilled the same into the spirit of all those of his council who listened to him, as to an oracle, and said to him that he had only to speak and all should be ready to do his bidding.

Pondiak, delighted by the success of his speech, told the Hurons and Foxes to return to their villages. In four days he would go to the fort with the young men of his village, to dance the pipe of peace, and while the dancers would be doing their business, other young men would ramble around in the fort, in order to examine well all that might happen, the number of the English garrison, the amount of trading and the homes of the traders. It came to pass as he had said.

Sunday, the first day of May, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the French returned from vespers, Pondiak, with forty men whom he had selected, came to present themselves at the gate for entrance; but the commander, whose suspicions had been aroused by something in the conduct of the Indians, had ordered the sentinels not to admit any Indians. This surprised Pondiak, who had not believed that admission would be refused to him or his whole band, who hoped to enter as usual. They sent for Mr. La Butte, their interpreter, to say, in their name, to the commander, that they came to amuse him and to dance and smoke the pipe of peace, which was accorded to them on demand of Mr. LaButte, and, taking position, to the number of thirty, before the house of Mr. Campbell, second commander, they took up their dance, and striking a post, they demonstrated their warlike exploits, and from time to time they made [exhibition] to the commander and the officers who accompanied him, [and who] looked at the Indians, who said to them, in order to defy [?] them, that they had beaten the English at different times and would do so again, and at the close of their speech asked for bread, tobacco and beer, which were given to them. They stayed long enough for the other ten, who were instructed that way, to examine all that might happen in the fort, and no one, English or French, mistrusted them, because it is their custom to roam everywhere

without being interfered with. After having gone the rounds in the fort and examined everything well, they called for the dancers, and together, without creating suspicion, they went off to their village, which was situated a little above the fort, on the other side of the river, extending east and northeast, where, in accordance with the orders of Pondiak, chief of the Ottawas, all the Indians had arrived the Friday before.

On their return to the village, all the spies reported to their chiefs, point for point, what they had seen, the movements of the English, and about the number of troops whom they had in garrison. On this report, Pondiak sent envoys to the Hurons and to the Foxes, in order to advise them, by war-belts, of what had happened in the fort.

Mackatépélicite, second chief of the Ottawas, and another distinguished Indian, were sent to Také, chief of the bad band of Hurons, who received the war-belts and the runners with joy. Two other distinguished men were sent to Ninivois, chief of the Foxes, who received them with shouts, and promised that he and his village would be ready at the call of their great chief.

Pondiak, always occupied with his project, and cherishing in his bosom a poison which was to carry death to the English, and perhaps to the French, sent on the following day, Monday the second of May, runners to each village of the Hurons and Foxes, in order to examine the interior of each of these two nations, for he was afraid of having his path crossed in his designs. His runners had orders to say in his name to the nations that on Tuesday, May 5th, at sunset, there would be held a great council in the village of the Foxes, which was situate half a league below the fort, in the southwest, that all the three nations should go there, and that not a single woman should be allowed there, for fear of being discovered.

The day fixed having arrived, all the Ottawas, with Pondiak at their head, and the bad band of Hurons, with Také at their head, all proceeded to the village of the Foxes, where the council was intended to be held, taking care to send the women out of the village so they should not hear anything of what should be decided. Pondiak ordered sentinels to be placed around the village so as not to be interrupted in their deliberations. After all these precautions had been made, each Indian took his place in a circle, in accordance with his rank, and Pondiak at the head, as the great chief of all. He took the floor, and, as chief of the league, said:

"It is important for us, my brothers, that we exterminate from our land this nation which only seeks to kill us. You see, as well as I do, that we cannot longer get our supplies as we had them from our brothers, the

French. The English sell us the merchandise twice dearer than the French sold them to us, and their wares [are worth] nothing. Hardly have we bought a blanket, or something else to cover us, than we must think of having another of the kind. When we want to start for our winter quarters they will give us no credit, as our brothers, the French, did. When I go to the English chief to tell him that some of our comrades are dead, instead of weeping for the dead, as our brothers, the French, used to do, he makes fun of me and of you. When I ask him for something for our sick, he refuses, and tells me that he has no need of us. You can well see by that that he seeks our ruin. Well, my brothers, we must all swear to ruin them! Nor will we wait any longer, nothing impedes us. There are very few of them, and we can easily overcome them. All the nations who are our brothers strike a blow at them; why should we not do the same? Are we not men like them? Have I not shown you the war-belts which I have received from our great father, the Frenchman? He tells us to strike; why should we not listen to his words? Whom fear we? It is time. Are we afraid that our brothers, the French, who are here amongst us, would hinder us? They know not our designs, and could not if they wanted to. You know as well as I do, that when the English came to our country to drive out our father, Belleestre, they have taken away all the guns of the Frenchmen, and that they have no weapons to defend themselves, Thus it is. Let us strike all together! If there are any French who take up for them, we shall strike them as we do the English. Remember what the Master of Life has said to our brother, the Wolf. That regards us all as well as them. I have sent war-belts and word to our brothers, the Sauteux, of the Saginaw, and to our brothers, the Ottawas, of Michelimakinak, and to those of the river's mouth to join them with us, and they will not tarry to come. While waiting for them, let us commence the attack. There is no more time to lose, and when the English shall be defeated, we shall see what to do, and we shall cut off the passage so that they cannot come back to our country."

This address, which Pondiak delivered with a voice full of energy, made upon the whole assembly the full effect which he had desired, and all swore, as in one voice, the complete extermination of the English nation.

It was decided at the end of the council that Pondiak, at the head of sixty picked men, should go into the fort to ask the English commander for a great council, that those should have weapons concealed under their blankets and that the rest of the village should follow them, armed with tomahawks, dirks and knives hid under their clothes and enter the fort as if taking a walk, so as not to create any suspicion, while the first should hold council with the commander. The women of the Ottawas should also enter, carry-

ing guns, cut short, and other arms of attack hid under their blankets and take position in the back street of the fort, waiting for the signal, which should be a [war] cry uttered by the great chief, when all together should throw themselves upon the English and take good care not to hurt the Frenchmen who lived in the fort. The Hurons and Foxes should divide into bands, one to go down the river to stop those who might come, and the other band to be around the fort from afar to kill those who were at work outside the fort, and that each one should shout the war song in his own village. All these measures being taken, each nation returned to their village with the resolution to execute the orders of their great chief; but although they had taken all these precautions not to be discovered, God permitted that they were discovered, as I am going to tell.

An Ottawa Indian, named Mahigama, who had only feebly given his voice in the conspiracy and who was not satisfied with the bad proceeding of those of his nation, came in the night between Friday and Saturday, unknown to the other Indians, to the gate of the fort and asked to speak to the commander, saying that he had something important to communicate in secret. The gates were opened to him and he was taken before Mr. Campbell, second commander, who sent word to Mr. Gladwyn, the chief commander. They wanted to send for Mr. LaButte, the interpreter, but the Indian would not have it, saying that he spoke sufficient French to make himself understood by Mr. Campbell. He explained to the two commanders the conspiracy of the Indians, that they were all very evil-minded and had sworn the annihilation of the English; that during the day they would attack them and that he would have to be on guard. He furthermore requested the commander not to say to any one, French or English, what he had just now communicated to them, because the other Indians would not fail to find out sooner or later, and, once knowing it, they would kill him from rage of having been foiled in their attempt. The commander thanked him and wanted to give him presents, but the Indian refused and only begged of the commanders not to give him away to anybody, which was promised to him and kept. The commanders, upon this report, whose truth was apparent, ordered, without revealing what they knew, at once, that during the day the guards should be doubled; that two sentinels should be posted at each main gate; that the two small gates should be closed to everybody and anybody, which was done immediately, and enjoined upon the officers to inspect the arms of their troops and notify them to be ready for duty at the first beat of the drum. All this to be done without great stir, lest the savages entering the fort should perceive that they were discovered. These orders were well executed without the French finding out anything about it.

The fatal day for the English, and perhaps for the French, having come, which was the 7th of May, and the 26th of the moon, according to the Indian reckoning, Pondiak, who believed his designs quite secret, ordered in the morning all his people to have the war song chanted in his village, to paint [and put] feather bonnets on their heads, which is the customary dress amongst the Indians who go to war, and that all should be armed with whatever was necessary for the attack, and in this equipment he came about 10 o'clock A. M., and demanded to speak in council, which was granted him. All his people, to the number of sixty, who were designed for the council, entered the house occupied by Mr. Campbell, second commander, where Mr. Gladwyn, the chief commander, was with a party of officers, who all were acquainted with the rash design of Pondiak, and had arms in their pockets. Other parties of officers were at work having the troops ready to appear when necessary; all this was done so cleverly that the Indians had not the least occasion for suspicion. The council was held, and while it took place all the other Ottawa Indians entered and took the places in accordance with the councils which had been held amongst them. During the council, when Pondiak saw that it was about time for all his people to have come in and take position for the attack, he stepped outside to see for himself if everybody was ready for the attack and to give the signal, which, as I have stated, was a cry. He observed that the curiosity of his people was attracted by some movement on the drill ground. Anxious to see what it might be, he found that the troops were under arms and drilling. This manœuvre made him fear a bad result of his design, for he saw well that he was discovered, and that his project was defeated. Thus disconcerted, he was obliged to go back to the council room, where all his people had remained and waited only for the cry to commence the attack. They were much surprised when they saw him come back, and, satisfied that they were discovered and could not succeed for the present, and that they must go and leave the enterprise for another day, after a little while they went out without saying good-bye or anything else, passed the gate, and made for their village in order to take other measures, so as not to be discovered and to have better success.

Returned to the village, Pondiak found himself struggling with different emotions,—anger, fury, and rage. He looked like a lioness from whom her young had been taken. He called together all the young people, anxious to find out if they knew who had given them away. "For," said he to them, "I see well the English have been advised." He ordered them to look around and try to discover the traitor of his nation, who must be killed, but

all their researches were in vain, for he who had given them away had too well taken his precautions to be found out.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, a false rumor came to the village that a Sauteux woman had given them away, and that she was present [?] in the village of the Foxes. Upon this report, Pondiak ordered four Indians to go after her and bring her before him. These, of course, pleased with this order, were not slow to execute what their chief had told them. They crossed the river at the village, and passed by the fort almost naked, having nothing with them except their breeches, and knives in their hands, crying along the way that their attempt had failed, which made the French on this side, who did not know of their design, think that they had some evil intention, either upon them or upon the English. They arrived at the village of the Foxes and really found the woman, who had no thought of them. Nevertheless, they took her and made her march before them, uttering cries of joy for having a victim upon whom to satisfy their cruelty. They made her enter the fort, and took her to the commander's house, as if to confront her, and to ask the commander if he had learned their design from her. They were not, however, better satisfied than if they had kept quiet. They received from the commander bread and beer for themselves and for her, and took her to their chiefs in their village. It was now a question in the village to invent some new trick for masking their treason and bring their evil project to an end. Pondiak, whose genius always furnished new resources, said that he had thought out another scheme which would succeed better than the first, and that on the following day he would go to work. He would speak to the commanders, and try to dissuade them from what had been told them, and he would do so well with these gentlemen to prove their mistake that, after hearing him, the English gentlemen would fall into his snare, and he would overcome them without their knowing it. But, fortunately, the commanders and all the officers, who had escaped the danger which had threatened them and was not over yet, unless they were very careful, were not the men to be taken in by the flattering talk of a traitor, so that all that the malignity of Pondiak could dictate to them was in vain. Sure of success, he came to the fort, just as he had told his people, Sunday, May 8, towards one o'clock P. M., accompanied by Mackatépélicite, Breton and Chavoinon, all chiefs of the same Ottawa nation. They brought with them a calumet, which they called, amongst themselves, the pipe of peace, and wanted to speak. The commander gave them audience. They did by their speeches all they could to deceive him and to entangle him and all his troops in the snares which they set for him. The commander, being

fully aware of their bad intrigues, feigned to believe them, in spite of what he had heard, but nevertheless kept on his guard.

Pondiak said to him that, in proof of his not harboring any evil designs, he had brought with him the pipe of peace, to be smoked by them together, in token of union, and that he would leave it in his hands, in testimony of their uprightness; that as long as he had this, he had nothing to fear from them. The commander accepted the calumet, which he well knew to be a feeble guaranty against the bad faith of an Indian. After the commander had received it, Pondiak went away with his chiefs, well satisfied in the belief that his talk had succeeded to entangle these gentlemen in the snares which his malice had set for them; but, without knowing it, he was deceived in his expectations.

He and his chiefs returned to his village as full of joy as if they had been sure of succeeding in their enterprise, and in few words gave to their young men account of their negotiations, and sent runners to the bad band of the Hurons and to the Foxes to notify them what they had done at the fort, that the next day would decide the fate of this English post, and that they had to be ready at the first call.

In order to play his part better, and to make believe that really neither he nor his people thought any more of their bad design, Pondiak invited, for four o'clock P. M., all the Hurons, both the good and bad bands, and the Foxes, to come and play at cricket with his young people. There were many Frenchmen of both sides of the river, who came along to play, and were well received by the three nations. The game lasted until near seven o'clock in the evening, and when it was over everybody thought of getting home. The French who lived on this side of the river where the fort was, were obliged to again cross the river in coming home. While entering their canoes they uttered cries and whoops as the Indians do when they win at a game. The commanders, ever on the lookout, hearing them, believed that the Indians were coming over to attack the fort and massacre them, ordered the gates closed in a hurry, and the troops and traders upon the bulwarks to defend them in case of attack; but it was only a false alarm, occasioned by the imprudence of the young Frenchmen, who did not mean any harm.

Pondiak, who had no idea of going to the fort, was at that time busy with the Hurons and the Foxes who had remained in the village after the game. He told them in detail all the circumstances of his negotiations with the two commanders, and he and his chiefs said that in accordance with the words of said gentlemen they must return the following day to smoke the pipe of peace, or rather treason, and that they hoped to succeed in their scheme. They reckoned without their host.

Monday, May 9, being the first day of rogations, according to the custom of the church, the curate and all the clergy had a procession outside of the fort quite peacefully. Mass was celebrated in the same way, after which everybody went home to see how the day should pass, knowing well that Pondiak would make some other attempt. The good people moaned in secret at the evil fate which menaced them, for they had not much of a force. Their garrison consisted of about one hundred and thirty men, troops, including the officers, who were nine in number, and about forty men, traders and their employés. Besides, these gentlemen had two barks, of different sizes, which were at anchor before the fort, and were to defend the river side. They were few, if unfortunately the Indians should prove good soldiers.

Pondiak, who had in his bosom the murderous knife which was to cut short the days of these gentlemen, proceeded in accordance with what he had told the Hurons and Foxes the evening before. He came to the fort with fifty men of his nation, and all the rest were to take the same measures as on the Saturday before. He appeared at the gate about 11 o'clock and wanted to enter with his people, which was refused to him by the commander's order. He insisted upon entering, and asked to speak to the commander, saying that he and his chiefs came only to smoke the pipe of peace, in accordance with the promise given to him by the commander. He was answered that he might enter freely, but only with twelve or fifteen prominent men of his nation, and no more. He answered that all his people wanted to smell the smoke of the calumet, and if his people could not enter, he would not do so himself. He was refused flatly and had to return to his village very much dissatisfied, of which these gentlemen cared very little.*

Pondiak, furious to see his last stratagem failed and all his projects come to naught, upon his return to his village, seized the tomahawk and chanted the war song, saying, since he could not slay the English at the fort, he would slay those outside of it. He ordered that all his people, men, women and children, should cross the river to the side of the fort, in order to be better able to harrass it and put up their camp on the river at the hut of Mr. Baptiste, half a league above the fort, which was done punctually. He divided his people into several bands to operate at different places. One band was sent a dozen arpents in the rear of the fort where an old English woman lived with her two sons, who cultivated seven or eight arpents of land on their own account and kept much cattle, such as oxen and cows. Those poor people who had no thought of danger were killed and scalped,

* The commander had notified the French to keep at home, and neither to enter nor to leave the fort.

their goods plundered and their house set on fire—a terrible sight it was, as in view of the savages the dead bodies were half consumed by fire. The Indians killed a part of the animals and carried off the rest, some of which escaped into the woods and were picked up by the inhabitants along the coast.

While the first made this slaughter, another band was at Hog [Island], where a man named Fisher, who had been a sergeant in the English troops, was established. This man with his family, consisting of five or six persons, had, for half the profit, a farm which the officers had appropriated to themselves. These good people, when they least expected it, who thought only of their work, became the pitiable victims of the furor of the savages, who threw themselves first upon the man, took his scalp and wanted to carry off his wife as their prisoner, because she was pretty. She would not follow them, but said that, her husband being dead, she wanted to die with him, so they killed her and the servant girl and carried off her two little children to their camp, in order to make slaves of them.

A Frenchman by the name of Goslin, who worked on the island cutting timber, not being advised what was to happen to Fisher, wanted to save himself from danger when he heard the cries of the savages, as they landed upon the island. He was seized on the strand by the Indians, who put him into a canoe, told him to remain there; he had nothing to fear and they meant to do him no harm. He did not believe them and would not remain where the Indians had put him. His incredulity became dear to him, because, when he tried to save himself in the interior of the island, the Indians took him for an Englishman who was saving himself, ran after him and killed him. When they came to scalp him they recognized him as a Frenchman, took him into their canoe and handed him over to the French, who interred him in the cemetery.

About four o'clock P. M. an inhabitant of the east shore, Mr. Desnoyers, who had gone to the pinery, twenty-five leagues above the fort, to cut ship-timber, came back with some Sauteux of the Saginaw, who had fetched him. From him was learned the death of two officers, who had been killed the Friday before, Mr. Robinson, captain of the barks, and Sir Knight ————, colonel of the militia. These two officers had gone, by order of the commander, with six soldiers and a guide, to sound the channels and see if there was enough water to get a bark through, if it should become necessary. These gentlemen, who, when they left the fort, had learned nothing of the evil intentions of the Indians, traveled quietly, and believed themselves perfectly secure. When they passed to the right of the pinery, the

Frenchmen at work there, who had been advised of the evil intentions of the Indians against the English, called to them, to warn them, but the gentlemen would not believe what the Frenchmen told them, and replied that when they left the fort everything was perfectly quiet. The French warned them again and again, and advised them not to go any farther, saying that the Indians paid deference to them, and that they would see to their safe return to the fort. They would not listen to their advice, proceeded on their journey, and met with the Indians, who were encamped on a point of land at the river shore. When the Indians saw them, they called to them, and showed them meat and other eatables to entice them, but the gentlemen would not go to them, which made the Indians mad, and they ran after them and killed them all, except a young man of fifteen or sixteen years and the guide, whom they took to make slaves of.

The two bands of Ottawa Indians, who, following the orders of their chief, Pondiak, had made the slaughter at the two places of which I have spoken above, came back to the camp after doing their bloody work, and narrated, with pomposity, all the circumstances of their cruel mission, and amongst other things, the death of Goslin, whom they had killed by mistake, which made them sorry for some moments.

After hearing the report of the young people, Pondiak assembled all his men around him, to take, with them, new measures for approaching the fort and attacking it without risk to themselves, which was not very difficult, because there were several barns and stables built an arpent in the rear of the fort, which belonged to several private parties living in the fort. On the north side of the fort, about half an arpent to the right of the gate, was a large garden, with the house of the gardener, both belonging to Mr. La-Butte, the interpreter. All these buildings were so many retrenchments, under cover of which the Indians could approach the fort without danger, which they had fully looked up, and which would serve them for some time to harrass the fort sufficiently. After making these latter dispositions, each Indian rested until the next morning, when they should begin anew.

During the time that the Indians made their arrangements for harrassing the fort, the commander ordered that the two gates on both ends should be closed, and kept closed until the end of this war, while the one on the southwest side was opened twice, for allowing the cows belonging to residents of the fort to enter. Then it was not opened again, and there remained only the one facing the river, which was opened from time to time for the public necessity, because it was guarded by the barks which the Indians stood in great fear of.

About 6 o'clock P. M., Mr. La Butte went out several times, by order of the commander, to pacify the Indians and to try to get at their secrets by pumping them. But the Indians, and especially Pondiak, got tired of his coming and going, and told him to go in and not come out again, or they would all pounce upon him. Unable to gain anything, he went back into the fort and gave hopes to the officers that the following day the Indians would be more tractable. The commander ordered in the evening at roll-call that all Englishmen in the fort, both traders and soldiers, should be on guard all night on the bulwarks, so as not to be surprised in case of attack at daybreak, which is the hour at which the Indians generally attack when they go to war. The commander set an example and passed the night in the batteries, remaining on duty with his officers. Tuesday, May 10, the gates remained closed by order of the commander. The Ottawa Indians, who believed that the officers would surrender to them at their discretion upon the first attack against the fort, opened at four o'clock in the morning an intense fire, and ran around the fort as if they intended storming it, which intimidated the officers a little, because they were not fully acquainted with the maneuvers of the Indians, and because they had not had time to prepare anything for the defense.

There were, however, in the fort three pieces of cannon, two six-pounders, and one three-pounder, and three mortars for royal grenades, which had been placed on the top of the gate as useless furniture. The three-pounder was mounted on the battery in the rear of the fort, facing the woods, and was almost entirely masked by the buildings in the rear of the fort. The two other cannons were on the drill ground as useless, there not being a proper place to put them for service. Only the two barks could shoot and those only defended the river front, where the Indians took good care to approach, keeping themselves always in the rear of the fort, in the cover of the buildings, and behind a hill which commanded the fort, and at the foot of which the fort was built, so that the place was defended more by the courage and intrepidity of the besieged, which was not overcome by the besiegers, who only kept up the force of their fire until 10 o'clock at the most, being content to fire at great intervals, because they did not have much ammunition, having hoped to discover some when they commenced their first attack.

When the commander saw that the fire of the savages had ceased almost entirely, he ordered Mr. LaButte to go out and speak to them. Mr. Chapoton, a resident of the fort, joined Mr. LaButte to go together to the Indian camp. Several residents made use of this opportunity, with the

approval of the commander, to retire to the shore settlements, so as not to witness the expected death of the officers. Messrs. LaButte and Chapoton went on their way and took with them Mr. Jacques Godfroy, who made no objection to go with them, because it might be for the public good, and hoping that three persons known and liked by the Indians would pacify them easier. The two latter of these three gentlemen went to the Indians without showing that they took interest in the English. They were well enough listened to, enough at least to make Mr. LaButte believe that all would go well in the future, and, leaving Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton with the Indians, he came back to the fort and told the commander that the business with the savages was in a fair way, that he had left Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton with the Indians to continue speaking to them, and that he hoped that the English gentlemen would get off at the price of some presents which they would have to make. Mr. LaButte, who believed he knew the innermost disposition of the Indians, did not perceive that he was deceived in his expectations, and that the Indians, especially Pondiak, meant to hide their evil mind by fair words.

Mr. Campbell, second commander, who hoped for and loved nothing as much as tranquility and good fellowship, begged Mr. LaButte in the name of Mr. Gladwyn, chief commander, to please return to the camp of Pondiak to aid Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton in their mission to extinguish the fire of sedition and restore peace between the two parties, which Mr. LaButte promised to do as far as it should depend upon him. He returned to the camp, where he found Messrs. Chapoton and Godfroy, who had remained with Pondiak hoping to lead him over to their view. Mr. LaButte joined them to do what the commanders had told him. Pondiak finally feigned to take kindly to what the three gentlemen required of him, and, to make believe that he consented to peace and unity, he sent Mr. LaButte back to the fort with some Indians to talk to the commander on his part, which was done rather to get rid of Mr. LaButte, whom he began to suspect. The Indians, to the number of six or seven, entered the fort with Mr. LaButte, and saluted the commanders and the officers, who received them well and gave them their hands. The Indians spoke in the name of their chiefs, were listened to and seemed to listen to what the commander said to them through Mr. LaButte. After some minutes' conversation they demanded bread, which was given them, as much as they could carry. While the Indians were in the fort the rumor spread that Colonel Bouquet was about to arrive with 2000 troops. Upon this false report, the Indians, without other conclusion, demanded to go out to fetch this news to their chiefs. The gate was opened to them and they returned alone to their camp and narrated this news to Pondiak,

who, without astonishment, simply said that the English had lied and set the rumor afloat to make them afraid. He made Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton retire from the camp for some time and said he would call them when he had spoken to his men about what they had just told him. This he did only to have a chance of concocting some other bad design. About five o'clock in the afternoon, Pondiak called Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton and several other Frenchmen to his camp and told them that he had appeased his young people and that they consented to peace, but in order to conclude it well, they would feel flattered to speak to Mr. Campbell, the second commander in their camp, because they knew him since the three years that he commanded at the fort and regarded him as their brother. But the barbarian hid in his bosom a dagger which should become fatal to this honest man. The Frenchmen, who did not know what he had in mind, and who believed that he spoke frankly, said to him that they would gladly undertake to fetch him if he (Pondiak) would promise them to let him return without insulting him when they should have done. He promised that [it did not cost him anything to promise] and to cover his malignity better, he gave them the pipe of peace as a certain proof of what he and his men told them. The Frenchmen, and especially Messrs. Chapoton and Godfroy, allowed themselves to be caught in the snares which Pondiak set for them as well as for the English.

During the time that the Indians were concocting this new intrigue, a Frenchman, Mr. Gouin, who accidentally had penetrated the interior of the Indian camp and had had several interviews with Pondiak, where he had seen nothing favorable to the English, and who had some presentiment of what would happen to Mr. Campbell, begged of a Frenchman who passed by his house to go to the fort and warn Mr. Campbell of what had taken place in camp and ask him not to come out of the fort, and not to trust to the fair words of an Indian with evil intentions. In the meantime the Frenchman started for the fort, believing that the presence alone of Mr. Campbell would suffice to appease the Indians. Mr. Gouin, who saw them approach and who feared that his first warning would not be sufficient, asked Mr. Mauron, to whom he told in a few words what was the matter, to run and warn anew the gentlemen not to go out, which Mr. Mauron did. He went as fast as he could; told the gentlemen from beginning to end what Mr. Gouin had said to him and begged of Mr. Campbell, with tears in his eyes, not to go out, saying that if he went to the camp he would not come back. In the meantime, Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton arrived at the fort with several Frenchmen who accompanied them, reported to the English gentlemen the fair words of Pondiak, and showed to them the pipe of peace which they had

brought with them. The calumet and the fair words made upon these gentlemen all the impression which Pondiak had promised himself thereof, and the two warnings of Mr. Gouin became useless. Later, the English wished that they had listened to them in preference to the others, but then it was too late.

Mr. Campbell, who was a man of character, and who hoped only for unity and concord, believed that it only depended upon him, by presenting himself at the camp, to appease the storm, and that a single moment of his presence would be more than sufficient for restoring peace between the two parties, joined to the solicitations of Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton, who said that they would be responsible for him, body for body, decided to go to the camp, and went out, accompanied by Mr. McDougal, officer of the troop. Mr. LaButte and a great number of Frenchmen from the fort, who followed him, believing that, indeed, the presence of this perfectly honest man would be the end of this cabal, and that after his return, which would of course take place immediately after the council, they would be at liberty to attend to their business. But they were mistaken in this expectation. Mr. Campbell arrived at the camp, where the Indians, when they saw him come, made the air ring with their most horrible yells, and it took all the authority which Pondiak had over them to make them quiet. Pondiak came to meet Mr. Campbell, took him by the hand and greeted him, in order to hide his treachery. He made him sit by him, and said that he was very glad to see him, and regarded him as a Frenchman. He and his people would talk business. When he and his officer had been there a good hour, without the Indians having said anything, Mr. Campbell commenced feeling uneasy, and expressed this to the Frenchmen who had fetched him. They answered, according to the words of Pondiak, he was free to return whenever he wanted to. He wanted to do so, and, feeling annoyed, he sent word to Pondiak that, since he had nothing to say to him, he was going to return. Pondiak, afraid that so good a prey should escape him, and thinking that if he retained these two officers in his camp, the others would comply with his wishes, said that when these two gentlemen should have slept one night with him, he would send them back to the fort. In this manner these gentlemen delivered themselves as prisoners to the Indians. The Frenchmen of the fort, who had accompanied them, came back with more sorrow than when they started, judging rightly that this was a trick by which Pondiak and his men hoped to subdue the gentlemen at the fort. Returned to the fort, they narrated to Mr. Gladwyn, the commander, all what had happened at the camp, and the detention of those

gentlemen at the camp, which made him think that he would have done better to believe Mr. Gouin, rather than the others.

The Foxes, who, as I have stated, were in league with the Ottawas for the annihilation of the Englishmen, and who, however, had not yet made much stir around the fort, keeping themselves, according to Pondiak's order, away off in the woods and on the shore of the lake and river, to stop all Englishmen who might be under way to the fort, made two prisoners, who were two men whom the commander of St. Joseph had detached from his fort to send here with letters for Mr. Gladwyn. They were taken to Pondiak's camp, who had them killed by his men. About eight o'clock in the evening, Pondiak sent runners to the bad band of the Hurons and to the Foxes, to give them knowledge of what had happened in his camp and the capture which he had made by retaining the two officers, and sent them word that at daybreak the next morning he would, with four of his chiefs, go to the shore, below the fort, to give new orders and to get new ammunition. He instructed Ninivois, chief of the Foxes, to put about twenty of his men in ambush near the fort, so that no Englishman could come out without being pierced.

Wednesday, the 11th of May, Pondiak, like a good general, ordered thirty of his young men to lie in ambuscade in the surroundings of the fort to take every Englishman prisoner who should come out, and from time to time shoot at the little bark, while he and the other chiefs would go to the other side to give orders for an attack upon the fort. His people did as they were told, and for this purpose took a position in the suburb, which was built northeast of the fort at a distance of about two arpents, and which formed a good entrenchment for them. During this time, Pondiak, with four chiefs, Makatépélicite, Breten, Chavoinon, and his nephew, went through the woods in the rear of the fort, descended to the shore southwest of the fort and a little below the same, and visited all the settlers, especially the traders. They required them in a speech to give them powder and balls, and if they would not give them up, they robbed them of their merchandise and everything else, giving them as good reason that they had nothing more to fear on the part of the English, who were unable to give them any trouble, and giving them to understand that all the tribes where there were English traders or garrisons had attacked them all together, and that the Sauteux of the Saginaw and those of the Grand River would come to join them, and that all together would cut off the passages so that no more Englishmen could come to live on their lands.

The traders, seeing themselves forced by fair words and menaces, were

constrained, in order to have rest, to give to the Indians what they demanded, and by giving up a part of their powder and balls, they preserved their goods, their houses, and their families. The Foxes, who were at the place of meeting, in accordance with Pondiak's orders, had their share in the distribution, after which they separated and returned to their camps in order to distribute the ammunition amongst their warriors and take measures for the attack of next day. All this day the English officers were quiet enough in the fort and in no wise troubled by the Indians, which led many of the residents of the fort to ask leave of the commander to go out, which was granted to them, and they withdrew with their families to the coast settlements, abandoning their homes and a part of their goods in the hope that the tragic affair would be over in a few days.

In the afternoon, Pondiak crossed the river with four chiefs and held council with the Hurons, in order to engage the good band to join them, by threats of attacking them. The latter, who had not shaken off their allegiance to the tribe, although displeased with what was going on, seeing themselves threatened and closely pressed, and there being not many of them, were obliged to agree to do what the others required of them, and promised at the next day after mass they would join the Foxes in the attack; they could not do so sooner, because it was too high a holiday and it would not do to go into a fight without having heard mass. Pondiak consented to wait until then, and ordered the Foxes to remain behind and wait for the Hurons.

Thursday, May 12, being Ascension day, Pondiak, who knew neither holiday nor Sunday, and to whom all days were alike, because he did not profess any religion, ordered, early in the morning, that all the people should be prepared to attack, all together, as soon as the Hurons should come; and fearing that the Hurons might break their word, he sent one of his chiefs with several young men over to tell them not to fail, as soon as their missionary should have finished, to join the Foxes, and that their arrival was to be the signal for attack. The Hurons promised and kept their word. Although Pondiak waited for the Hurons to commence the attack on the fort, he had in the meantime advanced his force so as to occupy from behind the barns and stables around the fort, to be all ready for the first signal and to prevent everybody from leaving the fort.

Téata and Baby, both chiefs of the good band of the Hurons, which had until then kept neutral, and which would have kept so longer, seeing themselves forced by threats, assembled their band, which numbered about sixty men, and said to them: "My brothers, you see, as well as we, the risks that we all run, and that in the situation of affairs we have no other resource than

either to join our brothers, the Ottawas and the Foxes, or else to abandon our band and to fly with our women and children, which will never do, for we will hardly have gone before the Ottawas and Foxes, and even those of our own nation will fall upon us, kill our wives and children, and force us to do like them; while if we do so now, we shall be assured that our families will be safe in our village. We do not know what are the designs of the Master of Life toward us; perhaps it is He who inspires this war to our brothers, the Ottawas. If He does not order it, He will know how to let us understand His will, and we will still be able to retire without being stained by the blood of the English. Let us do what our brothers demand of us, and not stay behind." Immediately after this address they took their tomahawks, chanted the war-song, and ordered their men to do the same until the hour of mass, which their women chanted, and to which they listened very devotedly. Mass being over, each went to his tent, took the arms necessary for attack, and they crossed the river in twelve canoes, going directly to the Foxes, who uttered cries of joy to see them arrive. These same cries were a signal to Pondiak of the arrival of the Hurons, who were more valiant in the fire than all the other Indians together.

Ninivois, at the head of the Foxes, Také and Téata, at the head of the Hurons, although without orders, invested the fort from one side. Pondiak, at the head of his people, took the same course, investing it from the other side, and all together commenced the attack on the fort and the barks, which was pushed vigorously by lively firing, which lasted, without ceasing, until seven o'clock in the evening, the Indians keeping always behind the buildings, in order to avoid the fire of the fort, which could not do them much harm, because there was but one cannon ready for use, which was assisted a little by the muskets of the garrison. All the shots had but little effect outside, which the English officers found out in time, and in order to remedy that and to make their shooting more effective, they tied up iron bolts with wire, made them red hot, and, loading them into the cannon, then shot them into two barns, which were covered with straw, and which were reduced to ashes in less than half an hour, which caused the Indians at least to retire to the cover of the other side of the hill, where they could keep up their fire without risk. The two barks, during all this fight, spared neither efforts nor powder, shooting almost as often high across the fort as along the two ends, opposite which they were anchored. During this whole fight two Indians were killed and two wounded. One had his thigh broken and the other his arm, by the same shot, fired behind the fort. The Englishmen took care to hide their dead, so that the Indians should not know about them. However, it was known that they had several dead in

the large bark, and a good number of wounded in the barks, as well as in the fort, as everybody did see who was inside.

When, at seven o'clock in the evening, the fire of the Indians ceased, the commander, who feared that under cover of night the Indians should make some attempt either for storming or firing the fort, ordered two things: one, that tubs and barrels be put on the four corners of the fort, on the street and on the bulwarks, and that the Frenchmen, who had voluntarily remained in the fort to the number of twenty persons, should draw water for filling the vessels; and since they had not sufficient men, and it seemed that the help which they expected would not come soon enough, he being short of provisions of war and mouth, ordered secondly, that the French should retire into their houses at tattoo, with fires extinguished in their houses, and that the troops should go from the fort to the barks to embark the goods of the officers, their own and those of the traders, and that everybody should keep himself ready to go aboard the barks at the first signal in order to return to Niagara. The night passed very quietly, which made the English officers think that they should hold the place longer than they had hoped to, and they made up their minds to endure the attack on the next day.

It is an almost universal rule that all the Indians who live in those parts, are as the wind, going only by fits and starts, and whereof they knew that they would lose men in making war, they would not make it, which frequently caused them to cease as soon as they had commenced, while sometimes it would animate them all the more. These here had had, as I said, dead and wounded, which set them to juggling to see how to go about it so as not to lose any more and to have the fort, which, to hear them talk, sooner or later, could not fail them by reason of the reinforcement, which, they claimed, was coming to them shortly.

The Indians had been moving about so much in the action of the day that in the evening they were very tired, and, seeking repose, they slept all night and most of the morning. The commander, who expected to be attacked in the early morning and who, with his officers, had passed all night awake on the bulwarks for giving his orders and for fear of surprise, seeing the Indians quiet, ordered the ruin of the intrenchments of the Indians to be burnt. For this purpose Mr. Hopkins, captain of a new company and a good soldier, went out at the head of forty men, all volunteers, armed to the teeth, and put fire to the suburb which was soon consumed, excepting only two houses which the fire could not reach. He returned immediately to the fort to give another officer a chance for a similar expedition in another direction, which was done by Mr. Hay, lieutenant of the American troops,

who went out likewise, with thirty men, put fire to two barns and stables in the rear of the fort and returned at once, mistrusting that Pondiak and the Indians seeing from afar these fires, would come pouncing upon them to cut off their retreat. Luckily something else occupied them all the morning. There were indeed some who watched them, but in so small a number that they dared neither to show themselves nor to fire, for fear of being discovered and attacked. Thus the two parties were afraid of each other.

While the English officers with some of their men were at work to clear the outside of the fort, all the Indians held a council in Pondiak's camp, where several French settlers of the coast were called in order to try to engage them by fair work to join them and teach them how to open a trench, which the French had no mind to do. Most of them did not know how to go about it, and those who did know took good care not to tell it, saying, as a good excuse, they knew not how to start it. Pondiak, seeing that he could gain nothing from that side, and as yet unwilling to have by force what he hoped to have them do voluntarily—I mean their work—tried another scheme, and told Mr. Campbell by Mr. LaButte to write to the commander what he would dictate to him in the presence of all his brothers, the French. Mr. Campbell, who did not want to displease a man whose wickedness he commenced to see, did so. This letter stated that Pondiak awarded to the commander the liberty to retire with his barks and all his men, with only what they actually had on their bodies, as Mr. Bellestre had done, and that the rest of their goods should remain; that the merchants might remain with their merchandise at their pleasure, and that he was good indeed to give them their life and promise that no evil should befall them, neither from his part nor from that of his men, and that he would be responsible for the tranquility of all the other nations; and that if the commander would not consent to what he had laid down in this letter, he would re-commence the attack and storm the fort, and if he took him alive he would treat him as the Indians do amongst themselves, when they are in war, and that he must answer him as soon as possible.

This letter a Frenchman took to the commander, who read it, and, without becoming greatly alarmed at the message of the Indian, made answer that neither he nor his officers felt like tearing off their noses to make them laugh, besides if he should go away he would run the risk of losing his life in his own country; that the king had sent him to command the fort, and there he would remain unto death; and that he cared very little for his threats or for those of other Indians. Pondiak, who had flattered himself that the commander would be intimidated by the letter which he had caused

to be written to him and who had hoped to have all the goods of the merchants in the village, found himself greatly mistaken when he received such an answer from the commander and learned at the same time of the sallies which the English had made for burning down his entrenchments, which made him mad enough to burst. He ordered all his men to return to the fort and commence the attack anew, which they did as strongly as the day before, but not from so near by. Having only two buildings to hide behind, all could not find place behind those and the others who kept behind the hill were too far off, so that their balls often went over the fort. Nevertheless, the fierceness of the firing vexed the English officers, who were always afraid of a storming assault being imminent, and they were undecided whether to remain or to take to the ships. They were somewhat assured by a Frenchman, who had been a long time with the Indians and had several times been in war with them—he told the English officers of the Indian warfare and assured them under penalty of his life that the Indians would never try to storm the fort. This assurance from the mouth of a disinterested man who knew the Indians' manners and their ways of doing things in war, which he explained in detail to the commander and the officers, raised their spirits. The fire of the Indians lasted only till 7 o'clock in the evening, after which only occasional shots were fired in long intervals. Nevertheless the commander and all his officers passed the night in the same way as the one before, so as not to be surprised.

The Hurons, who did not know what had happened in the camp, not having been called to the council nor informed afterward, believed that Pondiak would not fight, and did not come back to harrass the fort, but having learned that the traders were coming with barges loaded with goods, partly for them and partly for the traders in the fort, with refreshments for the officers, they went to meet them at the lower part of the river. The merchants, who had received no warning, seeing the Indians on the river bank calling them, thought they wanted to trade pelts, as they had sometimes done, followed the calls of the Indians, who took them, bound them with straps, and sending away all the Frenchmen whom they found on the barges, without doing them any harm, they took the barges with the traders and their English employés to their village, where they killed a part of them, while others were adopted. One, named Jacquemin, who seemed to be the leader of the barges, was given by the Hurons to the Foxes, who adopted him to live amongst them. The goods remained in the hands of the Hurons, who were so much occupied with them that they forgot all about the fort. Amongst the goods there was liquor, and the Huron women, who feared that their husbands would by this liquor be caused to do even worse

things than they had commenced doing, threw themselves upon the barrels, broke them in and spilled out all there was in them, except a cask of sixteen pints, which an Indian saved from the hands of the women, which was hid in the wood and divided between them and the Foxes. There were only very few who would drink, fearing there was deadly poison in it, having heard that the English wanted to poison them.

Saturday, May 14, the Indians who had tired themselves the day before uselessly in their attack upon the fort, rested until it was time to commence hostilities anew, which was hardly ever before 10 o'clock A. M. The commander ordered to profit by this moment of rest for completing the work which had been commenced the day before, which was done. A sergeant going out at the head of twenty volunteers, they put fire to the two barns which had escaped the day before, from fear of the savages. After doing this work the expedition returned, and the places round the fort were free from obstruction, so that all that happened between the stockade of the fort and the summit of the hill could be seen, which made the Indians feel very bad. When they perceived this expedition they were for hindering it, but they were too late, and seeing nothing more which could hide them from the fire of the fort except the other side of the hill, they went behind this and commenced the same practice as the two days before.

The officers, who had expected this, were not much astonished to hear the firing renewed and were getting used to it. They feared, however, an assault, because during the night they had been warned by a Frenchman from without that the Indians meant to storm, and the Indians were around more than the other two days, which seemed to indicate that they had this design. In this dilemma the Englishmen had no other means of saving themselves than to throw themselves into their barks, where their things had been taken on the first day, and to make sail for Niagara, which, however, was not done because they were told that if this third day, which was nearing its end, passed without an assault the Indians would never undertake the storm, because they well knew that in doing so they would lose men, which they were too much afraid of. The day passed like those before, only, the English officers being on guard with their men day and night, were so tired that they almost dropped down.

Father Poitier, Jesuit missionary of the Hurons, who in this capacity and by the power which he had over them, had brought back a part of them, especially the good band, to the bounds of tranquility by refusing them sacraments, and who for succeeding in keeping them all down had need of help, asked Mr. Labaise, a resident of the fort who then had been with him for some time, to please cross the river and ask on his part the oldest and

most respected settlers, those whom they knew to be loved and esteemed by the Indians, to come and help him stop the course of this whirlwind which in threatening the English seemed also to threaten the French. This he did, and the settlers who knew and respected the Jesuit father as a very worthy churchman and regarded him as a saint upon earth, did not hesitate to go to him at his request, and they deliberated in which manner they must proceed to pacify Pondiak, and what representations should be made to him to induce him to end this civil war. After this deliberation the most respectable of the French, to the number of twelve, went to Pondiak's camp, who was rather surprised to see them and asked for the object of their visit. Seeing him easy of access, they flattered themselves of good success and said to him that they came on good business. On these words Pondiak led them in the house of Mr. Baptiste Meloche, where Messrs. Campbell and McDougal, his two prisoners, were, and called his chiefs to come and hear the good words of their brothers, the Frenchmen. When all had entered the oldest of the Frenchmen took the floor in the name of all the settlers and asked Pondiak what his intentions were in this war. He answered that he had none other than to drive the English out of the fort and out of their land in order to make room for the French commander, who, according to his knowledge, must arrive very soon. The French represented to him if he expected a French commander so soon, he had only to keep quietly prepared to fight when he should see him come. He answered to them that he had promised his father the place should be free, and he meant he should find it so. In vain these gentlemen said to him that this war would ruin them and kept them from attending to their work, making use of the most impressive Indian expressions to let him know their sorrow. Pondiak persisted always in the same sentiment, and nothing touched him. He said in order to get over the trouble sooner they had nothing to do but to join him for driving out the English and afterwards they could retire to their estates and wait for the French who must arrive. The Frenchmen answered that this was impossible and they could not do so because they had promised to be true to the English, and therefore they could not gain anything from one party or the other. The Frenchmen had to bring answer to Father Poitier, who exhorted them upon the present calamities and pledged them to pray with fervor to appease Heaven who chastised them by this war. This they promised to do and went home, more tired by their useless efforts than content with the success of their enterprise.

Sunday, May 15, the Indians, who had passed the three preceding days without gaining anything, resolved to keep quiet, awaiting the reinforcements from the Sauteux, of the Grand River, who could not be long in com-

ing, hoping, with so many people, to accomplish their foolish enterprise more easily. The Englishmen, who had passed a very quiet night, and who, in the morning, saw no movement on the part of the Indians, hoped that their chances in this fight with the Indians were no longer as bad as they had appeared in the beginning. The commander, who, though anxious, had never lost courage, ordered that, during this inactivity, the garden of Mr. LaButte should be destroyed, which was done by Mr. Hay, an officer, who went out at the head of forty volunteers and destroyed the garden, which was surrounded by a stockade ten feet high, and contained a number of fruit trees and a house, where the gardener lived, and which was of considerable advantage to the Indians. They tore out the palisades, burnt the house, cut the trees and threw them into the river, all which was done in a very little time, and they returned as quickly as they had gone out. The Indians saw them at work, but they saw also that they would be too late to prevent them and to cut off their retreat, and kept quiet until about one o'clock in the afternoon, when they fired some shots at the little bark. But this was time and powder lost for them.

The English officers who, until now, hardly had time to breathe, seeing that, to all appearance, they would not be molested during the day, sent half of their troops to rest until evening, while the other half worked to render useful the two cannon, which, until now, had been of no service, for want of a place to put them. For this purpose the commander ordered that, on the two sides of the large gate of the fort, which faced the highway on the southwest side, there should be made two embrasures, for placing the two pieces, one on each side, one of which swept the highway, and the other the field and the house of Mr. Jacques H. Martin, on the same side.

Monday, May 16, the commander (who had learned that the good band of the Hurons had retired from the cabal, in consequence of the intervention of Father Poitier, their missionary, and, not to be forced into it again, they had moved to another locality,) resolved to give the bad band cause to repent of their foolishness, by sending the large bark to destroy their village with cannon shots, and to set it afire, if possible, and to do the same to the Foxes while on the way. This expedition was put into the hands of Captain Hopkins, who, with Lieutenant Hay, ten soldiers and a trader, embarked in the large bark. The wind seemed to favor them in this enterprise, being east. They weighed anchor, to descend to the place of the villages; but they had not made half of a quarter league when the wind changed and turned south, becoming stronger, and then they had the wind almost facing them. It was necessary to tack about, in order to go where they wanted to, and they did so. This manœuver, which was something new to most of the settlers,

frightened them, because they thought that the Englishmen meant to harm them, and that the bark only descended to lay waste the shore and to set fire to their houses, but which they could not have done, not having a forge on board. Some hid their goods in ditches on their estates, others in the woods, while other Frenchmen showed them the groundlessness of their apprehension. Their fears were still more removed by an accident which happened to the bark, and which would have caused it to be lost altogether if there had been any Indians near by. The wind, which was becoming stronger all the time, was no longer favorable to the bark. Nevertheless, the English officers, who would by all means go to the two villages, sailed against the wind, tacking about from one bank to the other. As they were heaving about, there came a puff of wind which filled the sails beyond all expectation, and stranded the bark about twenty feet from the land, and a quarter of a league from the fort. There they remained fully a quarter of an hour, almost on the bank, and were bound to cast an anchor an arpent away out in the river, in order to get afloat by dint of hard work. They finally succeeded, and returned to anchor where they had started, well satisfied to have escaped the claws of the Indians; for it is certain, that, in the situation in which the bark had been, ten Indians could have captured it without a chance of its defending itself, and the Englishmen would have paid rather dear for their imprudence. There were plenty of Indians who saw them from afar, and who came to pounce upon them, but they arrived too late, and they could say the proverb: "While the dog———, the wolf gets away." The rage in which they were, to have missed so favorable a chance, made them come about two o'clock in the afternoon and fire upon the fort until six o'clock in the evening, without, perhaps, killing a fly. At this hour the Frenchmen, who had remained in the fort, drew water and filled the vessels which had been placed.

Tuesday, May 17, Pondiak, who, in commencing this war, had not taken care to make provision for the subsistence of his warriors, was obliged to have recourse to plundering so that he and his people could live. For this purpose he and four chiefs of his nation levied contributions on all the settlers of the shore; he demanded of them provisions, voluntarily or by force, or else they would kill the domestic animals, which they had commenced already to do, although there were settlers who voluntarily fed as many as twenty Indians, which did not prevent them from committing depredations. The settlers, who were afraid that the Indians might pounce upon them, acceded to the demands of the chiefs, and each one fed the Indians on his side, so that Pondiak and his men drew their provisions on the north

side, Ninivois and his Foxes drew theirs on the southwest shore, and the Hurons from the east and south shore.

About ten o'clock, after each nation had provided for the wants of the mouth, all the chiefs of each nation assembled in Pondiak's camp; held council among themselves and resolved that no French person from outside of the fort should go inside, and those inside should not come out, because, said they, those inside report outside what happens inside, and those outside report in the camp what happens outside, and this has no good effect; and their reasoning was not bad, because there were really Frenchmen who, under pretext of bringing about harmony between the two parties, brought about dissension. It was therefore concluded in council, that there should be on the two ends of the fort a guard of twenty of the two nations, who should guard, each on their side, the passage for preventing going or coming and to fire on those who would pass in spite of them. It was done as said. Some Frenchmen would try to pass and came near enough to being killed. In the course of the afternoon there were some musket shots from both sides which did no harm.

Wednesday, May 18, the Indians, occupied by a plan which they had premeditated several days, to send to the Illinois to Mr. Deléon, forgot the fort all day. This day Pondiak assembled all the chiefs and the most respected men of each nation for keeping council and sent runners to the oldest Frenchmen, and those whom he knew and had confidence in to come to the council, to which the two officers who were prisoners, were also admitted. When all were assembled, Pondiak took a war-belt and said, speaking to all: "My brothers, you know well the causes which have made me set. I have spared nothing to let you know my sentiments, but since I fear that our father might not come soon enough to take possession of the fort, when I shall have driven out or killed the English, and that remaining without commander, our brother Indians might insult you,—to prevent this inconvenience I have resolved to send some of our French brothers and Indians to the Illinois to carry our belt and our words to our father, Mr. Deléon, to ask him to send us a French officer as commander, to lead us, to take the place of the English. You, my brothers, give me the pleasure to write on this subject to our father, joining your words to ours!" He at once sent for a scribe for writing to Mr. Deléon, in the presence of the two English officers, the proceedings of the council and all the reasons which made him act, which were the same as I have stated above. To this writing was joined a letter from the Frenchmen who earnestly begged Mr. Deléon, in view of the present circumstances, to stop the tribes from further mischief.

When all these writings were furnished by both sides, Pondiak, who presided over all, named the two Frenchmen and the two Indians by whom he wanted the letters carried, telling them that they had to keep themselves ready for starting the next morning, and that those who wanted to go along, Frenchmen and Indians, might speak and he would not hinder them and he would make the settlers give them all that should be necessary for their voyage.

Thursday, May 19, Pondiak, who believed that Mr. Deléon would send a commander at his request, had nothing more pressing to do since morning than to supply the wants of those whom he wanted to send away. He made them embark, and told them to wait for him below the fort at the mill, and he would go down the shore to let them have provisions, which he did by going from house to house and demanded from each, according to his means, provisions and ammunition for his runners, in order to make them start promptly. When all the necessaries for the voyage had been delivered to the travelers, they started, at about ten o'clock, for the Illinois.

After starting the runners, Pondiak returned to the camp and ordered his young men to go and amuse themselves with the barks, only to bother them, because he well knew that they could not do any harm. They did so until against five o'clock in the evening, when they got tired of shooting, and, returning to their camps, rested from the unnecessary toil which they had done.

Friday, May 20, the commander, who had planned to send one of the barks to Niagara to hasten the arrival of assistance, which he had awaited every day for sometime, ordered Mr. Legrand, who had been substituted as judge in the place of Mr. St. Cosme, that all the Frenchmen in the fort should pick up the stones which they might find in the streets and carry them to the river banks for ballasting the bark which should start. The two barks changed places, and all the stones were carried to the small bark by the troops. The day passed without any hostility from either side.

Saturday, May 21, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the small bark started from the front of the fort to go to Lake Erie, to see if the reinforcements which the officers awaited were coming. She had orders to stay there eight days to reconnoiter and hasten the arrival of the reinforcements, and at the end of eight days to proceed to Niagara. The Indians, either from laziness or from contempt, did not shoot all day, neither at the fort nor at the bark. At five o'clock P. M. it was known in the fort by a Frenchman who had gone out that Cékaos, great chief of the Sauteux of the Grand River, had arrived, at the request of Pondiak, with one hundred and twenty men of his band.

Sunday, May 22, Whit Sunday. All this holiday there was a violent wind and heavy rain, which caused both parties to remain quiet.

Monday, May 23. The forenoon, which partook of the bad weather of the day before, the Indians kept quiet. During this time the commander, who mistrusted them and foresaw that the quietness would not be of long duration, besides being warned to keep prepared against all attempts, ordered the iron and steel, which was in the magazine, to be used for making tomahawks, daggers, lances, clubs, for arming the soldiers to resist an assault in case the Indians should attempt to storm, which was executed by two French blacksmiths, who were in the fort. About four o'clock in the afternoon, news was received at the fort that the Indians had the intention to set fire to the fort, both to the stockade which enclosed it and to the houses inside, with fire-arrows, which was impossible for them to do, because, luckily, they had not the necessary materials; but, from prudence and fear of surprise, ladders were put on the royal magazine and on the houses, at the foot of which there were tubs full of water to be used when necessary. The commander ordered that not one Frenchman in the fort should lie down, that they should pass the night awake, and three or four should be together at each house, in order to be ready at the first call. Against two o'clock in the afternoon the weather became fair, and it was expected that with the return of good weather the Indians would make some inroad, but this did not take place, and the rest of the day passed the same as the forenoon.

Tuesday, May 24. The Indians, who had been lazy all the day before, were still so on this day till four o'clock in the afternoon, when they shook off the yoke of laziness and recommenced their hostilities upon the fort. They never left off until midnight, and then they were not more satisfied than if they had kept quiet, unless it was satisfaction to have used powder and balls to no purpose.

The commander, who foresaw that this tragic affair would not end very soon, and that it would not be easy to have provisions from the outside, and fearing to have want of them before the return of the bark and arrival of the convoy, which they expected every day, ordered to prevent this that all the French houses should be visited, to take from each what it might have superfluous, in order to economize it for the subsistence of the people. This was executed by Lieutenant Hay, the commissary of provisions and the judge, who went from house to house, gathering wheat, flour, peas, and corn, belonging to the Indians, which the French had in charge, and which the Indians had not taken the precaution to take away before commencing their foolish attempt. These gentlemen also gathered oil, tallow, and in general all that could be used for nourishment, keeping account of all which they took of each; showing in particular the name of

the persons to whom the provisions belonged, to whom they gave assurance of payment and handed them receipts; only the corn of the savages was confiscated outright. All the provisions were stored in the royal magazine, and served as guards against the want with which the garrison was threatened.

Wednesday, May 25. The Indians, who during a part of the night before had tired themselves by wasting ammunition, rested until five o'clock P. M., when they commenced as on the day before. Only the chiefs and old men who did not fire, took a walk, while the others rested, to examine what was going on.

The settlers on the shore were divided by different sentiments; some truly honest men, impressed by sentiments of humanity and religion, sighed at the foolish enterprise of the Indians, and would willingly have sacrificed even the last piece of their possessions to stop the tribes and to bring about peace; others, governed by a groundless feeling of antipathy, and in whom neither submission nor respect had ever reigned, would willingly have taken the part of the Indians if they had not been afraid of general contempt. Others, again, were undecided, not knowing which of the two parties to take up for. But all, together, were tired, though from different sentiments, of the course of the Indians. They had several times assembled in the houses of the oldest to deliberate upon means to stop the tribes, and had resolved the day before to go to the camps and to ask Pondiak for a council, and to try to find out what were his intentions in this war. For this purpose they chose fifteen prominent settlers, known and loved by the Indians. They went to the camp and demanded to speak to Pondiak, who, not having been notified of this visit, was surprised, and mistrusted some mystery which he could not yet penetrate; nevertheless he received them well, and asked what brought them, for his curiosity did not permit him to wait that they of their own accord would mention the cause of their step. He was answered, as in one voice, that they came to talk business, and that they would be flattered if all the chiefs would hear what they had to say. Pondiak, anxious to know what the matter was, sent runners to the Foxes and to the Hurons of the bad band, who came shortly. When all were assembled, the most respected amongst the Frenchmen who had come, taking the great chief by the hand, said to all: "My brothers, you seem surprised to see us. We have come here only to renew the old alliance which our fathers have made with you, and which you are destroying to-day, by giving us death. When you commenced to strike upon the English, you gave us to understand that you would do us no wrong and no evil. It is true that you have done us no personal violence, but you are certainly doing us wrong by kill-

ing our animals. When you have killed them all, how do you expect us to work our land for sowing and making bread? Again, if in killing them you would not spoil half, you would have more profit. They would last you longer, and we would not lose everything. When you enter our houses you do so with raised tomahawk, as if you wished to kill us, while asking for something to eat. Whenever you have asked, have we ever refused? You no longer speak to us as brothers, but as masters; and you treat us as we do our slaves. Since when is it that you have seen the Indians commanding the French? Is this what you promised your father Bellestre, when he went away, that you would love and assist your brothers, the French? Revenge your insults which have been made to you! We do not stand in your way; but remember that we are all brothers and children of your great father, the king of France. You respect him, say you. When he will come back for supplying your wants, as he has done before, and will see that you have killed us and taken all that we kept for him, what will he say? Do you believe that he will give you presents to cover up the evil which you have done? No, to the contrary; he will regard you as rebellious children, and as traitors; and far from caressing you, he will wage war against you, and then you will have two nations on your back, the French and the English. See, if you would have two enemies, or if you would rather live with us as brothers?"

Pondiak, who had not lost a word of all that had been said, took the floor in his turn, in the name of all the chiefs, and addressed the French as follows: "My brothers, we have never had in view to do you any evil. We have never intended that any should be done you. But amongst my young men there are, as amongst you, some who, in spite of all precautions which we take, always do evil. Besides, it is not only for revenging me that I make war upon the English, it is for you, my brothers, as for us. When the English, in their councils, which we have held with them, have insulted us, they have also insulted you, without your knowing anything about it, and as I know, and all our brothers know, that the English have taken from you all means of avenging you, by disarming you and making you write on a paper, which they have sent to their country, which they could not make us do, therefore, I will avenge you equally with us, and I swear their annihilation as long as any of them shall remain on our land. Besides, you do not know all the reasons which oblige me to do what I do! I have told you only that which regards you. You will know the rest in time. I know well that I pass amongst many of my brothers for a fool, but you will see in the future if I am such as is said, and if I am wrong. I also know well that there are amongst you, my brothers, some who take the part of the English,

to make war against us, and that only pains me on their account. I know them well, and when our father shall have come, I will name them and point them out to him, and they will see whether they or we shall be the most content in the future.

"I doubt not, my brothers, that this war tries you, on account of the movements of our brothers, who all the time go and come to your houses. I am sorry for it but do not believe, my brothers, that I instigate the wrong which is done to you, and for proof that I do not wish it, remember the war of the Foxes, and the manner in which I have behaved in your interest. It is now seventeen years that the Sauteux and Ottawas of Michelimakinak and all the nations of the north have come with the Takés and Foxes to annihilate you. Who has defended you? Was it not I and my people? When Mékinak, great chief of all the nations, said in his council that he would carry to his village the head of your commander, and eat his heart and drink his blood, have I not taken up your interest by going to his camp and telling him, if he wanted to kill the French, he must commence with me and my people? Have I not helped you to defeat them and drive them away? When or how came that? Would you, my brothers, believe that I to-day would turn my arms against you? No, my brothers, I am the same French Pondiak who has lent you his hand seventeen years ago. I am a Frenchman, and I want to die a Frenchman! And I repeat to you they are all together your interests and mine which I revenge. Let me go on! I don't ask your assistance, because I know you cannot give it. I only ask of you provisions for me and all my people. If, however, you would like to aid me, I would not refuse you. You would cause me pleasure, and you would the sooner be out of trouble. For I warrant you, when the English shall be driven from here or killed, we shall all retire to our villages according to our custom, and await the arrival of our father, the Frenchman. These, you see, my brothers, are my sentiments. Rest assured, my brothers, I will watch that no more wrong shall be done to you by my people, nor by other Indians. What I ask of you is that our women be allowed to make our corn on the fallows of your lands. We shall be obliged to you for that."

All Frenchmen answered that they were perfectly willing. At the end of the council, the French retired, satisfied with their negotiation with Pondiak, and from the same day on the Indian women went to work raising corn, and several settlers worked the ground for them for sowing it. In the afternoon Pondiak came to give orders all along the shore for the subsistence of all the Indians, and that nothing more should be taken from settlers by force.

The commander had observed that since the sailing of the bark, the Fox

Indians, who were encamped southwest of the fort, came along the shore under cover of the coast, where there were two lime-kilns, and beyond which they laid in ambush and fired upon the soldiers who had business at the river. The commander ordered, to prevent the Indians from troubling them from that side, to construct a *cavalier*, to be put upon the strand to guard and to defend the river bank, so that the soldiers could go there without risk. For this purpose two carpenters and several persons who could handle a hatchet were put to work at this structure upon the drill ground, and since they had not the proper timber in the fort for this work, the workmen took up the walks in front of the houses, which they employed in the building of that structure, which at about four o'clock in the evening was ready to be put up. To put it in place, it was necessary to carry the wood out of the fort piece by piece, and all the Frenchmen in the fort and some soldiers of the garrison were commanded to do so. They took out the wood by a wicket which had been made for putting a cannon on the river side. When the wood was all out, it became necessary to join and bolt it together, which was not easily done, on account of its heavy weight; but the zeal with which everybody had to render service to the officers, caused them to overcome this difficulty. The work being all started, they tried to raise it up, but to no purpose, for two reasons. In the first place, they had not men enough, and secondly, the Indians, who had been in ambush in a ditch three arpents away, and had noticed Englishmen between the Frenchmen, and who saw also that the structure would be an obstacle for them, fired several volleys upon everybody, which was the cause of the work being abandoned, leaving the work of raising it for the next morning.

Thursday, May 26, at daybreak, the Frenchmen, with some soldiers, were ordered to raise up the *cavalier*, which they had been forced to leave unfinished on account of the Indians, who at this time rested in their camps. The raising was done with all possible vigilance. While they were finishing this work and preparing to come back, a Frenchman wanted to walk towards the lime-kilns, and came near being wounded by an Indian who was reconnoitering in one of the kilns and who, as soon as he fired his shot, went to hide himself further off in a ditch, where there seemed to be others. The Frenchman, who mistrusted that there were more, retired as fast as possible and returned to the fort with the others. During this time, a Frenchman, named Mr. Labroce, a resident of the fort, who, on the day before, had, with leave of the commander, gone out on business, returned and brought news of the capture and defeat of Sandusky by the Huron Indians of the bad band, who, indeed, had passed the day before on the other side of the river in canoes, with a red flag in the rear of one of their

canoes. This had been seen by several, who, while they did not know what it meant, had guessed that the Indians had made some other capture, which was verified by the report of this man, who said that he had seen the commander of the captured place; that the garrison had been killed and the fort burned, after the houses, both of the merchants and soldiers, had been pillaged. The commander of the fort refused to believe this until he should see a letter of this officer, who then was a prisoner amongst the Ottawas, where the Hurons had brought him. This poor gentleman was extremely ill-treated by the Indians when he arrived. While taking him from the boat they beat him with their fists and sticks to make him howl, until he reached their camp, where he was at once adopted by an Indian woman, who had lost her husband, and, looking at him in pity, took him for her second husband; by this means his life was saved.

Pondiak and the Ottawa Indians having learned from the Hurons at their return that the small bark still remained at the mouth of the river, formed the plan of taking it. For this purpose they started down the river at daybreak to the village of the Foxes, to whom they communicated their project and were joined by them with great joy as if the affair was as good as done. The Ottawas had taken with them Mr. Campbell, their prisoners and their interpreter, Mr. LaButte, in the hopes that the presence of the officer would cause the men in the bark to give it up and that it would get into their power. They were however, grossly mistaken, the men in the bark would not listen to them at all, and only answered the Indians by cannon and musket shots which caused the Indians to retire until evening, believing that they would succeed better during the night. But the men in the bark knew their tricks and mistrusted that during the night the Indians might make some other attempt to capture them, and there being only seven of them, which small force could not long have resisted two hundred, they resolved to depart in order to spoil the plans of the Indians and save themselves and the bark from their claws. They weighed anchor in the night and headed for the middle of the lake to go to Niagara, according to the order of the commander, which they had received upon leaving the fort.

Friday, May 27. The Indians who had tired themselves to no purpose in their attempt to capture the bark, came back with Mr. Campbell and the interpreter to their camp and rested all day and there were no hostilities on either side.

Saturday, May 28. The Indians remained inactive all day, because they expected news and reinforcements which, according to the report of an Indian runner, who had come in during the night, would arrive in the course of the day, which was the cause why they did not trouble the fort,

but they violated the promises which their chiefs had made to the settlers and commenced again to kill and steal the animals. About five o'clock P. M., there were seen in the woods behind the fort a very large number of Indians, who came along the lake and ascended to go to the camp with scalps, uttering death cries, to the number of twenty, mixed with cries of joy for making known that they came from fighting somewhere. It was the remainder of those who had taken Fort Sandusky. At the same time a rumor spread in the fort that all Frenchmen who had hired out to traders to go with them to Michilemakinak had been killed by the Sauteux and Ottawa Indians at that post, but this news was found be false later on.

The commander, seeing that the Indians remained quiet, ordered a sally, which was made by Lieutenant Hay at the head of twenty men, to destroy an entrenchment which the Indians had made during the night southwest of the fort, two arpents from the gate. The Foxes and Hurons had come during the darkest part of the night, with wolf-like steps, to the enclosure of Mr. St. Martin, and had arranged pieces of timber, almost twenty feet long, putting them on the top of each other, two pieces deep, to the height of a man, and driven stakes on each side to keep the planks in position, so that hiding behind them they need not fear the balls of the cannon which stood opposite. The work was seen in the morning by the sentinel, who at once informed the commander, and the entrenchment was, so to speak, destroyed in its birth by the twenty soldiers, who burned the enclosure and put the planks against the fort, and then the ground was clear so that no one could approach the fort without being seen at least an arpent away during the night.

Sunday, May 29, the weather was changeable all day, which gave both parties a rest.

Monday, May 30. The English officers had a fish-net, which since the beginning of the troubles had not been used, and several young Frenchmen asked for it, saying they would catch fish for both French and English. It was loaned to them, and two soldiers, who knew how to haul it, were sent along to aid them; but they had no chance to take one single fish, not even to throw the net into the water, because Indians who were in ambush in a ditch, five arpents from the fort, saw them without being seen, and knowing that the French did not use nets for fishing, mistrusted that this was undertaken for the English, and fired several shots upon the bark and upon the fishermen, who retired promptly to the shore, and returned to the fort as they had come out with the net, which was never used after that time.

About nine o'clock A. M., a soldier who walked with the sentinel in the patrol way of the flag bastion, which faced the river, noticed at Montreal

Point, on the side of the Huron village, some vessels which seemed to be barges with people in them. The soldier, who as well as every one else, knew that a convoy was momentarily expected, which should bring assistance, provisions and men, ran fast to notify the officer of the guard of what he had seen. The officer, by no means incredulous, sent word to the commander and all the other officers, who all together, with troops and merchants, mounted the bastion to verify for themselves the report of the soldier, and find out correctly what it might be. By means of a spy-glass they saw that it was indeed the long expected convoy, which caused great rejoicing, for they hoped that the reinforcements coming would change the sentiments of the Indians. But their joy was short and died in its birth, for it was interrupted by a number of death cries, which were heard from the same spot where the vessels were to be seen, and it changed into sorrow for the fate of the convoy, for there was no doubt but that the Indians had discovered them and captured them, after killing the people, which indeed was so.

The Hurons of the bad band and the Foxes, who some days before had received news that a sergeant, who had been sent to Niagara in the month of April, to fetch provisions and men, was returning to the fort with assistance of both kinds, resolved to capture all. For this purpose they lay in ambush on the border of the lake to watch them pass. The sergeant, who had no knowledge of what had happened at the fort, where, when he started for Niagara, everything had been quiet, did not mistrust the Indians, and sailed peacefully and without fear across the lake to a point about eighteen leagues from Detroit, where he camped in the evening, according to the custom of the travelers, to do the cooking for the next day. The Indians, who were hid exactly at this place in low places and brushes, let them disembark and prepare their camp, and even pass the night quietly. The men in the convoy, believing themselves in security, left only a guard at the vessels fearing that during the night the wind might change and set the barges afloat, but all the rest slept quietly.

The Indians who had planned to attack them did not sleep that night from fear that their prey might escape them. At daybreak they attacked our travelers while still asleep; without giving them time to wake up, they fell upon them, killed several, and took others prisoners, with the exception of thirty-six men and an officer who, almost wholly naked, threw themselves into two barges, and fled, at all hazards, across the lake to the Sandusky side, without knowing where they were going. All the rest of the barges, to the number of eighteen, with from twenty to thirty men, fell into the hands

of the Indians, who possessed themselves of all. They put the barges into the river to take them to Pondiak's camp, and went up the river along the bank in a single file, one after another. In the first barge there were four English soldiers and three Indians, in the other barges were about the same number of people, and other Indians followed the barges along the shore uttering death cries, and cries of joy from time to time. When the four Englishmen in the first barge saw themselves near a large bark, which was moored in front of the fort, counter-guarding it, they made up their minds to save themselves in spite of the Indians who were with them, and disregarding the risk they ran, hoping that the bark would observe their design and aid them, which was really the case, they turned directly towards it, whereupon the Indians, guessing the plan of their prisoners, threw themselves upon them to make them change their course, but the Englishmen, without being disconcerted, kept steadily on, hailing the bark, which fired two cannon shots, one, a solid ball, upon the Indians on the shore who were firing upon the Englishmen in the barge, and the other a grape-shot upon the rear part of the barge upon the Indians who were in there. The two shots had the expected effect; the ball caused the Indians on shore to fly and the grape-shot made the savages abandon the bark and jump into the water to swim ashore. One of the three, while throwing himself into the water, carried one Englishman overboard with him and the two swam ashore together, while the two others, upon reaching the shore, took the guns of their comrades and fired upon the barge which was escaping them and lightly wounded a soldier in the right arm. The bark sent two more shots after the Indians which made them disappear from the shore, and the barge with the three other soldiers was taken aboard with great effort. The men were badly abused, but saved themselves and seven quarters of flour and five of bacon.

The other Indians who had remained behind and had seen that, in spite of their comrades, the first bark with the soldiers was saved, fearing that the others might escape them the same way took other means for going to the camp. They made their prisoners disembark, tied them, led them by land to the village of the Ottawas, and took them in their canoes which their women had brought along across the river, directly to Pondiak's camp, where, upon their arrival, according to orders, they made one of the most bloody butcheries, the very recital of which makes one shudder as much as the spectacle itself. Here it is: As soon as the canoes had arrived on the shore opposite the camp, these barbarians made their prisoners disembark one after the other on the border of the strand and undress quite naked, whereupon other

savages lacerated them from afar with arrows which they shot into every part of their bodies. Sometimes these poor unhappy men wanted to turn away or throw themselves on the ground to escape some arrows, but the Indians who were at their sides made them get up by beating them with sticks and fists. To satisfy their tigers' thirst for human blood, the poor fellows had to stand upright until they fell dead, whereupon those who had not shot, fell upon the dead bodies, hacked them to pieces, had them cooked, and glutted themselves with them. Upon others they practised other cruelties, flaying them alive with gun-flints and stinging them with lance-cuts. They cut off the feet and hands of some, and let them die with suffering while bathing in their blood. Others they tied to stakes and made the children burn them alive with slow fires. There was no kind of cruelty which barbarity has invented that these poor unhappy fellows did not suffer, and at the sight of this spectacle one would have said that all the furies had been unchained against these poor people. To crown their tyranny the dead bodies remained in part stretched out along the road without interment, while the others were thrown into the river, which then became the heir of these poor remnants of their rage. Even the Indian women took a hand and helped their husbands to feast on the blood of these pitiable victims by inflicting upon them a thousand cruelties; in fact they were the ones who made them suffer most. They larded them with knife-cuts as we lard beef, other women cut off from them that which makes the man. I could never end, would I undertake to describe the cruel sacrifice and pitiable end of all these unhappy ones. There were, however, some who had their lives saved by being adopted to serve as slaves in the camps of the Indians, and to be spectators to the terrible death of their countrymen.

The Hurons, who had delivered their prisoners to the Ottawas, rejoined the guards of the barges, which they took to their village, together with the sergeant who had conducted the barges, whom they had retained for themselves to do with him as the Ottawas had done with the others. They waited until dusk to take the barges to Pondiak, the great chief, to let him and his whole band participate in the prize.

The barges were loaded with powder and bar-lead, which came handy to the Indians, who were almost out of both; besides there was flour and bacon in quarters, each barge having ten quarters of both flour and bacon. There was also liquor and refreshments for the English officers at the fort. The liquor caused great disorder in the camp. The Indians got drunk and fought amongst themselves, making reproaches to each other which were the cause of the death of two young mad-caps the following day.

The Indian women, who were posted in the ways of their husbands when

they drank, hid away all their offensive arms from fear that they would kill one another, and fearing also that the adopted prisoners might suffer, they made them hide out of view of their husbands. The chiefs alone did not drink and seeing the disorder which the liquor caused in their camp, they beat in the rest of the barrels and poured the liquor on the ground, by this means restoring union amongst them.

Pondiak, who hardly ever left out of sight Messrs. Campbell and McDougal, the two prisoners whom he had taken by deceit the first days of the attack upon the fort, had them hid farther off in the house of a French settler and committed them to the care of ten trusty Indians to keep them from being harmed.

Tuesday, May 31, in spite of the precautions which Pondiak had taken to prevent further disorders amongst his people by pouring out the liquor, there was still some left, because some Indians had filled large kettles full of brandy and taken them into the woods to drink at their ease during the night. When they were drunk they came into the camp and picked a quarrel with the young men by making insulting allusions to the courage which a good warrior must be possessed of. The latter, who were also a little under the influence of liquor, felt themselves so much stung and swelled up with pride that, to prove their courage, they forthwith started to seek death at the foot of the fort towards which they ran, as if the two of them would take it by storm. The sentinels, who were above the gate at the north side, seeing them come as fast as they could run, mistrusted that they came for some evil design, fired upon them and mortally wounded both. One received a ball which pierced his head through and through, entering by the right eye and going out on the left above the jaw-bone, and two buckshots which went through his body in two places, which made him fall on the spot. He was picked up by soldiers of the garrison, taken into the fort, exposed to the view of the public while he remained alive after being wounded, and interred in a corner of the bastion. The other Indian, his fellow, received two balls through the body and fell dead at five arpents from the fort. He was picked up by other Indians and interred near the camp.

The Indians in camp, sick of the liquor which they had drank the day before, remained in rest all day and did not come to shoot at the fort.

A Frenchman who had remained in the fort to guard a private house, whose owner was outside, felt sorry to be shut up, and tried all means to go out, in order to get away, but did not know how to go about it. When he heard that the commander was, on the sly, looking for a trusty man to send to Niagara over land to notify the commander of that place of what was

going on here, he resolved to make himself useful to the English officers, under pretense that he could speak a little English, and hoped in this way to find a chance to pass the gate. For this purpose he tried to secure the influence of an English merchant, to whom he reported all that the other Frenchmen spoke amongst themselves; but the merchant, who had had several conversations with him, in which he had sounded him and knew him to be a knave and a traitor to his country, would not present him to the commander. Luneau, such was the name of the Frenchman, seeing that the merchant would not listen to him and that he could not succeed by his help, employed the influence of a young lady, who had access to the English officers. This young lady, whose name was Mademoiselle des Rivières, proposed him to the commander, and turned his talents to account by saying that he could speak English. The commander wanted to see him, called him before him, and without examining him much, upon the word of the young lady, accepted him for the message he was about to send. He was equipped with all that could be necessary to him on the way, and his days' journeys were laid out for six days, which were to be paid for at his return. In the evening he received letters for Niagara, and during the night he went out and was ferried across the river by soldiers, but instead of taking up his road to Niagara as soon as he left the boat, as he had led the English officers to hope, the rascal remained on the eastern shore all day to divulge all that had happened in the fort. Afterwards he went down to the south shore to speak evil of the English officers, and utter an infinite number of silly things about the Frenchmen who were at the fort, until several persons, seeing that he was a rascal, threatened to arrest him and take him to the fort to have him punished; whereupon he, fearing that these threats might be realized, fled, and took the route for the Illinois, at the end of three days, and was never seen again in these parts. The commander, learning the same day from that young lady that the Frenchman had offered himself several times before, and had asked the merchant to speak for him, reproached the merchant for not having mentioned it. The merchant excused himself by saying that he did not know the man and did not want to introduce him without knowing him well, because for a mission of this kind, a safe man was needed. As soon as the commander knew of the knavery of the Frenchman, he praised the conduct of the merchant, and blamed the indiscreet zeal of the young lady, who, so to speak, was looked upon by the commander only with scorn, which was a just recompense for what she had done.

Wednesday, June 1. At two o'clock A. M., two soldiers and a merchant who had been taken and adopted by the Indians, saved themselves from their

camp and came into the fort. From them it was learned that Wasson, great chief of the Sauteux of the Saginaw, had arrived with two hundred Indians of his band on the day before, and that on arriving at the camp of Pondiak they had kept council and resolved no longer to bother the fort, but to bar the passages so that the English could receive no more assistance, and for that purpose the Ottawas, Sauteux, Hurons, and Foxes should start this day to roam over the lake and take the English where they should see. What made them believe that the escaped prisoners' report was true, was that there were seen passing in the rear of the fort in the woods about three hundred men, who went down the river to join the Foxes and Hurons, who were camped half a league below the fort, when all together went to the lake. Only the chiefs of each nation remained behind to give orders to the young men who remained with them to watch the surroundings of the fort, from fear that any Englishmen should come out of the fort to go to the shore, which they had no mind to do, knowing well that it would not be good for them.

The same day, in the forenoon, the judge and the commissary visited the French houses for the third time to get provisions upon which to live until the return of the bark, which was shortly expected.

Thursday, June 2, Corpus Christi day. In the afternoon there were a few shots fired by the Indians who had remained to watch the surroundings of the fort, but that amounted to so little that the English officers simply looked on without having the fire returned, because they believed this to be a waste of powder.

During the night, at three o'clock A. M., an English employé, who was a prisoner amongst the Ottawas, fled from their camp quite naked and came to the fort, fetching a letter to the commander which Mr. Campbell, who was there as prisoner in their camp, had given him to take to Mr. Gladwyn. This letter had been found by the Hurons in the clothes of the conductor whom they had killed, and it was carried to the camp of Pondiak, who gave it to Mr. Campbell to read, and had Mr. LaButte, the interpreter, explain it to him. Mr. Campbell facilitated the flight of the prisoner to have it handed to Mr. Gladwyn, the place commander. This letter was written by an officer at Niagara to another officer, a friend of his, who was commander at the Miamis. In it he mentioned the conclusion of peace, with all its details, which occasioned an instrumental concert in the evening, to celebrate so good a news.

Friday, June 3, the Indians were quiet all day, except the guard around the fort according to their custom. At 10 A. M. the judge received orders from the commander to assemble all the Frenchmen who were in the fort

and read to them the letter which had been received the day before by the escaped prisoner. This letter had been translated into French by a merchant who spoke good French. It contained the news that peace had been concluded between England and France and that by stipulation between the two crowns Canada remained in the hands of the English, with the whole of the Illinois.

Saturday, June 4, the Indians remained on this day the same as the day before. About four o'clock P. M. there were heard at the fort death cries on the part of Indians who came back from the lake on the other shore of the river. There were no means of knowing exactly the meaning of these cries, but it was mistrusted that they had made some capture on the lake.

Sunday, June 5, the Indians fired a few shots upon the fort, simply to show that they had not all gone to the lake, and that they would not desist from their foolish enterprise. The shots which they fired amounted to so little, however, that they did not merit the attention of the English officers. About 2 o'clock P. M. there were again heard, as on the day before, death-cries uttered on the other shore of the river by the Indians. Several persons mounted to the patrol-way to discover their meaning. A number of Indians were seen on the land, some on foot, some on horseback, uttering yells and cries of joy. Other Indians were leading two barges, loaded with merchandise and merchants, which they had taken upon the lake. They came up with their prisoners on the other side of the river along the shore. The bark, hoping to make them abandon their prize, sent them several cannon shots, which were aimed too high or too low. The savages made fun of them and kept on in their route to the camp of Pondiak with their prizes.

Monday, June 6, the weather being misty and a little rainy, caused the Indians to be content to watch the surroundings of the fort without firing a single gun, but to get even, others went to the settlers to make them give provisions, which they did readily enough. This, however, did not prevent the Indians from doing some mischief, continually killing cows or pigs, and even in the grain which they spoiled in going and coming, because they could not pass along the highway on account of the large bark which fired upon them when they showed themselves.

Tuesday, June 7, the Indians, who, for three days, had not fired a shot, felt wearied not to use powder, and came at 10 o'clock A. M. to fire away at the fort until 7 o'clock P. M. Since they no longer had barns and other buildings to hide behind while coming near, they shot from behind the hill and often from within the woods, which were nearly ten arpents away from the fort and separated from it by the hill, so that frequently their shots passed over the fort. Other Indians were still further off, hid along the enclosures of

the settlers or in the barns, often so far off as to be out of reach of the sentinels' muskets on account of the cannons which swept the three main fronts of the fort. About 7 o'clock they had shot enough, and retired as satisfied as when they commenced.

Wednesday, June 8, the Indians came at 8 o'clock in the morning and commenced firing as if they had made up their minds to keep it up a long time, but a little rain made them change their minds and obliged them to retire to their camp, leaving behind only their guard, according to their custom, to watch that nobody should come out or go in who might be an obstacle to them. However, there were always some who went and came. These were respected amongst the Indians and they did not mistrust them.

In the afternoon the English officers were warned by a Frenchman living outside the fort that the Indians had planned to storm the fort during the night, under cover of the bad weather. These gentlemen who, since the beginning of this affair had become posted in the ways of the savages, were resolved to await them, doubting if this pretended enterprise would not turn out as the others had. However, since caution is the mother of security, they remained on guard all night with all their troops, so as not to be surprised and passed the night as quietly as if they had slept in their beds. At sundown there were heard from the side of the Huron village three death cries, without any one knowing their meaning.

Thursday, June 9, Little Corpus Christi day. The Indians, who only fired from passion, were rather quiet all day. Against 3 P. M., there were heard from the other shore of the river thirteen death cries by the Indians, which excited the curiosity of many persons, both English and French, who mounted upon the stockade of the fort to discover what it might be. They observed a large number of Indians on horseback and on foot, running and uttering cries of joy and repeating the death cries, while they fired upon the large cask which was moored before the fort. Other Indians were also to be seen who came by water along the shore with three barges and prisoners whom they captured on the lake. The Indians belonged to those who had been scouring on the lake. While they passed, the bark sent five shots of ball and grape-shot after them which wounded some, without, however, hindering them from continuing their route. In the evening of the same day it was known by a Frenchman that the rest of the band of Sekahos, chief of the Sauteux of the mouth of the river had arrived on the preceding night, consisting of forty-five men.

After the arrival of this latter band, there were eight hundred and fifty Indians together, partly in camp and partly on the lake, all of different tribes and commanded by different chiefs, as follows: Two hundred and

fifty Ottawas, commanded by Pondiak; one hundred and fifty Foxes, commanded by Ninivois; fifty Hurons under Také; two hundred and fifty Sauteux under Wasson and one hundred and seventy other Sauteux under Sekahos. All were under the authority of Pondiak, their great chief, and all would have been "good dog" if they had wanted to bite.

Friday, June 10, the Indians who had remained in camp had, a day before, learned from some Hurons who had been hunting in the woods behind Lake Sandusky, that the officer who had saved himself with thirty-six men, was on the Sandusky Islands. Pondiak said that they must be caught, lest they should take the news to Niagara, and he detached fifty men from his own camp, who passed behind the fort through the woods to notify the three hundred who had started on the first of the present month for scouring the lake, to join them for their capture; but luckily, before the two parties had combined, the Englishmen had left the islands in their two barges and started for Niagara by the southern part of the lake.

The Foxes of St. Joseph, who had attacked the Englishmen at that place and had made themselves masters of the fort, after having killed a part of the garrison and taken the others prisoners, left the fort in the keeping of the French settlers at that place and came, with their prsioners, who numbered seven and included the commander, to join the Foxes of Detroit and arrived in the night before at the village. Having learned that the Englishmen had two Indians of their nation as prisoners in the fort, they came about four o'clock in the afternoon with a certain Mr. Gammalin, to the foot of the fort for entering into agreement with the officers of the fort and making an exchange by giving up the officer who commanded St. Joseph for the two Indians who were in the fort. This offer did not please the commander who wanted the Foxes to give up all the seven prisoners for the two Indians. They would not consent to this exchange and returned the way they had come, putting off the conclusion of the exchange until the day after.

Saturday, June 11. Since there still remained in the suburb a house and a shed which the fire did not reach, because they were a little farther off than the others, and which served as shelter to the Indians, an officer went out with twenty men to burn them down, and by this means to make the ground clear; on the return of this expedition the same officer had his men empty and put in order the boats and barges, which were stranded before the fort, to be ready for use, so that in case the bark which had started for Niagara should not return, and they should be forced for want of provisions to brave the fort, these vessels, with the large bark, would serve them to retire to Niagara. The Indians did not shoot that day.

This same day, Mr. Lasel, jr., had arrived from Montreal with two canoes full of merchandise and liquor, which he unloaded at the house of the widow Gervaise to hide them from the Indians; but he was given away, and the Foxes came round demanding some and threatening to plunder if he would not give them any, and to get rid of them he let them have two barrels of wine. Pondiak, who knew of this almost as soon as the Foxes, and who heard that the Foxes had taken liquor, fearing that he might not get a share of it, came over with his chiefs, sent for Lasel and made him come up with his liquor to the house of Mr. Jacques Campau, near the camp. The merchandise was taken without injury to the house of Mr. Labady, uncle of Mr. Lasel.

In making Mr. Lasel change his place, Pondiak had told him, that, being near his camp, he would not be troubled, for he would answer for his own men. However, to have a rest, he gave up five barrels, and the Indians left him in peace.

The Foxes, who had come on the day before to exchange prisoners, came back this day at four o'clock and took leave as they had come, without a better result than the first time.

Sunday, June 12. The day passed rather quietly in the fort, and without any fighting on either part. At ten o'clock in the morning Mr. Cavallier arrived at the house of the widow Gervaise with canoes loaded with wine and merchandise. From him it was learned that plenty reigned at Montreal, and all kinds of merchandise and provisions were very cheap there. At three o'clock in the afteroon the guards in the bark took ashore several dead bodies of those whom the Indians had murdered the day before. These bodies were buried on the river bank, opposite the fort.

Monday, June 13. It rained all day. There was no shooting on either side.

Tuesday, June 14. The day was like the preceding one, until against four o'clock P. M., when the Indians fired some shots to which the Englishmen did not pay any attention.

This day the Indians found out that Mr. Cavallier had liquor. He refused to give them any, which enraged the Indians against him, and they plundered all his liquor, his merchandise, and even his provisions, which he had brought for the return voyage, knowing well that he would have to buy provisions dearer here than at Montreal.

Wednesday, June 15. The Indians, who ordinarily did not practice much economy, except when forced to, not having any provisions left of those that they took from the barges of the convoy that they had captured, were obliged

to have recourse to the settlers to live until they could take others. Besides what was given to them, they killed animals of the settlers.

At ten o'clock A. M., the Foxes came for the third time to exchange prisoners, and gave the commander of St. Joseph and two soldiers for one of the Indian prisoners whom the English had. They were cheated in the exchange, for they demanded him who was called Long-Ears, who was most esteemed amongst them, and they received in his place a fellow named Nokaming, whom they looked upon as a knave; but the deception originated with this Nokaming, who sent word to the commander not to give up to the Foxes the one of the two whom they would ask for, but to give him in his place, because the Foxes thought very little of him, while the other was highly esteemed in his nation, and if he kept him, the Foxes, who were anxious to have him, would give in exchange all the prisoners. This advice, although coming from a savage, was appreciated and found good. He was given in exchange, and Long-Ears was kept, to have, by his means, other prisoners exchanged; but the Foxes were hardly satisfied with their bargain, when they saw their hopes frustrated.

Thursday, June 16. The Indians were very quiet all day. It is usual in all places besieged or surrounded by the enemy that silence be observed, the church bells be not sounded for any purpose, lest the enemy should know the hours when the people go to church, and the bell of the parish church of this place had not been tolled since the beginning of the siege for any church exercises. The commander, having learned from the curate why the bell was no longer tolled, permitted to have it tolled for all church purposes, and it commenced its function at noon by tolling the Angelus.

At three o'clock, the chiefs of the good band of the Hurons, who, since Father Poitier had refused them the sacraments, in order to stop them, had not taken part in the hostilities, came in to speak. They were admitted into the fort by a secret door, and treated for peace with the commander, making many excuses in regard to what they had done. The commander listened to them, and gave them a flag, which they accepted as token of union, and went out without having gained anything but the flag.

Friday, June 17, passed without any movement on the part of the Indians. Although they had, in the council held on the 17th of the month before, decided not to allow any person from outside to enter the fort, there were nevertheless some favored ones who had the liberty of going and coming, to attend to their business at the two sides of the fort, wherever their business called them. It was by means of one of these that the commander knew that the bark was in the lake, at the mouth of the river, and that it had been seen by a man named Repus, who had been hunting on the lake coast.

The commander, who had told the captain of the bark that as soon as the bark should come into the river, he would fire some cannon shots, to let him know by this signal that the commander and his men were still in the fort, ordered, as soon as he heard this news, that two cannon shots should be fired at the setting of the sun, to notify the bark that she could come, and that the commander still was master of the fort and the surroundings.

Saturday, June 18. A settler from the eastern shore came across the river at 2 o'clock A. M., to bring certain news of the bark to the commander, which caused the commander to order that the cannon placed against the southwest gate should fire two signal shots at different times, which was done about five o'clock in the morning.

The same day at noon, Father Dujonois, Jesuit missionary of the Ottawas of Michilimakinack, arrived, with seven Indians of this nation and eight Sauteux of the same place, commanded by Kinonchamek, son of the great chief of this nation. By them was known the defeat of the English in this post, by the Sauteux, on the second of this month.

The Jesuit father was quartered with his confrater, the missionary of the Hurons.

Sunday, June 19, the fort was not troubled. The arrival of the son of the great chief on the day before caused a suspension of hostilities between the fort and the Indians. He had placed his camp half a league above that of Pondiak, in a meadow, a league above the fort. The Indians from Erie came to see him, when he disembarked, to give him greeting from their chief. They were received rather coldly and answered that this afternoon he and his men would visit Pondiak to keep council.

At this news Pondiak ordered that all Indians of each nation should stay at home all day to listen to the words of the great chief of the Sauteux by the mouth of his son. During the time that the Indians prepared for the council there arrived at ten o'clock A. M. at the village of the Hurons two canoes of the Chavoinon Indians and Wolfs of the Ohio River, who came here to see what was going on. At their arrival they heard of that of Kinonchamek and the place of his camp. They did not leave their canoes, but went straight to his camp, there to hold council upon what was happening here. Two or three Frenchmen were called, to hear from them all that had happened since the commencement of the attack upon the fort by the Indians and all the steps taken by the orders of Pondiak, after which they were sent home. At two o'clock in the afternoon Kinonchamek, followed by his own people and the Chavoinons and the Wolfs, came to the camp of Pondiak to keep council, as he had notified him before. On his arrival in the camp all the chiefs assembled and formed, according to their custom, a

kind of circle, in silence. When each Indian had taken his place, Kinonchamek arose and took the floor in the name of his father, and, addressing Pondiak, he said: "We have heard, my brothers, that you make war wholly differently from us. We have, like yourselves, undertaken to drive the English from the face of our land, and we have succeeded; but it has been done without soiling ourselves with their blood after having taken them as prisoners, as you do. We have surprised them while playing at cricket, at a time they did not expect it. Our brothers, the French, did not know our design. When the English saw that we were in earnest against them, they surrendered. We made them prisoners and have sent them to their father at Montreal, without doing them harm. The soldiers wanted to defend their chiefs. We have killed them, but that was in the fight. We have not done harm to the Frenchmen as you do. To the contrary, we have made them guardians and depositaries of our prizes. But thou, thou hast taken prisoners on the lake and on the river, and, after having brought them to thy camp, thou hast killed them, hast drank their blood and eaten their flesh. Is the flesh of men made for eating? Only the meat of deers and other animals which the Master of Life has put upon earth, is for eating. Besides, in making war to the English, thou hast made it to the French, in killing their animals and eating their provisions, and when they refused thee anything thou hast caused them to be plundered by thy people. We have not done the same. We have not relied upon the provisions of the French to make war. We have taken care when planning the attack upon the English to make our provisions for us, for our women and our children. You also should have done the same. Then you would not have to expect reproaches from our great father of France when he shall come. Ye wait for him, and so do we. But he will be content with us, and not with thee." Pondiak was during this speech like a child which had been caught at some mischief, and, having no excuse to give, does not know what to say. As soon as Kinonchamek had finished, the chief of the Cats took the floor for his band and the Wolfs, and said: "My brothers, we also have attacked the English, because the Master of Life sent word to us by one of our brother Wolfs, but he has forbidden us to attack our brothers the French, and ye have attacked them. Is that the word we have spoken to you by the war-belts which we have sent you? Ask of our brothers, the Wolfs, what the Master of Life has said to them. 'It is good to kill during the fight, but afterwards, and when prisoners have been taken, it is worth nothing at all, and not to drink nor eat human blood or flesh.' Because thou art a Frenchman as well as we. Ask our brothers, the French, if when they have war and have taken prisoners, they kill them, when they

have them brought home. No! but they keep them to exchange them for those of their own people who are prisoners with their enemies. We see well what obliges thee to do what thou hast done to our brothers, the Frenchmen; it is because thou hast illy commenced the war, and because thou art in rage, not to be able to get at the English who are in the fort. Thou makest our brothers, the French, feel thy bad humor. We were disposed to come and help you, but we will not do so, because thou wouldst say, that all the evil which thou and thy people have done to our brothers, the French, had been inflicted by us. Therefore we will not mix up in a bad business with our great father."

During all this council Pondiak never said a word, not even after recognizing well his wrong, so that Kinonchamek, the Cats and the Wolfs went away and returned to their camp in order to rest, without having any answer from him.

At three o'clock P. M., the defeat of the English at the Miamis and the plundering of this post by the savages was learned. At seven o'clock in the evening it was known that a large party of Indians had gone down to Turkey Island, opposite the place where the bark was at anchor. The men on the bark, seeing on this island much movement amongst the Indians, were afraid that they might make some attempt to capture it, and, to escape the danger, they had weighed anchor and retired into the open lake to wait for proper wind to ascend the river without risk.

Monday, June 20. At ten o'clock in the morning the Indians came to fire some volleys upon the fort from the north side. After these volleys the English officers noticed that the attacking party came along the highway deliberately and without any fear. To cure them of this boldness an embrasure was cut through the stockade on that side, in which to put up a cannon which would sweep towards the place where the suburb had been and stop the tribes from passing. At four o'clock P. M. the news came that the fort on Presque Isle and on the Beef River, formerly established by the French and since three years in the hands of the English, had been captured by the Indians. This news was not confirmed and remained uncertain.

[Marginal note: "On the part of Father Dujonois, council was held between him and Pondiak to secure the liberty of the Englishmen."]

Tuesday, June 21. Since early dawn there was seen a great movement on the part of the nations who were constantly passing back and forth behind the fort, uttering cries as if they wanted to attempt something. These movements which had something peculiar, caused the English officers to keep themselves all day upon their guard, trying to find out the same,

which was only known in the following night by Mr. Baby, who came at two o'clock after midnight to the commander, that several settlers living at the lower south shore on the river bank had told him they had seen the bark which seemed well loaded and with many men aboard. This same news the Indians had known first, and it had occasioned their uproar. Upon hearing the report of Mr. Baby, the commander ordered anew that at day break two cannon shots should be fired in quick succession on the southwest-side as a signal to the bark.

[Marginal note: "Answer of the preceding council."]

Wednesday, June 22. The Indians, who, as I stated before, had news of the bark, did not come round the fort to bother it. This opportunity was profited by in setting the garrision to turn over and burn the remnants of the inclosures of the gardens and to cut the fruit trees, taking away around the fort everything which could hide a single Indian. In the course of the day, the capture of Presque Isle was confirmed, because the Indians who had made this expedition were seen coming back. There was a large number of them, and they brought with them by land the prisoners whom they had made, amongst whom was the commander of that place and a woman, who were both given as presents to the Hurons. At three o'clock the commander had news of the cargo of the bark and of the number of people which she brought. At four o'clock the commissary and the judge made a visit to the citizens for provisions for the fourth time.

[Marginal note: Kinonchamek departed for Michilimakinack.]

Thursday, June 23. The Indians did not come to fire upon the fort this day, because they were occupied by a project to capture the bark which they knew to be at the entrance of the lake. From early morning they passed behind the fort in great numbers to join those who had gone there two days before, and all assembled on Turkey Island, which is a kind of little *detroit*, because the river is very narrow at this place. On this island the Indians made a breast-work with trunks of trees, which they cut down and laid upon the bank of the river on the side where the bark must pass. They also piled up dirt which they brought on branches, so that if they should be seen in their breast-works they need not fear the cannon balls, and in this retreat they awaited the passage of the bark. At 6 o'clock in the evening the wind seemed to turn favorable for ascending the river, and the crew of the bark weighed anchor to profit by the wind; but when she came near the island the wind lessened so that they were constrained to throw anchor, without knowing of the ambush that had been prepared for them on this island. The Indians waited until night to attack them. But the crew, knowing well that they would not reach the fort without being attacked, kept a good

lookout and watch, and resolved to sell their lives dearly. The Indians in their breast-works, from the moment the bark had anchored opposite them, never ceased to look how many men were on her, and not observing more than twelve or fifteen, believed they could attack her without risk. There were, however, seventy-two men aboard, of whom the captain during the day had hid sixty below, because he knew well that the Indians who were roving over the lake, not seeing but twelve men, would attempt to catch them, which was really the case. About 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening the Indians embarked in their canoes to surround the bark and to assail her. A sentinel on guard upon the forecastle saw them coming from afar, and from fear of being heard, rowing but feebly. He notified the captain, who silently made all the crew come on deck and placed them along the board with arms in their hands, the cannon loaded, everything ready and all quiet, with orders to wait for the signal, which was to be given by striking a hammer on the poop. In this state the Indians were suffered to approach within musket-shot. They were glad of the silence reigning in the bark and believed that really there were only a dozen men upon her; but a moment later they found out their mistake, for when they were within musket-shot the signal was given and the whole volley of cannon and musket-shot took place in good order and swept the way of the Indians, who returned into their entrenchment faster than they had left it. Having lost fourteen dead and as many wounded, they had no more mind to approach the bark so near, but they fired upon her all night from their breast-works and wounded two men. Next morning, for want of wind, she went out again to the lake to wait for a wind favorable for coming up the river.

* Friday, June 24, the fort was rather quiet all day, the Indians being occupied all the time with their design to capture the bark. There were only a few marauders around the fort. When two of them came near enough to be seen twenty men were sent out to capture them, but the two Indians, noticing that the twenty men were after them, threw away their plunder and took to their heels. The Englishmen returned empty handed.

Saturday, June 25, the weather was changeable all day and there were no hostilities on either side.

Sunday, June 26. Several soldiers who passed the night upon the bastion, as usual, reported to the commander they had seen two Indians enter a house, eight arpents away from the fort, to the northeast; and at four o'clock A. M. Capt. Hopkins went out, by order of the commander, with

* TRANSLATORS' NOTE.—Commencing with this sheet, about one-sixth of each page of the manuscript is missing, being torn off from the upper outside corner about two-thirds down each sheet. The translators have in nearly all cases succeeded in supplementing the remainder without losing more than occasional words, determining the hour of the day and similar minor details.

[twenty] four men of his company, to surround this house and capture the two Indians. When they came to the house they found only the housekeeper, and searched everywhere, believing that the two Indians had hid. However, they only found two bearing sows, which they brought to the fort instead of the Indians. This capture was in some respects worth more than the one they had hoped to make. The same day, about 10 o'clock A. M., some soldiers had tied up the horses of two officers about an arpent away from the fort, when two Indians, who had observed them from afar, came with warlike steps through the grass, which was very high, cut the cords and carried off the horses.

Monday, June 27. The Indians, according to their custom, roved round the fort without shooting, all day. Mr. Gamelon, who since Messrs. Campbell and McDougal were prisoners in Pondiak's camp, had visited them every two days and often daily, brought this day, at three o'clock P. M., to the commander, a letter which Pondiak had dictated to Mr. Campbell, in which Pondiak explained to the commander, that he and his men must evacuate the fort immediately, because, as he said, he expected, within ten days, Kinonchamek with the great chief of the Sauteux, and eight hundred men of his nation, and then he would no longer be the master, and on their arriving they must take the fort by storm. The commander answered he would wait for them and for him also, and made fun of them. This answer did not give pleasure to Pondiak nor to the other Indians, for which the English officers cared very little. At eight o'clock P. M. news was received indirectly that the bark had weighed anchor to come up the river.

Tuesday, June 28. A party of Indians who had gone down to capture the bark, in which attempt luckily they had failed, returned to their camp, and in passing saluted the fort with some musket shots, without hurting anybody. In the afternoon there was news that the bark had weighed anchor and was under way. The wind having turned to the southwest she had profited of this moment to get out of her bad position, and she came to the mouth of river Rouge, a league from the fort, where the wind gave out, and she anchored a little below, where she was seen from the fort. At seven o'clock in the evening the fort fired two guns, to which signal she made no response, which gave rise to the fear that the Indians had captured her by a second attempt, which was uttered quite loudly in the fort by the judge, but did not prevent the officers from putting up an instrument in the bastion which faced southeast, where she was moored.

Wednesday, June 29, St. Peter's day. The Indians did not shoot on the fort. One party rested and the other made a descent upon the settlers to

pay themselves for the useless trouble. In the afternoon there were heard from behind the fort some twenty death cries. They came from Indians who were returning from the capture of Fort Presque Isle. All this day the bark remained at anchor where she had stopped the day before, for want of wind.

Thursday, June 30. The Indians were quiet all day, because they expected reinforcements. At six o'clock A. M., three death cries and cries of joy were heard in the fort, coming from the savages, but it was not known what these meant. A southwest wind came up, and the crew of the bark weighed anchor to profit by it. Passing in the front of the Huron village, they saw the Indians standing in the doors of their huts, with folded arms and wrapped in their blankets. The bark sent them a broadside of grape-shot and balls, which wounded several and made them all go into their huts. One party took up their guns and followed the bark, shooting upon her until she came in front of the fort, where she anchored safely at four o'clock in the afternoon. She had aboard thirty-five men, with an officer, who had saved themselves towards Sandusky, as I stated above. This officer landed to bring letters to the commander, in which mention was made that peace had been concluded; that Canada remained English, and his British majesty would pay all the expenses which had been made in Canada since the beginning of the war.

Friday, July 1. The Indians, who were roving around the fort and the settlers' houses, had frightened animals on the shore, and one herd of them came into the fort. The herd consisted of three oxen, three cows and two calves, and belonged to Mr. Cuillerier.

Mr. St. Martin, interpreter of the Hurons, who, since the commencement of the siege, had abandoned his house, which was built six arpents southeast of the fort, because the Indians hid behind it for shooting, which caused the Englishmen to fire upon it, and seeing that he was not safe from either Indians or English, had retired to live with Father Poitier until the end of these difficulties. Having had the day before a conversation with a Huron, who had told him, in confidence, that the Indians wanted to force the Frenchmen to take up arms against the English, and not feeling inclined to consent to this, came and asked the commander for shelter in the fort, which was accorded to him, and he came with his mother, mother-in-law, wife and all his household. He lived one day in the house of Mr. La-Butte and afterwards in the house of Mr. Bellestre.

Saturday, July 2. Mr. McDougal, who had accompanied Mr. Campbell when he left the fort to pay the Indians a visit, and who had remained

prisoner with him, saved himself, with three other Englishmen who were also prisoners in the camp, and they came to the fort at three o'clock in the morning. When saving themselves, they did all they could for fetching Mr. Campbell along, but in vain. This gentleman would have liked well enough to follow them, but he was short-sighted, and feared, by saving himself from the present danger, to throw himself into another, which might terminate his existence. He did not propose to die sooner than it was necessary. At five o'clock in the morning an officer went out with twenty men to destroy the inclosures of Mr. St. Martin's garden, and cut the grain in which the Indians hid themselves. When these perceived that their hiding place was being cut down and destroyed, they came to stop it, and pursued the Englishmen, who retired into the fort faster than they had come out. Afterwards the Indians fired upon the fort without doing any harm to anybody, and the English officers were satisfied with keeping a good lookout all day. They placed soldiers on guard in two cavaliers which were outside of the fort on the slope of the hill behind the fort, and from this day on there were always four sentinels in these two cavaliers day and night. The garrison and the men who had just arrived in the bark were at work part of the day unloading her and taking her cargo to the magazine.

At seven o'clock P. M. news came that the Indians had been to the houses of all the settlers on all the shores and had carried off to their camp all the old men and heads of families, to be present at a council which should be held, and in this council they wanted to oblige the Frenchmen to take up arms against the English. During the night it was known that the Indians, after the council which I am going to describe hereafter, had sent home all the fathers of families and the old men without having done them any harm.

Pondiak, exasperated by the safe arrival of the bark, and seeing that in spite of all his plottings and designs the English received assistance in provisions and men, resolved to make the settlers take up arms by force or friendship, and to succeed in his project he made all the heads of families and old men come to a council at his camp, as he said, for things of importance to them. When all were assembled, he took the floor as usual; speaking to all the Frenchmen, and holding up a war-belt in the centre of the council, he said to them: "My brothers, I am heartily tired to see this bad flesh on our lands, and hope you feel the same way. I think, I perceive, that you are far off not from conspiring with us for their annihilation. Yet it seems to me that you have given them comfort to our prejudice. I have already said, and I repeat it now, that when I commenced this war, it was for your interest as well as ours, and I knew what I was doing. I know that Fort

Erie [has been taken], and this year they must perish in all Canada, no matter how strong they may be; the Master of Life has said it. He has let us know his will, we must do what he says, and you Frenchmen, who know him better than we, would you go against his will? I did not want to speak, hoping that you would let us go on. I did not wish to trouble you to fight them with us, because I did not think that you would place yourselves on their side against us. You will say that you have not taken side with them; I know it well. But yet you have given them aid by reporting to them all that we do, and all that we say. To-day there is no other part to take; you must either be wholly French as we, or wholly English as they. If you are French, accept this belt for you or for your young men, and let them join us. If you are English, we declare war to you. We do not like to do so, because we know you as children of our great father like ourselves, and to make war against our brothers, on account of yonder dogs, gives us pain, and it would be a hardship for us to fight against you, because we are all French, and if we would decide so, we would no longer be French, and since we are, we should, all together, defend the interests of our father, who is both yours and ours. Therefore, answer, my brothers, so that we may understand you, and look at this belt, which speaks to you or to your young men."

One of the most prominent of the French, who had almost surmised the scheme of Pondiak, and had brought with him to the council the copy of the capitulation of Montreal and Detroit, arose and took the floor for all the Frenchmen. The copy in his hand, and addressing the Indians, he said: "My brothers, your wishes are sufficiently known to us! When you commenced your attack upon the English, we have foreseen that you would force us to take arms with you against them. We do not hesitate a moment to defend, with you, the interest of our father; but you must first untie, if you can, the cords that bind all our hands, and which the father of the French and the father of the English have knotted upon us. These alone prevent us from accepting your war-belt! Believe me, my brothers, that it is not agreeable for us to see you take up our interest without being able to help you. It causes us pain! You do not remember any more what we have said on this subject at the last council which we have held together. The king of France, in giving these lands to the king of England, has forbidden us to fight against the English and bidden us to look upon them as our brothers, and the father and king of the English as our father and king. You believe, perhaps, that we say so in bad faith. No! Our great father has made known to us his will by sending us this writing which you see, and has ordered us not to stir until he comes, because he alone can untie us.

Now, you, without considering this, tell us that you will make war against us unless we accept your war-belt. Our father has not forbidden us to fight when our English brothers make war; but, although you did call us English, it will never happen that we fight against you. As Frenchmen, which we are and have always been, we are surprised, my brothers, that you have forgotten the promises which you made when our father has gone away. Have you not promised to him to protect us, our women and our children? What wrong have we done to you on account of the Englishmen? Have you not promised to our father that you would await his return? You have not done it; for you are fighting instead of waiting till he comes. When he shall come, he will untie us, and we will all join and all together obey his wishes. Answer us in your turn, my brothers!"

Pondiak, who was prompted by a band of French adventurers and squatters who had neither hearth nor home here, and, having lifted the mask, had hardly anything to lose, answered, they must do like him, and if the old men would not do it, the young men must. The Frenchmen, seeing themselves driven to the wall by the obstinacy of Pondiak, asked for a delay until the next day, when all would come to give him answer. One of the chiefs of the squatters, who believed that in putting himself and his whole crew on the side of the Indians, they would be free to commit all kinds of mean tricks, arose from his place and, picking up the belt, addressed the Indians as follows: "My brothers, I and my young men have broken the cords that bound us; we accept the belt that you offer to us; we are ready to follow you, and we will look for other young men to join us. We will find enough and soon have plenty, and you will see that we will soon have the fort and all that is in it!"

So base a speech, made by men without heart and without honor, made all the old men who had been called to council shudder, and having promised to answer the next day, they asked leave of Pondiak to retire, pained to see that he had won for his party a band of rascals.

Pondiak dismissed the old men, shaking hands with all and saluting them, and each one retired home, very angry to have been spectator to so mean an action, which, sooner or later, must recoil upon all the Frenchmen. The squatters, who had accepted the belt, remained in camp, knowing well that after such an action they would find no Frenchmen willing to shelter them any longer. The council lasted till eight o'clock, so that the day had too far advanced to try the fighting qualities of the new-made savages.

Sunday, July 3, the Indians employed the whole day to treat and feast their new warriors. The commander, who had learned in the morning what had happened at the camp the evening before, ordered the judge to [count

the guns, arms,] hatchets and the like of all Frenchmen in the fort and [to make a list] of those who had arms and those who had none, [enrolling] all to serve when necessary. At 10 o'clock A. M. twenty men of the garrison were sent out to destroy the enclosure of a fruit orchard. The trees were cut down and the stakes of the enclosure pulled up and burned with the trees, thus clearing this [ground. The orchard belonged to Mr. Cesir, a citizen of the fort.

In the afternoon the judge had orders by the commander to assemble all the Frenchmen of the fort before the church door and read to them the conclusion of peace. After the reading there was an instrumental concert which lasted an hour.

A settler who had a son amongst those who had joined the Indians, succeeded, by representing to him the disgrace which he had brought upon him, to make him see his fault and that of his companions. He withdrew from them and took with him the belt, which he gave to his father to return to Pondiak. This man came early in the morning to see Pondiak, by whom he was much beloved, and said to him: "You, my brother, who are chief and whom until now I have known to have judgment, have not shown it by listening to the young men who, sooner or later, instead of aiding you, will betray you and perhaps deliver you to the English. You, who command so many people, allow yourself to be commanded by people who have no judgment. Those who have told you they would take the fort, will be the first to fly. You, who have always despised the man who turns his hand to everything, saying that he was a mean fellow, seemed to-day to have lost your judgment. Why should a man like you put faith in young people who have no spirit, and who would come crying to-morrow to unsay what they said to-day? I have spoken on this subject with you because perhaps they would kill you. You are a man, and you have no need of anybody. If you make use of these young people, under what obligation will our father be to you when he comes? When he shall learn that you have made the Frenchmen take up arms he will say to you, it was not you who had driven out the English, but the Frenchmen, and you Indians have done nothing but look on; he will not pay any attention to you. Therefore, Pondiak, believe me, take back this belt which my son returns to you, and think well of what I have told you."

Pondiak, for an Indian, had a good deal of sense, as in fact had all of his nation, the Ottawas. He listened attentively to what the Frenchman had told him, and answered: "You are right, my brother; I thank you for the advice you have given me!" and taking back the belt they separated, one to go to his camp, and the other to his house. From that time on the Ottawas

did not trouble the French any more about taking up arms. Only the Sauteux, the Foxes and the bad band of the Hurons threatened the Frenchmen several times to attack them, as I will state further on.

[Marginal Note: When the fathers of families came to Pondiak to bring their answer which they had promised at the council, Pondiak said that he no longer desired them to take up arms.]

The bad band of the Hurons, who had never amounted to anything neither [to the English] nor to the French, and knew that Pondiak had readily decided not to trouble the Frenchmen to take up arms, abandoned him with the Foxes and the Sauteux, in order to constrain the settlers to take up arms with themselves, threatening that they would strike upon them if they refused to consent, and that they would lead away the young men of the French in spite of their fathers. This caused a great commotion between the French and the Indians. The French liked to remain neutral, but they feared that the threats of the three nations would be followed by deeds; therefore, they, altogether, took up arms to defend themselves, mounted guard, and put sentinels on all the roads, for fear of a surprise. The Indians saw that the French were on their guard, and did not risk any attack; but they took revenge on the settlers' animals, which they found, and took them away. Mr. Pierre Reaume, who lived directly opposite the fort, on the other side of the river, fearing that this whirlwind would fall upon him, asked the commander to be allowed to retire into the fort, which was granted to him.

Monday, July 4. Mr. Reaume, who the night before got permission to move to the fort, with his whole family, crossed the river early in the morning, with his household, luggage and animals, and took his residence in the house of Mr. Dequindre, which was then vacant. The commander [learned] that the Indians and some adventurers had made a trench behind the house of Mr. Baby, which was———— arpents from the fort, on the northeast. On this news the commander [resolved an expedition to be made] to demolish the nocturnal work of the Indians and [the adventurers], and Mr. Hay, lieutenant of the royal American troops, went out [from the fort with thirty] men of his company for reconnoitering, as well [as to execute] the orders of the commander. Having no [advice] that the Indians were in ambush, this troop marched fast toward the trench. When they arrived there, the Indians and the adventurers discovered and attacked them, without wounding anybody. [Mr. Hay did not lose] confidence, but encouraged his men by his example, and, advancing at the head of them, he and his soldiers faced the fire.

The victory remained in doubt. The commander, mounted on the bulwarks

observed the fight, and, fearing that other Indians would come and help their comrades and in that case his expedition might be unable to hold out, he promptly sent reinforcements to Mr. Hay. Capt. Hopkins, at the head of forty soldiers and several Frenchmen of [the fort], hurried out as quickly as possible. The Indians held out well against the soldiers of the first expedition, because they were covered by the entrenchments; but when the assistance [approached, they] found themselves too weak. The adventurers were the first to abandon the trenches, and only the Indians contended sometime for [the victory] with the English, who carried the place. Mr. Hopkins, seeing the obstinacy of the Indians, ordered a party of his men to turn in a quarter circle in order to attack the Indians in the flank, while the rest of the troops would engage them in the front. This manœuver was successful, and the Indians were forced to fly. They were pursued closely, and during the flight two Indians were killed; one of the Indians was scalped by an Englishman, who before had been a prisoner of the Indians. Only one of the soldiers was slightly wounded on the head by a blow from the butt end of a musket in the hands of one of the Indians. This Indian was afterward killed by the wounded soldier; and because the soldier was wounded and also killed that Indian, he got the silver trinkets of the dead to compensate him. After the Indians had fled, the soldiers filled up the trench and burnt all the enclosures in the neighborhood. Having finished this expedition, the whole troop retired to the fort, with the Frenchmen, whom the commander assembled on the drill-ground, in order to thank them, because they had assisted the troops. He inquired who of them had no arms, and ordered to furnish them with such, while those who could spare some of theirs should [fetch them to the magazine of the] king to have them repaired at the king's account. He suggested that they might take their choice either to volunteer, or to elect an officer to command them, if necessary. The French elected Mr. Sterling as their officer, and went, all together, to his house, with the judge, who satisfied him that the militia requested him to be at their head, and that [the commander had appointed him as] captain of the militia; this honest man thanked them for selecting him, saying that he hoped they would [have no occasion to be dissatisfied] with their choice, and everybody [appeared] content and well determined to do his duty under [the command of] such a chief.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, an officer, who [had been commander of the fort] of Sandusky, and had been taken prisoner by the Indians, came [to the fort from the camp], or rather from a French house, where his wife had sent him, to hide him. The English learned by him that the scalped Indian was a chief of the Sauteux, and nephew of [Wasson],

chief of the Sauteux of the Saginaw, and that this Wasson, [furious that] his nephew had been killed in the fight this morning, [came to the camp of Pondiak], abused him and demanded him to give up Mr. Campbell, saying: "My brother, I like very much this bad flesh which you have taken. I want to have some in my turn. Give it to me!" Pondiak [conceded] and Wasson took [Mr. Campbell] away to his camp, where he ordered his young men to strip him, whereupon they massacred him with their tomahawks, and, after having killed him, they threw him into the river. The corpse floated down [to the same place] to which the Frenchmen had led him when he went out of the fort, before the [house] of Mr. Cullierier, where he was buried.

At six o'clock in the evening, at Mr. Sterling's house, powder and balls were delivered to the French militia, to use them, if necessary.

Tuesday, July 5. The Indians did not trouble the fort. They went to the settlers, took away hatchets and pickaxes which they found, and brought them to the blacksmiths to repair them; but the smiths refused to work for them, saying that their forges were in the fort. On the same day the chief of the adventurers who had joined the Indians tried to engage for his party the children of the settlers to help him in taking or burning one of the barks. For this purpose he called upon those of the settlers where he knew young men to be, in order to enlist them, but he [did not succeed. Seeing] that his design failed, he resolved to give it up, and [went] to the Illinois to save himself, because many settlers [threatened] to arrest and deliver him up to the commander, who would not have [failed] to deal with him according to his merits.

Wednesday, July 6. The Indians, who, for some days, had formed the idea to demolish the large bark, which daily annoyed them, more because she prevented them from approaching the fort from that side, and not knowing how to go about it, asked several French settlers for advice; but these assured them they did not know how it could be done, in order to keep them quiet and to get rid of them.

Thursday, July 7. The Indians were so quiet around the fort that the commander ordered to give them something to do at their camp, as follows: In the morning a southwest breeze set in, which seemed to favor the Englishmen in their plan to pay a visit to Pondiak, in his camp, with the large bark. As they were getting ready to sail, the wind slackened, and they cast anchor to wait till it became more favorable, which was not very long; for at eleven o'clock the wind became strong enough for a second attempt, which succeeded well. They ascended the river to the camp of Pondiak, where they anchored and saluted the camp with balls and grenades, without

sparing their powder. Neither Pondiak nor his people had expected a similar visit, and they fled from their camp, leaving their huts and things behind, which were tumbled together by cannon balls and bombs. This amusement lasted from noon, when the bark threw anchor, until four o'clock, when she came back to her old stand. In this whole expedition not a single savage was wounded. While a part of the Englishmen gave this fright to Pondiak's camp, the Foxes came with Mr. Gammelin, asking to make peace with the commander. This was granted to them, upon the condition that they should remain neutral and give up their prisoners, which they promised, but did not keep.

On the same day both bands of the Hurons held council amongst themselves, in order to go to the fort and make peace with the commander.

Friday, June 8. The commander, who had the intention to send the bark back to Niagara, ordered demolished an old house which had been formerly used for a powder-mill, in order to have stone for ballasting the bark, which was done in the morning by the Frenchmen and English soldiers.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the Hurons came for treating with the commander, in accordance with the council which they had held the day before at their village. The commander had the gate opened, admitted them into the fort, and they held council on the drill ground. They offered to make peace with the English, and were answered, if they would give up all the prisoners and the merchandise in their possession and remain quietly at home, their misdeeds and what had happened would be forgotten. They answered that they would return to their village and speak to their brothers to make them consent, and they retired, resolved to do what was asked of them, promising to return the next day.

At five o'clock the Foxes came with Mr. Gammelin, promising to return the English prisoners who were in their village, in a few days, asking to have their brother given up who was retained in the fort.

At six o'clock the Ottawas laid in ambush behind the house of Mr. Beaubien and kept on shooting for an hour at the large bark, which sent them several shots without doing them the least harm.

The same day Mr. Maisonville arrived with a cargo of brandy, lead, salt, and parcels.

Saturday, July 9. The Ottawas and Sauteux formed the plan to burn the barks while moored. For this purpose they set to work making a fire-float, which they would send down the river by the current, when it should be finished. This work kept them busy two days, during which time the fort was not molested.

At four o'clock the Hurons returned, as they had promised the day before, and brought along seven prisoners, five men, amongst whom was the commander of Presque Isle, a woman and a child, whom they gave up to the commander and asked for peace. They were answered, that they must give up all the merchandise which they had taken from the merchants, up to the last needle-point, and after that peace would be granted to them. They retired, promising to fetch all the merchandise which they had in their village.

At seven o'clock in the evening the commander was notified that the Indians wanted to set the fort on fire with arrows, and that they had made a fire-float out of barges to set fire to the two barks during the night. They had indeed worked hard in carrying out this design, but did not succeed in it.

Sunday, July 10. The Indians who had worked the two preceding days in order to burn the two barks, sent at two o'clock in the morning their fire-float, which consisted of two barges tied together with white cords, filled with dry wood, split up in kindling, and set on fire. It burned readily, but floated down the river and passed by the barks at an arpent's distance, without doing them the least harm. The Indians, seeing that they had worked for nothing and lost their time, set to work to make another fire-float and did not trouble the fort all day.

In the evening the commander was warned by Frenchmen from outside that the Indians would certainly set fire to the fort during the night, under cover of the darkness. He put very little faith in this report, for most of the time the newsmongers lied in order to be well received, and caused a great deal of unnecessary trouble, which was the reason that the officers, instead of thanking them, made fun of them. Nevertheless, since sometimes it happens that amongst the lies a little truth is found, the commander ordered at once four Frenchmen and four soldiers to bivouac at one arpent from the fort, on the four corners, with orders to shoot if they should see anything, and to retire into the fort after firing their muskets.

Monday, July 11. The Indians, who were busy on a second enterprise, almost similar to the first, did not fire upon the fort during this day. At ten o'clock in the morning, the Hurons came according to their promise, fetching back all the merchandise which had been taken from traders upon the lake and upon the river, and peace was concluded between them and the English. At six o'clock a Frenchman from outside of the fort came to warn the commander that the second fire-float of the Indians was finished and that they would send it during the night, which really took place.

Tuesday, July 12. At one o'clock A. M., the Indians sent the second fire-

float with the same result as the first. From the fort two cannon shot were fired upon the southeast road, which put to flight the Indians who were sitting along the river bank in order to admire the effect of their work. The bark fired two shots upon the fire-float which broke it up and rendered the work of the Indians useless.

At ten o'clock in the morning the Foxes came, according to the arrangement, and brought three Englishmen whom they held as prisoners, and wanted to make peace according to the agreement. They demanded their man, but the commander said that when they should have given up all the prisoners whom they had in their village, they could have what they wanted. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the bark which had come from Niagara started to return there with orders to bring provisions and men. About the same time the Foxes came back, as they had promised in the morning, and brought with them seven prisoners whom they gave up to the commander and asked the release of their brother. When he was about to be delivered to them a man by the name of Jacqueman, who had been given to the Foxes for a present and who had just been given up by them, said in English to the commander that the Foxes had still more prisoners in their village. This caused the commander to change his mind and keep his prisoner, letting the Foxes know that they must fetch all the rest and they would be granted what they asked for. The Foxes were not much satisfied with this and formed the plan, at the risk of perishing, to attack the commander and the officers who accompanied him. The attack was prevented by the fact that Mr. McDougal recognized an Ottawa Indian who had entered the fort with them as such. He was arrested and put in prison, well guarded, which made the Foxes afraid, and they, discontented not to have the demand complied with, went out and resolved to take their revenge the coming night.

Wednesday, July 13, the Indians, who had known for several days that sentinels were being put outside of the fort to surprise them if they should come near the fort during the night, resolved to be revenged for the refusal which had been made them the day before, and for this reason they came during the night to surprise the sentinels, who had orders to fire upon those who would come near them. The Indians discovered the sentinels, fired upon them and dangerously wounded one of the Frenchmen who were on guard on the southeast side. The remainder of the day passed rather quietly around the fort. The same day, in the afternoon, the Hurons demanded a secret council, to which a young lady wanted to be admitted, but at the demand of the Indians she was requested to step out.

Thursday, July 14, the Frenchman who had been wounded Wednesday morning died this day about the same hour that he had been wounded the

day before and was buried at once, lest his death should be known outside of the fort. But in spite of all precautions, his death was known both to the settlers and the Indians.

Friday, July 15, nothing happened which merits attention.

Saturday, July 16, a slave belonging to Mr. Beaubien came into the fort, being sent by his master, to claim and demand [some cattle] which had been scared by the Indians and had run into the fort. This slave was arrested and put in prison, because it was said that he had fired with the Indians upon the English in the bark.

Sunday, July 17, several persons who knew well [this slave] to be a good fellow and who had been witnesses to his conduct, [hearing] of this affair, came to the fort at mass and [spoke to the commander] to justify the Pawnee and to have him set at liberty, but his grace [demanded] more witnesses.

At — o'clock in the morning Mr. Gammelin came into the fort with two men [and reported that the] Indians had planned to attack the settlers on the [shore and he] demanded arms and ammunition, which were given to him, with the [injunction] to take good care of them and send word to all the settlers that at the first musket shot fired on the shore they should receive assistance from the fort. The commander, on account of this report, ordered that all the Frenchmen in the fort should remain under arms all night in order to assist, in case of necessity, those on the shore; but luckily the night passed quietly, and the settlers got off with a night of watching and suspense only.

Monday, July 18. The gates of the fort had been, up to this day, continually closed for the safety of the fort and from fear of surprise by the Indians, which caused a great deal of trouble to the officers, who had to have them opened for those who demanded it as well as to those who wanted to pass and who often feared to be refused or turned back by the officers, and in order to remove all difficulties which had ever bothered him, the commander ordered that the gate facing the river should be open for the use of the public from 9 o'clock A. M. to 6 o'clock P. M., with two sentinels on each side, who had orders not to allow any Frenchmen to go out of the fort without his permission, but to give admission to all who wanted to come in through the gate except the Indians, who, in truth, never came nearer than fifteen [arpents], except with a great deal of caution.

All these days the Indians did not come to fire upon the fort. At —— o'clock the commander was advised that the Ottawa Indians were busy with a work which seemed to merit attention and occupied much of their time. They were building a fire-float of dry wood which, according to their design,

should come down along the river [bank] and which, having been fired, should float against the [bark] and burn her. But this work kept them busy a long time before they got it in shape to do what it was intended for. Against nine o'clock P. M. the Sauteux Indians came to fire some musket shots upon the bark which also sent them some. After the firing the Indians made defiant speeches to the guards [on the bark], amongst whom there was an Englishman who, having formerly lived amongst the Ottawas, spoke the Sauteux language and who answered the Indians in the same manner.

Tuesday, July 19. About two o'clock in the afternoon, it was known by Mr. Beaubien that fifteen arpents from the fort, about a dozen Indians were in ambush to fire upon the fort. Their hiding place was discovered, and two cannon balls and two bomb-shells were sent them, one of which struck an apple tree, in which six Indians were hid, which caused them to fly hastily from the inclosure to their camp, where they remained quiet the rest of the day.

Wednesday, July 20. This morning the commander had news from the Indian camp and heard more of the plan which the Indians had formed to fence up the river in order to succeed in burning the remaining bark which prevented them from approaching the fort, but their work was still in its infancy and would take them at least eight more days, although they had been at work at it for four days and they would not come to fire upon the fort until their fire-float should be finished. Upon this report the commander thought best to profit by this period of rest to [save] his bark from being burnt and ordered that two boats should be lined with a double layer of oak planks, two inches thick, and the boards raised to the height of —— feet of the same double planks as below, so that men could stand upright in the vessels safe from musket shots. In the beak of each vessel was placed a swivel gun which swept in three different directions. These vessels were placed in the middle of the river before the fort, and everything succeeded as well as could be expected.

Thursday, July 21. The Indians, occupied with their project, worked with as much zeal at their float as if they had been well paid. They worked without intermission and hardly allowed themselves time to take their meals.

From the conduct of the Indians the commander was satisfied that there was still time for work to protect the bark. He ordered four grappling irons fastened to the necessary cordage, two for each boat; one of these was attached to an iron chain about fifteen feet long and the other to a cord or cable of ten arms' length. The two boats thus prepared, should advance toward the fire-float, throw those grappling irons which were attached to the chains on the float, and the other grappling iron or half anchor,

should be thrown into the water; by this manœuver the fire-float would be stopped, and the bark saved from the danger which had threatened her so long.

Toward evening the rumor spread that the bad band of the Hurons and the Foxes had plotted to attack the settlers on the southwest shore during the night, which caused the latter to be on guard all night; but luckily, the rumor turned out false.

Friday, July 22. The day passed rather quietly. The news was brought by an Abinaqui Indian, who claimed to come from Montreal, that a French fleet was coming to Canada to regain possession of the country. This news died in its infancy, there being nothing to sustain it; but it had nevertheless the effect of rousing Pondiak and his band and the Sauteux, who had almost given up working on their fire-float.

Saturday, July 23. The day passed very quietly on either side. In the fort, musket shots were heard in the direction of the Huron village, which seemed to be fired to salute some new arrivals, and made the English believe that the Indians had taken prisoners from some other besieged place and were bringing them in.

Sunday, July 24. The Indians, intent upon destroying the bark, worked hard to succeed in their project. The commander ordered a reconnoitering expedition upon the river with the two boats of which I have spoken, in order to annoy them in their work. This was done. At ten o'clock, three officers and sixty soldiers, well armed, embarked in the two boats and one barge and went up the river, to find out the place where they were at work. The Indians, who saw from afar these three vessels, believing that this was some prey for them, left off their work and embarked, to the number of twenty, in two canoes, with their arms, advancing towards the three vessels. The Englishmen, who were aboard, allowed them to approach within musket shot, and the Indians, not knowing the construction of these vessels, did the same, and then came forward, uttering cries of joy, believing they had them in their power, in which they were sadly disappointed; for the commander of the expedition, seeing them near enough that all the shots could take effect, ordered all his people to take up their arms and fire their muskets as well as the two swivels, which surprised the Indians, who had not expected so warm a reception, and returned faster than they had come, fired upon the boats from the shore and slightly wounded a man in the head by a ball, which pierced his hat and carried off a tuft of his hair. The boats and the barge came back to the fort about noon, without having been able to discover the hiding-place or the work of the Indians, who followed them along the shore until they reached the house of Mr. Chauvin, thirty

arpents from the fort. The bark sent them a cannon ball, which made them fly, without wounding any; but the ball struck the house, caused great damage, and wounded two Indians who were in it, one in the arm and one in the thigh, the latter of whom died a few days later.

At one o'clock P. M. the Ottawa and Sauteux chiefs went over to the village of the Hurons, in accordance with a request of the Cats and Wolfs, who had notified them early in the morning to hold council.

At three o'clock P. M. the two boats and the barge, with the same number of men, were sent out again by the commander, in the same direction in which they had been the morning before, to see if they could not discover the working place of the Indians. They did not succeed, because the Indians fired upon them from the shore and followed them as on the day before.

The boats and the barge fired upon the Indians, but could not do them any harm, because the Indians took cover behind the enclosures of the farms. The two boats and the barge returned to the fort at six o'clock, not having accomplished anything.

At ten o'clock in the evening the Ottawas came and fired some random shots upon the fort.

Monday, July 25. The Ottawas, occupied with the council, which should have taken place the day before, and was adjourned to this day, neglected the fort, and went to the Huron village at the demand of the Cat and Wolf chiefs.

Two residents of the fort, who had been for sometime on the north shore on business, and who had been held back by Pondiak, returned this day, and reported that the construction of the famous fire-float had been altogether abandoned, in consequence of the interference of two other Frenchmen, who represented to the Indians that the boats would certainly keep the fire-float from burning the bark, being furnished with anchors to stop the float in the middle of the river, that their work was useless, and that they would never succeed in their undertaking, which disconcerted them so much that they were on the point of giving up their foolish schemes altogether.

At six o'clock P. M. the news spread in the fort that Messrs. Jacques Godfroy and Mesnilchesne, who had been sent to the Illinois by Pondiak, had returned, which news was not confirmed until the next day.

Tuesday, July 26, Ste. Anne's day. It was known early in the morning, that the runners, whom Pondiak, great chief of all the nations of the north, had sent to Mr. Deléon, commander of Illinois, had returned the evening before, and this arrival caused different rumors to spread amongst the Frenchmen in the fort. There was no truth in most of them, and they died in their birth. The principal one was that the Illinois nations strongly recom-

mended to the nations of Detroit not to do any harm to the Frenchmen who inhabited the shores, nor to those who were in the fort, at least, so long as they did not take sides with the Englishmen.

This day another great council was held at the Huron village, between them, the Cats, the Wolfs, the Ottawas, and the Foxes, and at the end of the council Pondiak, by virtue of his rank as great chief of all the nations of the north, adorned by a war-belt, took up the war-hatchet, and chanted war against the English, inviting all the chiefs who were in the council to do the same, telling them that the Master of Life had ordered him to make war upon the English, without sparing them, and that the place must be free when his father should come in the fall. All the other chiefs followed his example, and all chanted the war, one after the other. At the end of the council, according to the report of some Frenchmen of the shore who had been there, the chief of the Cats said: "My brothers, remember that the Frenchmen are our brothers, and that we must be careful not to hurt them, because our father would blame us for it—at least, so long as they do not take up the interest of the Englishmen."

Wednesday, July 27. The Indians employed all this day to chant the war, each nation in its village. The chiefs deliberated upon new measures for taking the fort, but to no purpose, and nothing came of it.

At two o'clock P. M. André Huson de Lorette, whom the English had suspected of complicity in the revolution of the Indians, and even to have had the first hand in it, entered the fort to justify himself and prove his innocence.

At six o clock word came to the English officers that the Indians wanted to set fire to the two cavaliers, which were behind the fort on the hill, and four sentinels were put daily into each of them.

Thursday, July 28. The Indians did not move this day. [The commander asked] the settlers to come into the fort and not go to the shores.

Friday, July 29. All night there was a fog so thick that nothing could be distinguished. Towards daylight it became a little lighter, and at five o'clock in the morning, at an hour when such a sight was least expected, a great number of barges were seen on the river to the right of the River Rouge. This created considerable excitement in the fort, everybody believing that this was some party of Indians, who came to join those around the fort, for the Englishmen did not know that this was assistance coming to them, although indeed they expected such. In order to find out what this might be they fired a cannon-shot from the southwest side. This was answered by another cannon-shot, for the barges had four small cannons or

swivel-guns mounted at the beak of as many barges, also two small six-pound mortars. Upon this answer, the commander, with Captain Hopkins, two lieutenants, and ten soldiers, embarked in one of the vessels which I have mentioned above and went to meet the barges, which were twenty-two in number, and contained two hundred and eighty regulars and six artillery men, under command of an aide-de-camp of General Amherst. When these barges passed in front of the villages of the Hurons and Foxes, they were saluted by some musket shots from these two nations, which wounded fifteen dangerously in the body, two of them mortally, and others in the arms and hands but slightly. These barges were guided from Niagara to the fort by Mr. Lasel, a trader from Montreal, who had interests in this post.

Since there were not barracks sufficient for quartering all these soldiers, it was ordered that the citizens should furnish them lodging until further orders, each according to his ability, which was done promptly. When these troops passed by Sandusky they frightened some Indians who had built their huts in the neighborhood of the village. These Indians, seeing so many soldiers, were afraid, and abandoned their huts, which were pillaged by the soldiers, who also burnt their huts and destroyed their corn.

When these reinforcements arrived the rumor spread in the fort that another force of four hundred men was under way by the northern route, which, however, proved false.

Saturday, July 30. The commander ordered that a number of canoes and other vessels, which had been lying on the strand in front of the fort since the commencement of the hostilities, should be repaired for service at the first opportunity.

In the evening, as customary, all the officers assembled on the drill-grounds to receive their instructions, the old and newly arrived being present. It was decided that in the following night a sally should be made by three hundred and odd men under command of the aide-de-camp, who had commanded the newly arrived reinforcements, in order to [punish] the Indians and force them to make peace; ammunition was distributed to all the soldiers, and they were ordered to be ready for the sally, which was to take place the following night.

This same day at 2 o'clock the Hurons, who had received some intimation that a sally would take place, pretended to abandon their village, burned old canoes and other worthless stuff on Point Montreal in view of the fort, embarked women and children and their very dogs, and descended the river as if they meant to go into winter quarters. Several Frenchmen really believed so, and one of them reported so to the English, who believed him, without, however, assuming the risk of going to the village, mistrusting some strate-

gem on the part of the Indians, which was really so; for the Hurons, having descended down the river out of the view of the settlers, had disembarked in the woods, hid their women, children and things and returned through the woods to the right of their village, where they laid in ambush, waiting for the English to come to their village as they had understood they meant to do; but they did not come. Nevertheless, the Hurons remained watching in their ambush for two days, at the end of which time they came back to their village the way they had left it.

Sunday, July 31, at two o'clock in the morning, according to the orders of the aide-de-camp, all those who had been designated for the detachment were ready in light uniform, having only their jackets, cartridge boxes, and arms. They left the fort and took up their march towards Pondiak's camp, which at that time was a league from the fort, on the north side, at a place which is called Cardinal Point. The English officers had unfortunately confided their plans to some Frenchmen living in the fort, who on their part had confidentially repeated them to some Frenchmen outside. In consequence of these disclosures the Indians were posted and kept on their guard. Not to be surprised, they left their women and children in a hiding place outside of the camp, leaving in their camp only the old men, and, knowing the hour when the Englishmen would start, they came to meet them in two bands. One band, two hundred and fifty strong, came through the woods along the settlements and laid in ambush on the estate of Mr. Chauvin, which is twenty arpents from the fort. The other band, comprising one hundred and sixty men, laid in ambush on the place of Mr. Baptiste Meloche, where formerly their camp had been, and where they had made entrenchments that were even bullet proof, and waited for the English, who had no idea that the Indians knew of their plans, and advanced hurriedly and without order. They had got in this manner to the bridge of Baptiste Meloche, when the Indians, who were much favored by the moon, observed them from afar, and, seeing the route which the Englishmen took, sixty Indians took position in the garden of Mr. Francois Meloche, behind the pickets and facing the bridge, and when the Indians saw that a little more than half of the detachment had passed the bridge, the sixty fired upon them, which surprised the Englishmen, who, without making any manœuver—[End of the manuscript.]

REMARKS OF THE TRANSLATORS.—The remainder of the diary or journal is missing. The last four pages translated above are on two loose sheets, while all the rest are bound together by strong linen cord. The sally mentioned cost the garrison some fifty men and the slaughter on the bridge mentioned was so great that the name of the creek was changed from Parent's creek to Bloody run. The leader of the sally, Captain Dalzell, of General Amherst's staff, was one of the first who was killed in this engagement.

CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC AND THE SIEGE OF DETROIT.

NOTE.—The following statements of Mrs. Meloche, Charles Gouin, Gabriel St. Aubin, Jacques Parent and Mr. Pettier, who were eye-witnesses of the siege of Fort Detroit in 1763, were made in 1824 to Charles C. Trowbridge, sub-agent of Indian affairs at Detroit, an interpreter, and written by him at the time. They were lent to Mr. Parkman when he wrote his graphic "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," and are extensively quoted with approbation by that gifted author. The original manuscripts were written with a lead pencil and to prevent the consequence of defacement or of loss, Mr. Trowbridge, in 1864, made copies of them and presented the same, with the originals, to the Detroit Historical Society. The following is a copy of his letter to that society accompanying the manuscripts:

DETROIT, March 10, 1864.

Hon. C. I. Walker, Secretary of the Detroit Historical Society:

MY DEAR SIR—The society now having made arrangements for the safe preservation of documents illustrative of our local history, I have decided to comply with your request, made some years since, to present to the society the original manuscript accounts, taken by me just forty years ago from the lips of the parties whose statements are contained in the following pages. And as the originals are in lead and liable to be defaced, I have thought it well to accompany them with this literal copy, drawn by my own hand, with a view to prevent the mistakes in copying which a stranger might commit. As the substance of the statements has been incorporated in Parkman's book, they have little value except as evidence to show the authenticity of that narrative.

Yours truly, C. C. TROWBRIDGE.

MRS. MELOCHE'S ACCOUNT.

Mrs. Meloche had just been married when the battle of Bloody Run took place. She lived with her parents, in a log house, on the west side of the Run, and separated from Detroit River only by the public road, which ran along the sand beach. The Run was crossed by a wooden bridge. She occupied the same house in 1824, when she communicated the following recital, which is copied *verbatim* from the original manuscript:

On the 9th of May, 1763, in the forenoon, Pontiac, with his Indians, went to the fort, under pretence of holding a council with the English commandant. On that day Mrs. Meloche saw a great many Indians cross the Detroit River in canoes.

Major Campbell, the commandant, having had notice of the design of Pontiac, ordered a number of pieces of artillery to be loaded and placed before the gate, which was left open. When the Indians arrived, and were about to enter, they saw these preparations, and suspecting that their plans had been betrayed, they refused to go in—nor did any of them enter the fort on that day.

Major Campbell was informed of the designs of Pontiac by an old Indian woman whose name was Catherine. In crossing the river to the (now) American side, although the canoes were full of Indians, only two, or at most three, were seen, the others all having laid down and covered themselves, lest the commandant, seeing their numbers, might suspect their intentions.

Respecting the cannon, Mrs. Meloche heard that day, a Mr. St. Amant came to her house and told her the British and Indians were going to do something, for many pieces of cannon were loaded and placed before the gate, the matches already lighted, and the Indians in considerable numbers around the fort.

Pontiac proposed to Major Campbell to leave the fort, and come out to him and have a talk. Although many of the old French people, who had taken refuge in the fort, among them old Mr. Chovin and Mr. Gouin, advised Major Campbell not to go out, yet he did so. He was accompanied by Mr. McDougall (the father of Col. McDougall) and one of his officers, and by an interpreter, Mr. LaButte, and some of the Frenchmen from the fort.

Soon after leaving the fort, Major Campbell and Mr. McDougall were taken prisoners, and conveyed to the house of Monsieur Quyêriés,* a Frenchman, living upon the farm now owned by Major Dequindre, above town.

On the same day an English family named Fisher were attacked on Hog Island, the husband and wife massacred, and three or four children taken prisoners.

From the house of Mr. Quyêriés, where Pontiac told him he would hold a council, Major Campbell and Mr. McDougall were conveyed to the house of Mr. Meloche, a large house, sixty feet long, situated on the farm now owned by Moran, near Bloody Run. After remaining here some time, Mr. McDougall made his escape and got into the fort. Major Campbell remained until the month of August, when he was taken by the Indians and conveyed half a mile or more up the river, where he was killed. During all the time Campbell and McDougall were at the house of Meloche, they were in the custody of the Indians, and the family were obliged to convey food to them in the most secret manner. When the Indians were about to seize and bind Major Campbell, at the house of Meloche, he dropped his pocket-book, containing a great many papers, in such a manner that Mrs. Meloche

*Mr. Parkman calls him Quilleriez. So much time has elapsed that I do not recollect how I got the name, but as I see that it is always written and accented with great care in the original, I presume I was guided by Col. Benfait, who was with me, and who was a well educated Frenchman.

March 10, 1864.

C. C. TROWBRIDGE.

could take it up. This she did, and soon after she returned the papers to Mr. McDougall.

During all the time of Major Campbell's imprisonment, the Indians were assembled in great numbers around and near the fort, upon which they kept up a kind of irregular fire. At length the garrison made a sortie, and in an attack upon the Indians, killed a chief, and in their rage cut his body in pieces. This was the immediate cause of Major Campbell's death, for the Indians, grown desperate, went directly for him and killed him.

Mrs. Meloche never heard of any attempt to burn the fort by means of carts and combustible matter.

Nothing important occurred between the garrison and Indians until Major Campbell's death, soon after which the troops, three hundred in number, with Mr. McDougall and the commanding officer, marched out of the fort to attack the Indians, whom they supposed to be in camp above. They marched up the river, on the present road *along the beach*, until they reached the bridge of Bloody Run. This bridge was three times as long as the present one, and crossed the creek much nearer the mouth, and not at the mill.*

Above this bridge, and on the eastern or upper bank, lived Francois Meloche, the brother of our narrator's father-in-law. He had a garden on the road, which was surrounded by pickets. Behind these pickets and a large quantity of cordwood, which they had collected, the Indians, to the number of a thousand or fifteen hundred (perhaps less, perhaps more,) were concealed.

The British forces began to cross the bridge, knowing that the Indians were near, but quite unconscious that they were so close. When they had all got upon the bridge, the Indians commenced their attack. It was just at daybreak, and yet dark, when Mrs. Meloche heard the firing. She ran towards a horse mill in the rear of the house, but the great shots from the gun-boats, which were along the shore in aid of the troops, so frightened her that she returned to the house, crept into the window, and met the British interpreters, Baby and St. Martin, with an officer. They were accusing Mr. Meloche of having fired upon them, but he convinced them beyond a doubt that the shot heard from his house was from an old Indian who sat by his fire, smoking his pipe, when the British marched up. And from this circumstance Mrs. Meloche supposes that the Indians were not aware of the design to attack them that day.

After fighting about half an hour the troops began to retreat, and the

*When this account was written, there was a grist mill where Jefferson avenue now crosses Bloody Run. C. C. TROWBRIDGE.

Indians, with a view to intercept them, went back towards the woods and ran around. The British crossed the bridge to the Meloche house on the west side of the creek, where they rallied, but owing to the fear, on the part of the Indians, of the gun-boats along shore, not a red skin was to be seen. The troops began their march back to the fort, which they reached without further loss, although a skirmish took place on the way. Their safety in the retreat was attributed to the gun-boats.

The British, before retreating, took all their dead and wounded and put them on board the gun-boats and the barges and canoes which they found along the shore, and immediately after the battle nothing was to be seen but blood and small pieces of the bodies or limbs of the dead. Mrs. Meloche never heard that the garrison was short of provisions or ammunition, but she recollects perfectly well that when a vessel of war was coming up the river, containing supplies, the Indians went down in canoes, intending to bore a hole in the bottom and sink her; they could not effect this, and the vessel got up.

During this siege this vessel sailed up the river with every fair wind, and whenever Indians were seen in the fields the guns of the ship were leveled on them and discharged. And the house occupied by Mr. Moran, which is a part of the large house of Mr. Meloche, was pierced with at least fifteen cannon balls, fired at different times from the vessel at an encampment of Indians in the rear of the house.

Soon after the battle, the Indians began to manifest a desire for peace, and after they had become quite tranquil, in the month of October, as Mrs. Meloche thinks, peace was agreed between the Indians, headed by Pontiac, and the British commandant, whose name Mrs. Meloche has forgotten.

Mrs. Meloche does not know who succeeded Major Campbell in command. Some say Major Gladwin, and of him it is reported that he was killed in the battle of Bloody Bridge.

During the siege, and before the battle, a number of barges, loaded with goods for the Indian trade, were taken by the Indians, below the fort, supposed to have been at Point au Pelée, on Lake Erie. The Indians killed most of the men, leaving enough to manage the barges. When they arrived opposite the fort, under full sail, the Indians were very numerous, and only two of the barges succeeded in landing unmolested. The rest were taken above the town, and the lading was taken by the Indians. During the whole siege the French people were permitted, by Pontiac, to go to church in the garrison every Sunday. They had no other intercourse, except in a secret manner. A circumstance is related to show Pontiac's generosity. When he had possessed himself of the goods from the barges, and stowed them away,

a Miss Deriviere ascertained that a trunk, containing goods and clothes for her, was among them. She persuaded Mr. LaButte, the interpreter, to accompany her to the Indian camp, where she told Pontiac of the circumstance of her expecting a trunk, and Pontiac immediately caused the goods to be searched, and, having found the trunk corresponding to her description, he gave it to her without making any objection.

MR. CHARLES GOUIN'S ACCOUNT.

Mr. Gouin was 72 years old on the 12th of February, 1824. In the war with Pontiac he was 11 years old.

In the early part of May, 1763, Pontiac went to the fort, then commanded by Major Campbell, and desired to hold a council with him. As was customary, the commandant readily assented, and a council was held with some of the principal chiefs, Pontiac at their head. The Indians entered and departed from the fort at pleasure and appearances indicated the greatest harmony. Nothing very important was transacted at the council, the only object of Pontiac being to deceive the commandant and lull him into security. At the breaking up of the council Pontiac told the major that he had something more to say to him, and that he would visit him to hold another council on the following day.

The next day was fixed by Pontiac for the simultaneous attack on the British forts at Michillimackinac, St. Joseph and Fort Wayne. Of this arrangement the Indians had informed Thomas Gouin, the father of the narrator, and the brother of Monsieur Bellaitre, the French commandant. Mr. Thomas Gouin sent to Major Campbell a messenger, Jacques Chovin, on the morning appointed for the council, with directions to desire him not to suffer the Indians to enter the fort, to inform him that treacherous designs were entertained by Pontiac and his followers, and that the pretended council was but a covering for them. The same advice was given to the commandant by his interpreters who were Frenchmen.*

At the time appointed for the council, Pontiac and a select number of his followers divided into small parties, with their guns sawed off to the length of two feet, and, together with their hatchets and knives, concealed under their blankets, proceeded to the fort. They were followed at a distance by scattering parties of Indians, who intended to reach the fort, one by one, in

*Of this circumstance Mrs. Meloche also speaks.

time to aid their leader and share the spoils. Pontiac afterwards stated that his orders were issued that the number of Indians should exactly correspond with the number of soldiers, that each Indian might have but one opponent.

On arriving at the fort Pontiac found the gates shut, and being much incensed at this he turned back with some of his men, went to a house standing on the Beaubien farm, and having massacred an English family there, proceeded to Hog Island, where Mr. and Mrs. Fisher fell victims to their barbarity.

About this time Pontiac's followers were in the habit of killing the cattle and hogs belonging to the French inhabitants, and of committing many other depredations. They were distributed in the different houses along the the strait and were masters wherever they went. The old French people solicited the favor of a council with the chief and it was granted. They stated to him the ruinous consequences which must follow the course pursued by his men and begged him to put a stop to it. He promised to do so, but told them that the inhabitants must submit to the exaction of specific contributions during the continuance of the war, for the support of the Indians. This being the least of two evils the French acceded, and when Pontiac ordered one to furnish a few quintals of flour, another an ox or a cow, they were given without hesitation, even though the loss should produce want in the family.

From this time the savages ceased to trouble them, unless by permission of their leader; and so completely did he control them that they did not even cross the fields of the inhabitants, but always traveled on the road or in the woods.

From the time of the failure of Pontiac to get into the fort, the Indians, composed of the Chippewas, Potawatamies, Hurons (Wyandots), and in fact all the surrounding tribes, were in the vicinity of the fort, to the number of about three thousand. They commenced a siege of the fort, and small parties were employed in surrounding it and firing into it, but without doing much injury.

Soon after the commencement of the siege, Pontiac directed Thomas Gouin, the father of the narrator, to go to Mr. Bouquette, the Catholic Priest, and demand of him, if God would prevent him (Pontiac) from gaining the contest in case, he should set fire, by means of an arrrow attached to some punk and tow, to the French church, which was situated nearer the pickets inclosing the fort than any other building, and the burning of which would have given them an entrance.

Mr. Gouin, without going to the Priest, told Pontiac that God would be highly offended at such a step, and it was thereupon relinquished.

Nothing very important occurred between the besiegers and the besieged for some time. Pontiac permitted the French people to visit the citadel for the purpose of saying mass on Sunday, but on other days of the week he suffered none to go there, except Mr. Gouin, Mr. Chovin, and a few others whom he thought secure in his interests and from whom he hoped to gain information of things passing within, from time to time.

At length Major Campbell heard that a reinforcement which he expected had been cut off, and he began to despair.

Whether Pontiac knew this is not certain, but he sent a messenger to him desiring him to meet Pontiac at the house of Mr. Quyêriés, then on the farm owned at this present writing (1824) by Major Antoine Dequindre, where he promised to propose the terms of a peace which should be satisfactory to the garrison.

Hearing of this proposition and aware of the design of Pontiac, Mr. Gouin sent Mr. Chovin to inform Major Campbell that Pontiac only wanted to get him in his power, and had no idea of holding a council with him. Mr. Campbell told the messenger that he was determined to go, and Chovin returned. Mr. Gouin sent Chovin again, who, meeting Major Campbell just outside the fort on his way to Pontiac, again entreated him not to put himself in the power of the savages, but the Major was too confident. He arrived at the house of Mr. Quyêriés, and had no sooner seated himself than he was declared the prisoner of Pontiac. Mr. McDougall, an officer under Major Campbell, who had generously accompanied him, was also taken into custody.

The two prisoners were taken from this place to the house of Mr. Louis Campau, where Gabriel Chêne now lives, where they were put into a room, and Pontiac ordered the family to treat them well, particularly Major Campbell as a great chief. They had no body guard, but Indians were all about the house, and it was impossible for them to escape.

They had not remained here long before Pontiac thought they were too near the town, and caused them to be removed to the house of Mr. Meloche at Bloody Run, where they were treated by Pontiac's express orders as they had been at Mr. Campau's.

During the summer, and while Major Campbell was yet at the house of Mr. Meloche, Pontiac had notice of the expectation of thirty-two barges, loaded with merchandise and money for the payment of the troops. He sent parties out to watch and, in the night, while the Englishmen were in camp on Point au Pelée on Lake Erie, the savages rushed upon them, and having massacred a majority, reserved the rest, two or three men for each boat, to navigate them. Each barge was occupied by the rowers with a guard

of Indians, many of whom were drunk. In this way they ascended the Detroit river, keeping on the shore opposite the fort. When they came opposite the fort the boats were fired upon by a vessel which was anchored in the river, and also from the fort, but without effect. The opposite shore was lined with Indians who returned the fire upon the boat and killed some of the men. As the rear barge, which contained three rowers and an Indian, came opposite the vessels, the steersman proposed to one of the rowers to attempt to throw the Indian overboard, and make for the vessel. But this man thought himself too weak to accomplish it and the steersman told him that they would exchange places, as was common with them, and in passing the Indian he would put him overboard. They did so and the steersman caught the Indian and succeeded in putting him out of the boat, but the latter drew his knife and hanging upon the side of the boat with one hand clenched in the clothes of the steersman, he stabbed him and drew him into the water. He then attempted to get into the boat, but one of the others struck him on the head with an oar and he was so disabled that he had to swim ashore.

In the meantime the firing from the vessel continued and the two men were encouraged to persevere. The Indians redoubled their vigorous fire, in which one of the remaining men had his arm broken and the boat would have finally been lost had it not been for the ship's boat, which arrived in time to rescue and assist them to the vessel.

The remaining barges, thirty-one in number, proceeded up the river and crossed to the house of Mr. Meloche, where Pontiac and his Ottawas were encamped. The barges were landed and the Indian women, having arranged themselves in two rows with clubs and sticks, the prisoners were taken out one by one and told to run the gauntlet to Pontiac's lodge. Of sixty-six prisoners brought to the shore, sixty-four ran the gauntlet and were all killed. One of the remaining two, who had his thigh broken in the firing from the shore, and who was tied to his seat and compelled to row, had become by this time so much exhausted that he could not help himself.

He was thrown out of the boat and killed with clubs. The other, when directed to run to the lodge, suddenly fell upon his knees in the water, and having dipped his hands into the water, made the sign of the cross upon his forehead and breast and darted out into the stream. An expert swimmer from the Indians followed him, and, having overtaken him, seized him by the hair, and, crying out, "You seem to love water; now you shall have enough of it!" he stabbed the poor fellow, who sank, to rise no more.

Mr. Gouin, the narrator, was an eye-witness of the landing and massacre of these men. Jacques Lapelle, a Frenchman, and one of the crew, was saved. He was the father to the Lapelles, of River Raisin.

Shortly after the capture of these barges, the Indians got very drunk, and Mr. McDougall took the opportunity to escape to the fort. Major Campbell was solicited to do the same, but he said he had given his "parole d'honneur" to General Pontiac, and he refused to return.

About this time, the garrison, accompanied by some Canadians who had remained in the fort during the siege, made a sortie, and on the common, back of the fort, they killed an Ottawa chief, from Mackinac, after which they mangled his body; indeed, cut it in pieces. This so exasperated the Indians that they demanded of Pontiac the life of Major Campbell in return.

The Major was delivered to the Indians, Pontiac stating at the time that if the Indian chief had merely been killed, he would not have surrendered him, but that his body had been so inhumanly butchered that he could not refuse his followers so just a demand. He expressed a great deal of regret at being obliged to do this.

Mr. Gouin, our narrator, was not present at the surrender of Major Campbell, but he heard that the Indians, after procuring Pontiac's permission, went to the house of Mr. Meloche, where they seized the Major and took him to the small bridge, near the house now owned by Colonel Benfait, where they bound him to a post, and having cut off his lips with a knife, they set the boys to work to shoot him with arrows. During all this time the Indians were running about him, crying, "See how our father laughs!" Some days after his death Mr. Gouin saw his body, merely the trunk, headless and limbless, floating down the river. It was taken up by the inhabitants and buried at the small run, near Judge Witherell's house, where it remained four years, when the officers collected the bones and removed them to the citadel, where they were re-interred under three pear trees.

Major Gladwin, who was cousin of Major Campbell's, and who was his successor in command, as Mr. Gouin thinks, declared his determination to avenge the death of the Major, and expecting to find the Indians still under the influence of the liquor taken from the barge, he marched out of the fort at the head of about three hundred men.

A little before daylight he arrived with the advanced guard at the house of Mr. Gouin, sen., where the narrator now lives. He saw Mr. Gouin out of doors, and demanded if any Indians were at the house. He answered in the negative, and Major Gladwin left a sentinel at an oven near the house. Thence he proceeded cautiously to the house of Mr. Quyériés, where he left another sentinel in the garret. At Mr. Miniér's (Judge Witherell's present residence) he placed another in the upper room, and at Mr. Jacques Campau's another. Soon after the Major passed, the noise of musketry was

heard at Mr. Gouin's house, and continued until the return of the retreating troops, who were not more than eighty or ninety in number.

The Indians had left their encampment and entrenched themselves behind the pickets and wood as described by Mrs. Meloche. The troops were marching in columns when they arrived at what is now called Bloody Bridge, and supposing that the Indians were drunk, or asleep, they continued the same order of march on the bridge. A heavy fire opened on the front column and cut it down. Another pressed forward and met the same fate, and the passage by the bridge having been unsuccessfully attempted several times, the troops began to retreat, marching backward and fighting until they reached the place now occupied by Col. Edwards, when the Indians, who had followed on the inside of the pickets, ceased firing, and the soldiers resumed a regular march.

They did not lose many men in the retreat. The last persons killed were seven soldiers who had stolen from the column in the march upward and entered the house of Mr. Jacques Campau, at the little chapel, where they found a traveling box belonging to Lapelle, who was in the barges, and they got drunk upon the liquor contained in it. The Indians returning, fired and killed them.

The dead and wounded were not left on the field, but as the force retreated were put into the boats—and some were carried by the soldiers. One wounded officer was carried from Mr. Gouin's in a chair.

Major Gladwin * was killed in the action, just as the retreat commenced, by an Indian named Geeyette, who said that the Major was far in the rear of the troops when retreating and beckoned to this Indian to come near. But seeing a pistol in his hand he made signs to him to drop it. This the Major refused to do, and Geeyette fired and killed him. Geeyette was Pontiac's brother-in-law.

When the party reached the fort a gun was fired at some Indians who were seated about half a mile distant, resting themselves. One Indian was killed and another wounded.

Two gun-boats accompanied the party up the river.

The Indians continued to surround the fort after the battle, strong in the hope of reducing the garrison to starvation and, of course, capitulation. Pontiac made frequent proposals to this effect, and the commanding officer was disposed to trust to them, but the French people who were in the fort assured him that no dependence could be placed upon the mercy of the Indians.

The garrison was supplied from time to time with provisions by the in-

* He probably refers to Capt. Dalzell, who led the expedition and was killed.—C. C. T.

habitants, who floated down the river in canoes to the schooner, having a small lantern which they exhibited as a signal to the naval officer. Dark, foggy nights were selected for this purpose, and thus the garrison was supplied for about two months after the battle, when the Indians, finding that so far from reducing the garrison to starvation they were themselves starving, proposed to Pontiac to make peace. He refused to go to any council for the purpose, but told the chiefs that as necessity compelled them to abandon the siege, he would not only consent to it, but advised them to do so. Accordingly he sent Geeyette with a great number of chiefs, who signed a treaty and separated to return to their respective homes.

But before setting out to go to the Miami, whither Pontiac retired, he told the French people that although they could not overpower the British, it would be bad policy to give them any lands, and he ordered Mr. Gouin, the father of our narrator, who was a surveyor, to accompany him up and down the strait, marking off two or three acres for each of his Canadian friends. The *cote du nord est* was given to the French by Pontiac, and the *cote des Poux* by the Potawatamies.

From Miami Pontiac went to Fort Chartres, on the Illinois. In a few years the British, who had possession of the fort, procured an Indian of the Peoria nation to kill him. The news spread like lightning through the country. The Indians assembled in great numbers, attacked and destroyed all the Peorias except about thirty families, which were received into the fort. These soon began to increase, they removed to the Wabash and were about to settle when the Northern Indians collected in the winter, surrounded their villages and killed the whole, excepting a few children who were saved as prisoners. Old Mr. Gouin was there at the time. He was a trader, and when the attack commenced was ordered by the Indians to shut his house and not suffer a Peoria to enter.

The vessel mentioned by Mrs. Meloche was the only one at the fort during the whole siege. It was there at the commencement of the siege and formed the only guard in front of the town, there being no pickets on the water side.

Pontiac was anxious to set fire to this, that he might enter the fort in that way. This he attempted by constructing a raft on Parent's Creek, upon which a great quantity of old bark and other combustible matter was piled up loosely. Then a few desperate men got upon the raft in a dark night, and having guided it to the vessel and attached it there, they set fire in a great many places at the same time. The vessel was only relieved from this imminent danger by cutting the cables and towing her down stream. But

before Pontiac was informed of the success of his scheme, a fair wind sprang up and she returned to her anchorage.

He had attempted this before, but the raft was badly constructed and not manned, and the fire became extinguished before reaching the vessel.

During the siege Wanson, a Chippewa chief, and party attacked a gun-boat at Windmill Point and pursued it in small bark canoes until it reached the fort. They did not succeed in capturing the boat, as the men were covered by a deck and could only be shot through the port-holes. Mr. Sterling, a merchant, had volunteered to command the boat. Wanson managed so well that he did not lose a man in the battle.

The only Indians killed in the Pontiac War were the Mackinac chief and the Wyandotte before mentioned.

MR. GABRIEL ST. AUBIN'S ACCOUNT.

Mr. St. Aubin is 76 years old. He was fifteen years old at the time of the Pontiac War, and lived three miles above the old town of Detroit.

Pontiac designed the attack on Mackinac, Fort Wayne and Detroit on the same day. The time appointed for this bold stroke was the ninth of May, 1763.

The entrance was effected into the fort at Mackinac without exciting the suspicions of the commanding officer. The Indians collected around the fort to play at ball, and at a time appointed, one of them threw the ball over the pickets. The opposite party rushed into the fort to secure the ball, and all the others followed, to the great amazement of the commanding officer, who was looking on. When they had all entered the fort the yell was given, and the Indians, with their guns, which had been sawed off, and concealed under their blankets, and with their tomahawks and knives, immediately attacked the garrison, and put everyone to death excepting the commanding officer, who was brought to Detroit in a bark canoe by a priest named LePere Dejaunais, and six Canadian voyageurs.

Fort Wayne, it is said, was taken in the same manner, and the commanding officer made prisoner. On the 8th of May, 1763, Mr. St. Aubin's mother, who spoke the Indian dialects fluently, crossed to the opposite side of the river, and went to the Ottawa village for the purpose of exchanging some bread with the Indians for sugar and grease, as was customary in those days.

In visiting the different lodges she was surprised to see the Indians

employed in sawing off their guns. She demanded the reason but received no satisfaction. They merely told her that the guns were more convenient in that form and were thought to shoot better. She returned to her home, and on the following morning went to Mr. LaButte, her cousin and an interpreter in the fort, and related to him what she had seen. Mr. LaButte answered that a rumor already existed that the Indians intended to attack the fort, that the commandant, Major Gladwin, who had been at the post but seven or eight days, and had come to relieve Major Campbell, would not believe the report, but that the circumstances which she, Mrs. St. Aubin, had just related, convinced him the danger was near.

Mr. LaButte went to Major Gladwin and informed him of what he had just heard from Mrs. St. Aubin, but the commandant would not believe anything of it until he saw the Indians crossing the river in great numbers. He then proposed to Mr. LaButte to shut the gates of the fort, but the latter suggested that the Indians would probably propose to hold a council, and that it would be expedient to suffer a few of the principal chiefs to enter, and then accuse them of their treachery. Accordingly, when the Indians came and requested permission to enter and talk with their father, none but Pontiac, Mukeetaa Pinaasee (the Blackbird), Neewish and Waubinema were permitted to go in.

They met their father, and the Blackbird, who was Pontiac's principal aide-de-camp, commenced a speech, holding in his hand the speech bag, from which he was about to draw a belt of white wampum, when LaButte stepped up to him, seized the bag, drew forth a war belt, painted red, and on the spot accused him of his treacherous designs. The Indians denied the assertion, but they were immediately escorted to the gate by a guard, and dismissed. At the gates the chiefs met their warriors and having consulted a few minutes they rushed back on the common to the house of an old woman who made butter and cheese, and they massacred the whole family. This house was situated in what is now (1824) the center of the common, and the place is to this day called Le champ-de-la vielle.

From this place they crossed to the island, where they attacked and murdered the family of Mr. Fisher, saving only one little girl, who was taken afterwards to Saginaw. After doing this, they returned to the village on the opposite side of the river. On the following day they returned to Hog Island and killed three hundred head of cattle belonging to the government, and carried the beef back to their village.

The next day they broke up their encampment and began to cross the river, but a fire was opened upon them from the fort, which killed one person and obliged them to return from the shore, where they remained until

night, when they crossed and fixed their camp at the house of Mr. Meloche, at Bloody Run, then, and sometimes now, called La Riviere au Parent, from the name of the first settler.

From their encampment at Parent's Creek, Pontiac and his warriors went to the fort, where they remained for the space of eight days, keeping up an almost continual fire. But finding this wholly ineffectual, Pontiac went to Jacques Godfroy (the father of old Colonel Godfroy) and Minnie Chêne, two interpreters, who had left the fort at the commencement of the siege, by permission of the commander, and ordered them to go to the fort and desire Major Gladwin to send out two of his officers to his encampment to hold a council. The interpreters waited upon the commander, who refused, and they returned to the chief. "Go again," said Pontiac, "and as you know me to be true, tell the commandant that no injury shall be done to the officers. Nay, if necessary, you may pledge, in my behalf, body for body, for their safe return."

The interpreters returned to the fort with this message from Pontiac, and Major Campbell, who had no command, having surrendered the post to Major Gladwin, together with Mr. MacDougall (supposed to be a captain) volunteered to go out and meet Pontiac. They found him in camp at the house of Meloche, of which he had taken possession, having converted it into a storehouse for his provisions, which he caused to be regularly issued to the Indians by a Parisian Frenchman whom he pressed into his service.

They did not go through the ceremony of a council at this place, but Pontiac detained the officers, expecting that Major Gladwin would surrender the fort. He gave them a neat little chamber in the rear of the house and ordered them to be treated with the greatest attention and respect.

During the summer, in the months of July and August, Pontiac heard that a number of batteaux were expected up the lake, and he dispatched parties of warriors to watch the different points near the head of Lake Erie, where the voyageurs were accustomed to encamp. Point au Pelée on Lake Erie was a favorite haunt for these scouting parties, and at three different times during July and August they met considerable numbers of batteaux there, killed all the men excepting a steersman and two rowers for each batteau, and, having compelled them to bring the boats up the river, they crossed to their encampment, where the men, being compelled to run the gauntlet, were killed by the Indians. Mr. St. Aubin does not recollect the number of barges taken in this manner, but he saw the Creek crowded with the boats.

After the capture of the last party of barges, the encampment was removed

to the little run below Van Every's, about two miles above Parent's Creek. But the Indians still loitered about Meloche's house, and the provisions continued to be issued there.

Sometime in the month of August, MacDougall proposed to Major Campbell to attempt their escape. The Major hesitated, on account of his age and imperfect vision, fearing that he might be met and overtaken, but at the same time advised MacDougall to try and get away. He did so and reached the fort in safety.

In the same month of August, Major Gladwin, finding that every attempt to re-inforce the garrison by means of batteaux, was defeated by Pontiac, who caused them to be intercepted, sent the Beaver, a small armed schooner, which was lying at the fort, to Niagara for troops. She returned in the same month, bringing three hundred troops, who were stowed in the vessel and three small boats alongside. This was the only reinforcement which reached the fort that season.

At twelve o'clock in the night succeeding the arrival of this detachment, the troops composing it, headed by their commanding officer, whose name Mr. St. Aubin did not learn, marched out of the fort, with a view to attack the Indians in their encampment. He was accompanied by Messrs. Chapaton and St. Martin as guides. Major Gladwin did not accompany this party.

Pontiac, who had redoubled his vigilance upon the arrival of the vessel, received information from his spies, of their departure from the fort, and immediately formed an ambuscade on the upper banks of Parent's Creek, behind the pickets of a fence.

The troops marched up the river in the old river road, and a part of them had crossed the bridge, when a heavy fire opened upon them from the pickets, and after maintaining the fight twenty or thirty minutes, the British troops were compelled to retreat. The commandant was killed in the retreat, and his head was placed upon the pickets at the farm of Chêne, above the town. Mr. St. Aubin went to the battle ground in the morning, and saw upon the bridge a great number of dead bodies. They were so numerous that he could not cross the bridge. He supposes that there were about a hundred. Only seventeen returned to the fort.

The principal Indian encampment was at this time at Grand Marais, but an advanced guard was established at Meloche's.

Two batteaux, arranged like gunboats, accompanied the detachment, but St. Aubin does not think that the troops secured the dead and wounded in their retreat.

About nine o'clock on the morning after the battle, Pontiac sent for the

the Canadians near the bridge. "Take these boats of mine, which lie in the creek," said he, "put these British dogs into them, and convey them to the fort." The inhabitants, pleased at the opportunity, obeyed the orders with alacrity, and the dead were all buried in the cellar of Mr. Sterling, near where Baker's shop now is.

Soon after the battle Pontiac told his men that they could not expect to compel the garrison to surrender, so long as that vessel was at hand to bring them reinforcements. And the Indians set themselves at work to destroy her. They pulled down the barns of the inhabitants, and made rafts of the logs, and then attempted several times to set the vessel on fire, but without success. At length the commandant determined to send her to Niagara, as the only means of saving her. She set sail, and the Indians, supposing she was going for more troops, followed her in canoes. They fired upon the vessel, and attempted to board her, and when the schooner reached Turkey Island, near Malden, only three of the crew were left.

In the meantime the commandant had learned by Mr. Jadeau, a Canadian, of the situation of the vessel, and sent to her two batteaux, armed like gunboats. These coming up, the Indians ceased their pursuit and the vessel escaped.

In the attack upon the vessel the Indians were so near that many of them were burned by the powder from the ship's guns.

Mr. Gouin states that this vessel was absolutely necessary to the defence of the fort. Mr. St. Aubin denies this, and says that the fort was well defended by pickets on the water side as it was on all others.

Sometime after the departure of the vessel the Indians became impatient, and expressed the desire to Pontiac either to take the fort or abandon the siege. He drew up a party in the rear of the fort and began to fire upon it. The fire was returned, and in a short time an Ottawa chief from Mackinac, fighting by the side of Pontiac, was killed. His brother who fought with him, stole from the party and repaired to the house of Meloche, where he inquired for the great British chief. The family told him that he had walked out, as he had been in the habit of doing for some time. The Indian left the house in search of him, and met him between the present residences of Meldrum and Benfait, walking leisurely in the road. He drew his tomahawk and killed him.

When Pontiac heard of this he proceeded hastily to the spot, and not finding the murderer, he dispatched warriors in all directions to take him, but apprehending the pursuit, the Indian had fled to Saginaw, whence he went immediately to Mackinac. Pontiac was at first much enraged, and after-

ward expressed great sorrow on account of the pledge for his safety which he had authorized Godfroy and Chêne to give the commandant.

Mr. St. Aubin states that his recollection of these circumstances is clear and that Mr. Gouin must certainly be mistaken.

Godfroy and Chêne were sent for by the commandant after Major Campbell's death, and were confined to the fort until the departure of the vessel, when they were sent as prisoners to Niagara.

The season being far advanced, Major Gladwin observed to Monsieur Pilette, a Frenchman who was very intimate with him as well as Pontiac, that he could not think of standing the siege through the winter as he had but sixty-one men, and the garrison was in want of provisions and ammunition. On the same day Mr. Pilette met Pontiac, who told him the Indians were impatient, in want of provisions and desirous of returning to their hunting grounds, and that the next day was fixed for their departure; that they intended to remain in their hunting grounds during the winter and to return in the spring to renew the siege.

Mr. Pilette, having satisfied himself of the truth of this statement, went, on the following morning, to the fort, where he found the baggage prepared and deposited near the water gate of the fort. He waited upon Major Gladwin, who told him that on the succeeding night he intended to embark, and leave the fort to the besiegers.

He related the conversation which he had had with Pontiac, and suggested to the Major that the crops had been tolerable, and that he could purchase provisions of the inhabitants for the subsistence of the troops until spring. Major Gladwin was much pleased at the intelligence. He ordered the baggage to be unpacked, and soon had the pleasure to learn that the Indians were departing.

No communication was had between the commandant and Pontiac, and he and his followers departed without making a peace.

Early in the spring a reinforcement of eighty or a hundred men arrived in batteaux.

About the usual time of leaving their hunting grounds, Pontiac and a number of Indians came in. He had sent a peace belt to all the different Indian villages during the winter, and one also to Major Gladwin. Of course when he arrived in the spring he found the way open to a peace, and immediately after his arrival a council was held and peace was agreed upon.

This occurred before the arrival of General Bradstreet, who came in the latter part of the summer, or in the fall, with a large body of troops.

During the preceding winter, the inhabitants understood that an impression was entertained by the British government that the Canadians had sus-

tained the Indians in the war, and having no means of removing the impression, they feared that a large force would be sent to exterminate them. Accordingly, they employed themselves in constructing large pirogues, with a design to remove their families to the Wabash. But Major Gladwin communicated to the commanding officer below his acknowledgments of the assistance received from the inhabitants, and informed them that they could remain with safety.

When General Bradstreet arrived he dispatched Captain Rogers, with twenty-two boats, to Mackinac, and he detailed the militia of the country, four in each boat, to accompany the detachment as rowers. Mr. St. Aubin was one of those engaged. He was then seventeen years old. They arrived so late at Mackinac that Rogers thought it imprudent to send the Frenchmen back that fall; but the latter said they would try it, and, if stopped by the ice, would secure the boats and continue their journey by land. They had the good fortune, however, to reach Detroit in safety.

Very few Indians were killed during the war. An Ottawa, before mentioned, and a Wyandotte (by a cannon ball) were the only persons whom St. Aubin knew to be killed on that side.

MR. JACQUES PARENT'S ACCOUNT.

Mr. Parent is eighty-three years old. He was on the opposite side of the river at the commencement of siege, and in the fort, where he remained two months, when he obtained permission of the commandant to cross the river for the purpose of assisting his father to harvest his grain.

On the 9th of May, 1763, Pontiac crossed from his encampment and murdered an English family in the rear of the fort and another on Hog Island. This was the commencement of the war. The Indians besieged the fort a few days and then Pontiac sent to demand of Major Gladwin, who had a short time previous relieved Major Campbell of the command, to send some of his officers to the house of Mr. Quyêriés, to hold a council. Major Campbell stated that it was perhaps proper that he should go, and, accompanied by Mr. MacDougall, he left the fort and proceeded to the house appointed, where they were made prisoners and were committed to the care of the French people. They were sometimes at the house of Mr. Quyêriés, sometimes at that of Mr. Jacques Campau, and at others at Mr. Meloche's at Parent's Creek.

Previous, however, to killing these families, Pontiac, with a considerable number of Indians, entered the fort, with their arms concealed, and commenced dancing the pipe dance before the house of Major Gladwin. They contemplated making their stroke upon the garrison, but, observing some alterations and preparations which indicated a knowledge of their designs, they were afraid to undertake it, notwithstanding they were attended by a great force without, waiting impatiently for the signal to rush in, the gates being open.

Parent saw them dance. The commandant was not present. No council was held; but after dancing at a number of houses, the Indians went out and committed the massacre before mentioned.

Pontiac told Parent that intimations of his design had been given to the commandant through an old squaw, who had communicated them to some Pawnee wenches in the fort, and that he had given the squaw a severe beating with his crosse (a stick used in playing ball) for her treachery.

Immediately after the commencement of the siege Pontiac removed his village across the river and encamped on Parent's Creek, near the residence of Mr. Meloche.

In the month of June or July an officer, who had wintered in the fort and gone to Niagara in the spring, was returning with reinforcements in a number of barges. They were met at Point au Pelée, where most of them were killed, and the boats, with the survivors, were brought up the river. They ascended on the opposite shore, and, when they reached a point opposite the fort, the men in the three hindmost boats formed the bold design of turning to a vessel which was anchored near the fort. They were opposed by the Indians who were in the boats, but fortunately the number of savages in them was smaller than in any of the others, and the boats succeeded in reaching the vessel. The others were taken to Pontiac's village, and, together with their commanding officer, Captain Corél, were killed. These boats contained a quantity of provisions and ammunition, which formed a fine prize for the chief.

When the siege commenced there were but sixty men in the fort. After the arrival of the barges the vessels went below and brought up a reinforcement. Their uniform was green, and the Canadians called them the green regiment. The commanding officer's name was something like Oganse. A general also accompanied it.

Some days after the arrival of this detachment Mr. Parent left the fort and crossed the river, and not long after this the battle was fought. He knows nothing of this battle, except that he visited the bridge and road, and

saw a great number of dead bodies, and afterwards heard that they were taken to the fort and buried.

A cessation of hostilities took place, but no peace was made that fall.

It was hard to tell whether there was peace or war for nearly a year, when Gen. Bradstreet arrived with a body of troops. It was then understood that some communication was had with the Indians.

Soon after this Mr. Parent went with some Canadians, commanded by Capt. Jadeau, to Fort Wayne, to demand of the Indians their reason for killing the whites in the country. When they landed they found about a hundred Indians there, and were immediately taken prisoners, but were soon sent back to Detroit. Pontiac was at this time in Illinois, where Parent saw him.

Parent understood that peace was not made till 1765, when Pontiac went with an interpreter to Niagara.

When Parent returned from Illinois he met Pontiac, who desired to be remembered to the commandant at Detroit. Two years after he understood that Pontiac was killed in a drunken affray by an Illinois Indian, who, as report said, was employed by the British government.

MR. PETTIER'S ACCOUNT.

Mr. Pettier will be seventy-eight years old on the 15th of January, 1825.

At the time of the battle of Bloody Bridge, Mr. Pettier was at his father's house, where Judge Leid now lives. At the commencement of the battle he was upon the roof of the house, with Mr. Dufour, but soon became afraid and descended.

Some days before the battle, the Indians went from house to house in the Canadian settlement, to borrow files, for the purpose of cutting off their guns. They declined giving any satisfaction to those who inquired what use they could put their guns to after being cut off.

Pontiac's designs were made known to the commandant by an old woman chief, named Catherine. And when Pontiac heard of this, or rather when he heard that she had crossed alone from the opposite side of the fort, he sent two young men for her, being informed by an Indian who saw her with Mr. LaButte, the interpreter, that she had no doubt crossed with a view to reveal to the commandant the designs of the chief.

When the two messengers had found Catherine, they took her to the

opposite side, where Pontiac was engaged, with all his warriors from both sides of the river, playing a game of ball. He accused her of her fault, and having beaten her very harshly with his crosse (ball stick), he left her almost dead, and went away. On the following day, Pontiac, with his Indians, in about three hundred canoes, crossed the river and found the gates of the fort shut. He met Mr. LaButte, Major Campbell and Mr. MacDougall without the fort. "Well," said he to them, "the gates are shut." "Yes," said LaButte, "we are aware of your treacherous designs and you cannot enter." "Very well," returned the chief, "then those who are in the fort must stay there, As for you, and you, and you," pointing to each of them, "you are prisoners."

Then some of his young men, sent by him, went to the house of an old woman, on the common, and killed her, her seven children and all her cows.

Pontiac sent the prisoners to Mr. Louis Campau's (at the little chapel, on the bank of the river, above the fort). They were put into the hands of the Canadians, and soon after were sent to the house of Meloche.

From Campau's the Indians went to Hog Island, where they killed a part of Fisher's family, consisting of himself and wife, and thirty soldiers, who were employed in building a house for the government; but saved two girls (children of Fisher), and a servant as prisoners.

The Ottawas encamped on Parent's Creek, in the rear of the house of Meloche, the Potawatamies went below the fort, and the Chippewas were near Benfait's (above the fort two and a half miles).

Two hundred head of cattle belonging to the government were killed on Hog Island. Mr. Pettier's father obtained permission from Pontiac to take the two children of Fisher to the fort to their uncle, but the servant woman he kept for a servant to his squaw.

Mr. Pettier's father and some other Canadians went over to Hog Island, with Pontiac's permission, to bury the dead. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher were put into the same grave. On the following day they crossed again, and passing the grave saw the hand of Fisher sticking out through the earth. They buried it. A few days after it was again discovered. They informed Le Pere Simple, a Catholic priest. He went there and made some prayers at the grave, re-interred the hand, and it did not re-protrude.

Pontiac continued to send his warriors to the fort, where they kept up a constant fire, day and night. The commandant was alarmed, but LaButte, Baby, Bondie and Reaume went to him, told him to have courage, that they knew the Indian character and that the siege could not last long, and proposed to guarantee the delivery of provisions in the fort.

About three weeks after the commencement of the siege the chief heard

of the arrival of a small vessel containing stores. He wanted ammunition and hoped to procure some cannon. A large party went down to Turkey Island (Fighting Island), where they made an intrenchment, and having put their canoes in the woods, waited the arrival of the vessel. She came up, and unfortunately, as she neared the island, the wind fell and she cast anchor. The canoes were immediately got out, and the Indians attempted to board her, which they had almost accomplished, there being but three of the crew and the captain left, when the latter cried out to one of his men to fire the magazine. An old prisoner among the Huron Indians understood the order and cried out to the Indians to save themselves. They hastened from the vessel, and providentially a wind sprang up and brought them to the fort.

About fifteen days after the arrival of the vessel, the chief issued his orders, and the Indians made rafts at Grand Marais of the houses and barns of the Canadians, and attempted to destroy her by means of fire. Two rafts, covered with combustible materials, were attached together by means of a rope, and were intended to run on opposite sides of the vessel. The guide set fire to the rafts when they had reached within twenty rods of the vessel, and swam ashore. The watch discovered the rafts. All hands were summoned, and the vessel hastily carried into the stream, the rafts passing within less than twenty feet.

A few days after this Pontiac made a great feast, and invited all the Canadians. They went, and ate. When they had done he proposed to them to join him, and take up arms against the British. They explained to him the nature of the late cession, and of their oaths not to take up arms against the British, and he excused them.

During the summer Pontiac kept large parties of Indians on the lake to intercept all boats coming up; and in the course of the siege he took from thirty to forty.

Mr. Pettier recollects that a few weeks after the feast the Indians took eight barges, killed a part of the men at Point aux Pins, and brought twenty-three to their encampment, where they were killed by the Indian women. These eight were loaded with merchandise and liquor. Five days after this five other barges were taken at *Petite côte,* and the men all killed as the others had been, or by the Indians with their bows. One man belonging to this party was stolen from the Indians by Mr. Bondie, who had dispatched for that purpose, concealed in his canoe, and brought to the fort.

A few days after this two barges were taken, and were ascending the river. The rear one had in it two whites and an Indian. As they came opposite the vessel, the men resolved to save themselves if possible. One of

them drew his oar, struck the savage down, and turned for the vessel. They rowed hard, but the opposite bank was lined with forty or fifty Indians, who kept up a constant fire upon them. One of the men was killed, but the other took both oars and succeeded in reaching the vessel with his companion and the Indian both dead.

Before these boats were taken five batteaux ascended the river three miles. The Indians suffered them to pass, and then followed them in canoes. The boats found it impossible to cope with the great force against them and returned to the fort, having killed only one Indian.

Sometime after this the vessel went up as far as Parent's Creek, firing upon the shore, but they did not kill any.

No sortie was made, nor anything important occurred until August.

Mr. Pettier was absent for some time just before the battle of the bridge, in search of some horses of his father. He does not know anything about the arrival of reinforcements before the battle, nor does he know how many troops were in the fort at the commencement of the siege.

About ten or eleven o'clock on the night preceding the battle, about five hundred men, under the command of an *aide of Major Gladwin*, marched up the river on the old river road to Parent's Creek, accompanied by three batteaux, containing twenty or thirty men. Some of the spies reported that the troops had gone by way of the woods, and most of the Indians rushed in great haste to meet them. A small body of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five men were left at the house of Francois Meloche, above the bridge, and Francois Meloche,* below the bridge, at both of which places they were intrenched behind pickets.

They did not fire until the troops reached the middle of the bridge, when a fire opened in front and rear. The most of the party from the woods did not arrive until the retreat commenced, though many of those who were near came up in time to give essential aid to the work of destruction on the bridge.

The battle commenced at about two or half-past two o'clock in the morning, and continued on the bridge only about twelve or fifteen minutes. Three discharges were made, and then the retreat commenced. The soldiers gained the neighboring houses, and continued the fire.

The men from the batteaux jumped from their boats upon the bridge and shore as the retreat commenced, and filled the boats with the dead and wounded. One canoe was also employed in this service, but a great many were left on the road. It was said that five hundred left the fort, and only forty returned. Of the dead many were found the next day by the Canadians in the orchards and front yards at the different farms, and were there

*There were two of the same name.—C. C. T.

buried. No bodies were left on the bridge by the retreating troops. Mr. St. Aubin must be mistaken about seeing one hundred there the day after the battle. Pontiac had no boats there, he had sold some to the Indians, given some away, and employed some in his scouting parties.

The last troops killed in the retreat were at Mr. Campau's. The pursuit stopped at Gouin's, the Indians fearing the cannon of the fort, and the troops re-entered the fort about nine o'clock A. M.

The siege continued about six weeks after the battle, the Indians keeping around the fort night and day, in small parties, and firing upon it, but without much effect.

The vessel was not considered absolutely necessary to the defence of the fort. She was generally anchored, however, before the water-gate. The fort was picketed entirely around with pickets, twelve [?] above the ground, except on the water side, where they were not quite so high, and smaller.

As the season was growing late, the Indians became desirous to go to their wintering grounds. They left the siege without holding any council, or sending any message to the commandant.

The vessel was at the fort when the siege was abandoned, and he thinks she wintered at the river Rouge.

The Indians all went back into the country, and sometime in the spring those who were near came in without Pontiac and made a peace.

Pontiac never came back. He went to Monguagon, Miami, Wabash and Illinois.

About three thousand Indians were collected during the siege.

In the following year Gen. Bradstreet arrived. He had been attacked at Pointe au Fort, near Point aux Pins, and afterwards at Sandusky. He defeated them at both places.

Some small parties commenced at Sandusky to make a peace, which was concluded at Detroit the same year. Pontiac was at neither of these councils. Gen. Bradstreet sent a detachment to Mackinac the same fall. Capt. Bondie, Capt. Campau and Capt. Drouillard went up with three companies of Canadian militia, of fifty men each, who returned the same fall, having assisted in building a small fort at Mackinac.

The garrison was never in want of provisions, as it was a rule to keep on hand nearly three years' provisions.

Mr. Pettier did not hear that they wanted ammunition at any time, though some of the boats taken by the Indians were said to contain military stores.

It was a fact that Pontiac prevented his Indians from destroying grain and cattle, and that he subjected the inhabitants to contributions of provisions at any time when he was in want.

Pontiac never rode on horseback. He made the old women at Pettier's cook for him whenever he was hungry, and so he did at other houses.

Pontiac was killed on the Illinois, two years after the war, by an Indian who had fallen in love with his wife. Pettier heard this account at the time.

PONTIAC'S INCURSIONS; THE MACKINAW MASSACRE AND THE BATTLE OF BLOODY BRIDGE.

NOTE.—In connection with the preceding documents, a copy of the following was furnished to Mr. Parkman, at the time he was writing his "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," and he thus speaks of the statement, and its author: "Maxwell was an English provincial, and pretended to have been a soldier under Gladwyn. His story belies the statement. It has all the air of a narrative made up from hearsay, and largely embellished from imagination. It has been made use of only in a few instances, where it is amply supported by less questionable evidence. This account seems to have been committed to paper by Maxwell himself, as the style is very rude and illiterate." The following is an exact copy.

MAJOR THOMPSON MAXWELL'S ACCOUNT OF THE INCURSIONS OF THE CHIEFTAIN PONTIACK, INCLUDING THE MASSACRE OF THE MACKINAW GARRISON, THE BATTLE OF BLOODY BRIDGE, AND SOME OBSERVATIONS OF THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE TERRITORY WHEN THOSE OCCURRENCES TOOK PLACE.

Maj. Maxwell came into the Territory of Michigan in 1761, Capt. of Provincial Rangers raised in Connecticut Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He arrived late in the fall of that year and remained until 1763. At that early period Detroit and Mackinaw were the only military ports. To monopolize the fur trade, the Northwest British Company had established trading houses at the river Raisin, Mackinaw, Chicago, and at the northwest extremity of Lake St. Clair a short distance up the river. A large French settlement had been formed along Detroit River as early as 1736. In the City of Detroit a number of French huts were erected some within and others without the pickets. With these exceptions the Territory was a wilderness. In August 1763 a body of indians amounting to 3000 from the Mississippi Illinois and their bordering regions, under the command of their Chief, Pontiack, had by strategem taken Mackinaw and massacred the garrison consisting of more than 100 French families. Under pretense of seeking a council they approached Detroit. Pontiac with 36 other Chiefs proposed a council to Maj. Gladen the British commandant with the view of

a treaty of peace and amity. The proposal was accepted and a day fixed for the assemblage. The night previous to the appointed day the horrid plot which Pontiack had formed to take and destroy this garrison was fortunately discovered in this manner. Maj. Gladden had sometime before employed a squaw to make him a pair of moccasons out of a beautiful elk skin.

That evening she finished them and brought them to him. Pleased with them he paid her amply and engaged another pair for a friend in England. She took the elk skin and went off, but wandered about within the garrison until after dark. No indian or squaw being permitted by the sentinels to be there after dark the officer of the day discovering her ordered her out. She offered him the elk skin and manifested a willingness to go. Knowing for what purpose she had received it, the officer refused to accept it but persisted in ordering her off. She obstinately refused to go unless he would take it. Surprised at her conduct the officer informed Maj. Gladden of what had passed, who then had her brought to him and asked the reason why she insisted upon returning the elk skin. She then said she should never be able to return it if she took it with her, and wonce tendered it and offered to be gone. Not yet satisfied with her answer Maj. G. asked her why she would never be able to return it. To this question she was silent Maj. G. insisting upon her answer and promising her perfect security she then disclosed to Gladden that Pontiac and his chiefs had cut their muskets about 18 inches in length, which they had consealed under their blankets, and intended, on being admitted into the council room, to fire upon him and his officers, throw open the gates and massacre the whole garrison. The garrison on this discovery was immediately under arms the lines were manned and continued so during the night. There were of the garrison in number 500 British troops and 170 Provincial Rangers. Of the indians under Pontiack there were about 3000. In the morning two files of rangers were placed from the gate to the council house. Through this double file Pontiack and his 30 chiefs passed to the council room. The house was surrounded by the British troops. As soon as they entered Pontiac asked Gladen why his young men were under arms, and observed that such was not the usual way of holding a council. An altercation on the custom followed. In the heat of it, Gladden accused Pontiac of treachery and ordered him to open his blanket. Thunderstruck at the charge Pontiac insisted upon retiring excusing the circumstance by saying tat they had no designs of using their guns unless they failed in their attempt to form a treaty. Gladden after some hesitation consented to their departure. The moment the gate was closed upon them they raised a loud yell and commenced the attack and continued night and day without interruption for

three days. During this time the garrison maintained a determined resistance without rest and with very little refreshment. The indians fired through the pickets, and often endeavored by rolling perint carts filled with straw, and by any possible means to burn them down. Two days more would have reduced the garrison to famine or capitulation. They had but four rounds of powder and scant two days' provisions. Thus reduced and desponding, a vessle laden with munitions and supplies hove in sight on the second day of the engagement but from contrary winds could not be brought to their relief. The indians hearing what she contained manned their canoes on the third day and boarded her. Capt. Golden satisfied that resistance would be fruitless ordered aloud that the vessle be blown up a captive white man (suspected to have been Adam Brown late of Brownston now of Malden) gave the indians to understand what Capt. Golden intended, they hurried away in great confusion. A fresh breeze soon after springing up the vessle was able to approach the fort under full sail. After she reached the warf which was protected by the guns of the fort, Pontiac gave up the siege, and the next morning was seen moving off. Capt. D'Ell of the British troops profered his services and braved all who dared to follow the indians. About four hundred British and the hundred and seventy Rangers to a man volunteered to pursue them under the command of Capt. D'Ell. Major Gladden unfortunately consented that they might go but would not order them. The British in solid column and the Rangers in files in their rear with sixty rounds to each man took up their line of march to Bloody Bridge. Pontiac observing their movements had placed himself and men in ambush on each side of the bridge, where they lay concealed in high grass until the main body of the British had crossed or was on the bridge. When the indians rose *en mass* and fired, Capt. D'Ell at the head, Major Campbell (a volunteer without command) Capt. Thompson and several other officers fell. Here a seine of carnage and butchery ensued that baffles description. In perfect desperation these brave but ill-fated men fought the indians for two hours. Nearly three hundred British and seventy-three Rangers were slain. Those few who had not crossed the Bridge struggled to make good their retreat. Every step they took was under the uplifted tomahawk. Each man had his personal antagonist. No one had time to load but fought the indians with the butt of his gun. Major Gladden finding that without timely assistance few could reach the Fort, sent out a party on the plain with some light field pieces and secured their retreat. Among those who survived was Major Maxwell. He and many others entered the Fort with the barrels of their guns only. He had been in personal contact with more than twenty indians without

receiving a wound! In this disasterous battle, besides the British and Rangers a great number of indians were among the killed. Thirty of the thirty-six chiefs fell. So distructive had been the conflect that the indians chose not to renew it but they drew off and soon sued for peace. A treaty was made reinforcements for the garrison arrived in the fall. And the period of service of the Rangers having expired Major Maxwell in Oct., of "'63" returned to Massachusetts, married and settled in New Hampshire and resided in that State until the revolution. When he entered upon that eventful theatre of valor and suffering, of patriotizm and of triumph he left a wife and five children and exchanged the indearments and comforts of home for the renewed hardships and privations of public service.

LETTERS.

NOTE.—The originals of the two following letters, which belong to the period embraced in the foregoing documents, are in possession of the Historical Society at Detroit. They have been translated for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, by Mr. Rudolph Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, of Jackson, Mich.

ARBRE CROCHE, June 21, 1763.

SIR:—I had the pleasure to receive your letter by the Indian who brought the two soldiers this morning.

Bearer of this goes to the fort to speak with the Sotue [Sauteux] and as he says that he has no wampum, you will furnish him with some wampum on the King's account. I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

To Mr. Langlade, Sen., GEORGE ETHERINGTON.
at Michilimackinac.

FROM MONTREAL, this 17th of July, 1763.

SIR:—The services which you have rendered to the king after the unfortunate surprise of the Fort Michilimackinac deserve my greatest thanks, [and] I cannot allow the Indians to depart, without [testifying] to you how much I am obliged to you for all you have done to save the lives of so many persons, by treating to have them delivered from out of the hands of the savages and

for having saved the peltry of several traders, who without this help would to-day be reduced to beggary.

I hope that the fort will soon be re-occupied by the King's [troops]. Until such time, all trading on the [Grand] river will be forbidden, and I pray you [urgently] to put affairs in the best order which shall be possible for you in the confusion you must be in at present, and please prevent as far as may depend upon you, that the Soteux have no powder. It is important for all nations to join you, to draw reason out of the perfidy and [treason] which the Soteux have been guilty of. They will be sustained by sufficient military force and by this means the war will be short, otherwise it might draw out lengthily, and in this case I am afraid other nations might take part in it for want of an abundant treaty. I send to you inclosed, a note which Monsieur Leslie has left with me. If it shall be possible for you to regain the papers in question, you will render a great service to a family of distinction.

Mr. Etherington has left here a few days ago to render account to General Amherst of all that has happened, and will not fail to render the justice which is due to you and to the Rev. Father Dejaunay. I have the honor to be with much esteem, sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

THOS. GAGE.

Mr. Langlade.

FATHER MARQUETTE AND THE EARLY JESUITS OF MICHIGAN.

BY C. I. WALKER.

From the time when the footsteps of the white man first penetrated the forests of our commonwealth, until the power of France on our continent was terminated by the victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, the entire Territory of Michigan was under the undisputed dominion of France, and virtually it remained a part of Canada until 1796, when, under the provision of Jay's Treaty, it was surrendered to the United States. From France we received our first laws, our original social polity, our early religious character; and although the wave of Anglo-Saxon emigration has, within a third

of a century, rolled in upon us a population of half a million, it has not obliterated, and it is to be hoped it never will obliterate, the clear and distinct influence upon our social character of the era of the French Dominion.

We may not forget,—we should ever be proud to remember,—that for the first century of its existence, the metropolis of our State, the City of the Straits, was essentially French in all its characteristics. We should never forget that the pioneers of civilization and Christianity along the shores of the noble rivers and mighty lakes that form the boundaries of our State were French Jesuits. These men, with a firm and intrepid step, in the face of dangers, toils, sacrifices and sufferings, which no language can portray and no imagination adequately conceive, bore aloft the torch of Christian truth amidst the moral darkness and desolation that here reigned in terrible and savage grandeur, and, sustained by a mental and moral discipline known to few save the followers of Loyalla, and by that unfaltering trust in God which, thank Heaven, is confined to no creed, and no sect, they met.—nay, welcomed,—torture and death with a calm joyousness that finds few parallels in the annals of mankind.

The memory of those early Jesuit missionaries to the Indians has been embalmed in the glowing pages of Bancroft. Be mine the far humbler task to call your attention, for an hour, somewhat more in detail than comports with general history, to the labors of these men on our own soil or so immediately adjacent thereto as appropriately to form a part of our own history.

On the third of July, 1608, less than fourteen months after the establishment of the first permanent English colony at Jamestown, the gallant Champlain founded Quebec

> "On the rock whose haughty brow
> Frowned o'er St. Lawrence' foaming tide,"

and for a century and a half, during which the fearful struggle was kept up on this continent between France and England for its dominion, it continued the center of French power in America. In 1615 the first priests reached new France. They were Recollects, four in number, with Father Carron, the Superior of the mission, at their head. In 1620 they were re-inforced by three other priests of the same order, and at this time the first religious seminary in America was founded by them at Quebec.

In 1625 the first company of Jesuits arrived. They were sent out under the patronage of the Duke de Ventadour, a nobleman of great piety, who was viceroy of the colony, but who gave to Champlain the entire direction of temporal affairs, reserving to himself the charge of promoting the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. Up to 1627 the colony of Quebec, although

founded under the regal sanction, had been established and mainly governed by a company of traders, many of whom were Huguenots, and although they were restrained by royal authority from teaching the Indians anything but the Catholic faith, among the colonists themselves, religious differences and dissensions sprang up and disturbed their harmony. Cardinal Richelieu, who then, with an absolute sway, governed France in the name of the King, and whose universal panacea for social evils was the harsh exercise of an iron power, revoked the privileges of the original company and transferred Canada, its trade and its government to the government of the one hundred Associates, granting to them extensive powers and privileges. The company, on their part, were to take out sixteen thousand emigrants in fifteen years, none of whom were to be Protestants or other heretics or Jews.

In 1629 the infant colony, not yet rooted to the soil, was captured by an English fleet, under Sir David Kirk. So feeble was it in numbers that, in the articles of capitulation, Champlain provided for a single ship to be furnished to take the settlers back to their native land. Most of the Ecclesiastics returned to France with Champlain, but the body of the colonists remained. The French government scarcely deemed the colony of sufficient value to make an effort for its recovery, but the councils of the enlightened Champlain prevailed, and Canada was restored to France by the Peace of St. Germain in 1632. In 1633 Champlain returned to Quebec, to resume his government, and with him came Brebeuf and one other Jesuit.

The Recollects were not permitted to return under the pretense that, being a mendicant order, they were not well adapted to a new country, nor was it until 1669 that they were reëstablished in the colony.

Up to this period, 1633, but little progress had been made in the conversion of the Indians. The Hurons were the first nation that cordially opened their hearts to the reception of the Christian faith. They occupied a somewhat anomalous position in relation to the two great divisions into which the Indians bordering on the St. Lawrence and its tributaries were divided —the Algonquins and the Iroquois.

When Jacques Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence in 1534, he found its banks inhabited by tribes of the great Algonquins, and at Hocelaga, or Montreal, he found a very populous Indian town. When Champlain first raised the banner of France on the rock of St. Louis, the Algonquins gathered around him to give him welcome. He found them the hereditary enemies of their neighbors, the Iroquois, a race with similar habits, but a radically different language, fewer in numbers, and occupying a country far less in extent of territory; but these disadvantages were more than compensated by their compactness, their admirable system of government, by their super-

ior prowess, and by their haughty ambition. Occupying a territory but little larger than the State of New York, they arrogantly aspired to be the Romans of the western world; the arbiters of peace and war from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; from the great lakes to the everglades of Florida. Their tomahawks carried terror and destruction to the villages of the peaceful Illinois, on the broad prairies of the west, and the fiend-like yell of their war-parties was echoed back by the rocks that ranged themselves on the shores of the mighty lake of the north.

The Hurons, or Wyandottes, were of the same lingual stock as the Iroquois, and occupied for a time a sort of neutral position between the great contestants for aboriginal dominion. They had the intellectual superiority of the Iroquois, without their love of war or their lust of power. They had gathered in large numbers about Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe, where they sustained themselves by hunting, fishing and a more perfect system of agriculture than generally prevailed among the Indians. The year of the settlement of Quebec, Champlain joined an expedition of the Algonquins of the St. Lawrence, into the country of the Iroquois, by the way of the beautiful lake that bears his name, and from him, in that expedition, those fierce warriors first learned the terrible power of fire-arms.

From that moment they became the bitter enemies of the French, who had thus espoused the cause of their hereditary foes, and at frequent intervals, for a century and a half, the French colonies suffered from their vindictive and cruel wrath.

The Hurons, at a very early day, became the fast friends of the French. As early as 1615, Father Carron visited them on an embassy of peace and love, and from 1622 to 1625 the Recollects had a mission among them. On the arrival of Brebeuf, they commenced their labors amongst the Hurons—labors which were to have so tragic an end. Brebeuf acquired a knowledge of the language and manners, and was adopted into their nation. By the conquest of Canada, 1629, the mission was broken up, but it was renewed with increased zeal and numbers in 1633, on the restoration of French power. Then, villages were reached by the circuitous, laborious and dangerous route of the Ottawa River, the more direct route being through a country owned by the Iroquois, who were found upon the war path.

The journey was replete with difficulties, hardships and dangers, reaching for three hundred leagues through dense forests. The rivers were full of rocks and waterfalls, and the missionaries were compelled to ply the paddle, draw the canoe over rapids, and carry heavy burdens over roughest portages. Food was scarce and the Indians unfriendly, but after severe toil and intense suffering, the sacred envoys, Brebeuf and Daniel, reached the heart of the

Huron wilderness, and commenced their labors, soon to be followed by Lallemont and many others.

Here for fifteen subsequent years the Jesuits continued with calm, impassive courage and unwearied patience, their self-denying labors in the midst of privations, peril, suffering, insult, contumely, and danger the most imminent, the details of which would make a volume of thrilling interest.

The arm of French power had not yet taught the savages the sacred character of the "black-coats," as the Jesuits were called, to distinguish them from the Recollects, or the "grey-coats." The medicine men of the Indians, feeling that their craft was in danger, spared no opportunity to arouse against them savage hate. Misfortune, sickness and death were all charged upon them as the fruit of their prayers and ceremonies, and the baptism of a dying infant was sometimes a source of imminent danger. To avoid this they often resorted to stratagem. Father Pigart, being rudely repulsed from a cabin whose inmates refused to have a dying infant baptized, offered to the little sufferer a piece of sugar, and, unperceived, though watched, pressed from a wet cloth a drop of holy water upon its fevered brow. But, ultimately, the patience and loving perseverance of the missionaries overcame all opposition, and the Huron nation received the truth. But the hour of their destruction was at hand. The terrible Iroquois came down upon them like a wolf upon the fold.

In July, 1648, at early dawn, while the men were mostly absent on a hunting party, the populous town of Te-an-an-sta-gue was aroused by the fearful war cry of the Iroquois. The few defenders arrive at the feeble palisades, encouraged by the godly Father Daniel. Hastily, as if the salvation of souls hung on each flying moment, he confesses, baptizes by aspersion, pronounces general absolution, and flies to the chapel, where many of his flock have gathered for safety. He does the same there, exhorts them to flee from the rear of the chapel, and himself boldly opens the front door and faces the approaching foe, to give a moment's time to his flying flock. They recoil at the brave man's presence, but soon they rally, his body is riddled with arrows, a fatal bullet finishes the work, he falls, breathing the name of Jesus, and his body is cast into the fire made by his burning chapel.

The following year in March, other towns fell, and the brave and noble Brebeuf and the gentle and loving Gabriel Lallemont met death by tortures that only demons could invent or demons inflict. The whole annals of martyrdom scarcely afford a parallel, either of the ingenious cruelty of the tormentors or of the wonderful fortitude and Christian heroism of the victims.

The Huron nation was destroyed. Many perished by the hand of the

enemy; others submitted and became incorporated in their tribes. Another portion settled near Quebec, and the small fraction, consisting of six hundred or eight hundred, fled first to the Manitoulin Islands, thence to Mackinaw; from there to Bay de Noquet, and when the mission at LaPointe was established, 1665, they gathered around the standard of the cross erected by Father Allouez. Driven from thence by the Dakotas, they were established at Mackinaw by Marquette in 1671. When Detroit was founded in 1701, they removed to this point. In 1751 they mostly removed to Sandusky and subsequently, by the name of the Wyandottes, took an active and conspicuous part on the side of the British in the war of the Revolution. They have been from the time of their dispersion wanderers without territory of their own, depending for a home upon the hospitality of other nations. It was from the Huron mission that the first missionary explorers were sent forth to examine the moral desolation of our own territory. At a feast of the dead held in Huronia, in early summer, 1641, there were in attendance a delegation from the Chippewas of Sault Ste. Marie.

The missionaries, with that skill which was peculiar to them, soon ingratiated themselves into their favor and were cordially invited to return with them to their homes on the confines of the great lake, the charms of which they depicted in glowing colors.

The missionaries, ever anxious to extend the dominion of the cross, joyfully accepted the invitation. Charles Raymbault, a father thoroughly versed in the Algonquin language and customs, and Isaac Joques, equally familiar with the Huron, were selected, and were the first who planted the cross within the limits of our State. On the seventeenth of June, 1641, they started upon their adventurous voyage and for seventeen days plied the paddle on the clear waters of the northern lakes and through the channel of the Ste. Marie river, gemmed by a thousand beautiful islands. They were kindly and hospitably received by the Chippewas at the Sault, who urged them to remain with them, that they might profit by their word. They told them of the great lake, of the fierce Dakotas, and of numerous other tribes of whom the Fathers had never before heard. But they were compelled to return, and after planting the cross they left, hoping soon to be able to establish a mission at this promising point, among the docile Chippewas. Raymbault died with consumption the following year, and Joques met a martyr's death among the Iroquois. No further attempt was made to send the Gospel to the great northwest until 1656. After the destruction of the Hurons, the Iroquois reigned in proud and haughty triumph from Lake Erie to Lake Superior. Upper Canada was a desolation, and even the route by the Ottawa river was not safe from the war parties of these bold marauders. This year

some Ottawas made their way to the St. Lawrence. Two missionaries left to return with them, one, the celebrated and devoted Dreuillettes. They were attacked by the Iroquois. Father Garreau was mortally wounded and Dreuillettes brutally abandoned. Another company of Ottawas and other Algonquins appeared in Quebec in 1660 and asked a missionary.

Missions had now received a fresh impulse from the pious Lalle, the first bishop of Quebec, who came out in 1669. Father Mesnard was selected as the first ambassador of the cause on the shores of Gitchie Gumee, the big sea water. The choice was a fit one. He had been a compeer of those noble men who had enriched Huronia with their blood, and had experienced every vicissitude of missionary service and suffering. He had rejoiced in baptizing many a convert on the banks of the beautiful Cayuga, and his seamed face attested the wounds he had received in the cause of truth.

The frosts of many winters adorned his brow, and severity and suffering had somewhat broken his frame; but his spirit was still strong, and he was ready for the sacrifice. Although not buoyed up by the enthusiasm of youth or inexperience, he not only did not recoil from the labor, peril, suffering and death which he felt awaited him, but he cheerfully looked forward to a death of misery in the service of God as the truest happiness. Alone, in August, 1660, he leaves the haunts of civilization, and puts himself into the hands of savage strangers. They treated the aged priest with coarse brutality. From morning till night they compel him, in a cramped position, to ply the unwelcome paddle, all over sharp rocks, to drag the canoe up the foaming rapids, and at portages to carry heavy burdens. He is subjected to every form of drudgery, to every phase of insult and contempt. Want, absolute and terrible, comes in to enhance the horrors of the voyage. Berries and edible moss are exhausted, and the moose skin of their dresses is made to yield its scanty and disgusting nutriment. Finally, with his breviary contemptuously cast into the water, bare-foot, wounded by sharp stones, exhausted with toil, hunger and brutal treatment, without food or the means of procuring any, he is abandonded on the shores of Lake Superior to die. But even savage cruelty relents. After a few days, during which time he supports life on pounded bones, his Indian companions return and convey him to their winter rendezvous, which they reach October 15, St. Theresa's day, and, from that circumstance, he called it St. Theresa's Bay. probably Keweenaw Bay. Here, amidst every discouragement and privation, and with no white brethren nearer than Montreal, he began a mission and said Mass, which, he says, "repaid me with usury for all my past hardships." For a time he was permitted a place in the dirty camp of LeBouchet, the chief of the band—he who had so cruelly abandoned him. But he was

soon thrust out, and this aged and feeble servant of God spent two long, bitter, cold winters on that inhospitable shore in a little cabin of fir branches, piled one upon another, through which the winds whistled freely, and which answered the purpose, "not so much," says the meek missionary, "to shield me from the rigor of the season as to correct my imagination, and persuade me that I was sheltered." Want, famine,—that frequent curse of the improvident tribes that skirt the great northern lake,—came, with its horrors, to make more memorable this first effort to plant the cross by the waters of Lake Superior.

"Oh, the long and dreary winter,
Oh, the cold and cruel winter,
Ever thicker, thicker, thicker,
Froze the ice on lake and river,
Ever deeper, deeper, deeper,
Fell the snow o'er all the landscape,
Fell the covering snow and drifted
Through the forest, round the village,

"Hardly from his buried wigwam
Could the hunter force his passage;
With his mittens and his snow shoes,
Vainly walked he through the forest,
Sought for bird, or beast and found none,
Saw no track of deer or rabbit,
In the snow beheld no footprints,
In the ghastly gleaming forest,
Fell and could not rise from weakness,
Perished there from cold and hunger.

"O, the famine and the fever,
O, the wasting of the famine,
O, the blasting of the fever,
O, the wailing of the children,
O, the anguish of the women.

"All the earth was sick and famished,
Hungry was the air around them,
Hungry was the sky above them,
And the hungry stars in heaven
Like the eyes of wolves glared at them."

But the good father found sources of consolation even here, and desired not to be taken down from the adorable wood.

"One of my first visits," says he, "was in a wretched hut, dug out under a large rotten tree which shielded it on one side, and supported by some fir branches which sheltered it from the wind. I entered on the other side, almost flat on my face, but creeping in I found a treasure, a poor woman, abandoned by her husband and by her daughter, who had left her two dying children, one about two and the other about three years old. I spoke of the faith to this poor, afflicted creature who listened to me with pleasure. "Brother," says she, "I know well that our folks reject thy words, but for

my part I like them well; what thou sayest is full of consolation." With these words she drew from under the tree a piece of dry fish which, so to say, she took from her very mouth to repay for my visit. I thanked her, however, valuing more the happy occasion which God gave me, of securing the salvation of these two children, by conferring on them holy baptism. I returned some time after to this good creature and found her full of resolution to serve God, and in fact, from that time she began to come to morning and evening prayers, so constantly that she did not fail once, however busied or engaged in gaining her livelihood.

A pure and noble young man also embraced the faith and a few others gladly received "the prayer." Spring came and relieved the pressure of suffering and hopefully did the missionary labor on. The band of partially Christianized Hurons who, on the destruction of their nation, had sought refuge from the Iroquois in these northern fastnesses, were now at Bay de Noquet and sent to Father Mesnard to come and see them and administer to them the rites of religion. It was a call that he could not resist, although warned that the toil of the journey was too great for his failing strength, and that danger beset his path. He replied: "God calls me thither. I must go if it cost me my life." He started, and, at a portage, while his only attendant was getting the canoe over, on the tenth of August, 1661, he wandered into the forest and was never more seen. Whether he took a wrong path and was lost in the wood, or whether some straggling Indian struck him down, was never known.

Thus ended the life of Father Mesnard, the first Christian missionary who labored within the bounds of our Commonwealth. Without striking qualities, by his fervent piety, by his faithful and incessant toil, by his calm endurance of suffering and hardship, by his noble, Christian courage, by his earnest faith and Christian hope, he had become one of the most useful missionaries in the New World, commanding the respect of his superiors, the love of his equals and the veneration of the Indians. As a pioneer in our own State, Michigan should cherish his memory and seek to perpetuate a knowledge of his virtues, but as yet, not a stream, not a bay, not a headland, bears his honored name, and on the shores of the great lake where he first raised the cross, that emblem of our faith, even his existence is hardly known.

Hardships, discouragements, persecutions and death seemed only to excite the Jesuits to renewed and more energetic effort to carry the gospel to the poor Indian. In 1665, Claude Allouez left Quebec to commence a Christian mission on the shores of Lake Superior. He may be called the founder of the Northwestern missions, the real pioneer of Christianity and civilization

in the region bordering on the great northern and western lakes. He had not that cultivated intellect, that refined taste, that genial heart, that elevation of soul, that forgetfulness of self, that freedom from exaggeration that distinguished Father Marquette, but he was a strong character, of dauntless courage, of ceaseless and untiring energy, full of zeal, thoroughly acquainted with Indian character and eminently a practical man, and for a full quarter of a century he was the life and soul of the missionary enterprise in Wisconsin and Illinois, and to some extent, in Michigan.

In his voyage to the Sault he was subjected, as was generally the case with the missionaries, until the arm of French power was distinctly felt in those remote regions, to keenest insult and coarsest brutality from his Indian conductors. He passed on beyond the Sault, for a whole month he coasted along the shores of the great lake, and in October, at Chegoimegon, the beautiful LaPointe of our day, he raised the standard of the cross and boldly preached its doctrines to the Hurons, in search of whom, Father Mesnard lost his life. Some of the converts of Father Mesnard and many heathen bands gathered around the solitary priest and listened to his words, yet they opened not their hearts readily to "the prayer." He visited remote tribes and after seeing how broad was the harvest, and how ripe for the sickle, he descended in 1667 to Quebec for more laborers. Quickly he moved, promptly he acted. In two days after his arrival he was on his way back to the beautiful northern field, with an additional priest and a lay brother in his company.

He remained at La Pointe until Father Marquette took his place, in the fall of 1679, when he founded the mission of St. Francis Xavier at Green Bay. After Father Marquette's death, he succeeded him in the Illinois mission, and afterwards founded the mission of St. Joseph, on our own beautiful river of that name. It does not fall in with our purpose to trace the interesting career of this man, and point out his abundant labors and untiring zeal as a missionary, or his valuable services as an explorer, as our own soil was but incidentally the field of his efforts.

But of all the men whose names are connected with the early history of our State, there is none towards whom we turn with so warm a love, so high a veneration as to Father Jaques Marquette.

His cultivated mind, his refined taste, his warm and genial nature, his tender love for the souls in his charge, his calm and immovable courage in every hour of danger, his cheerful submission to the bitter privations and keen sufferings of the missionary life, his important discoveries, his devotion to truth, his Catholic faith, and last, but not least, his early, calm, joy-

ous and heroic death, all entitle him to that high place in the regard of posterity which he has been slowly but surely acquiring.

Marquette was born in 1637, and was of gentle blood, being descended from the most notable family in the small, but ancient and stately, city of Leon, in the north of France. The family have for centuries been eminent for devotion to military life, and three of its members shed their blood upon our own soil during the war of the Revolution.

Through the instructions of a pious mother, he became at an early age imbued with an earnest desire to devote himself to a religious life. At the age of seventeen he renounced the allurements of the world and entered the Society of Jesus. As required by the rules of the order, he spent two years in those spiritual exercises prescribed by their great founder.

Then for ten long years he remained under the remarkable training and teaching of the order, and acquired that wonderful control, that quiet repose, that power of calm endurance, that unquestioning obedience to his superiors, that thirst for trial, suffering and death, that marked the Jesuits, in this golden age of their power. He took for his model in life the great Xavier, and longed, like him, to devote his days to the conversion of the heathen, and like him, to die in the midst of his labors in a foreign land, alone. Although he had not that joyous hilarity of soul, that gay buoyancy of spirit and that wonderful power over men that so distinguished the Apostle to the Indies, he had much of that sweetness of disposition, that genial temperament, that facile adaptation to the surrounding circumstances, that depth of love and that apostolic zeal that belonged to that remarkable man. Panting for a missionary life, at the age of twenty-nine, he sailed for New France, which he reached September 20, 1666.

Early in October he was placed under the tuition of the celebrated Father Dreuillettes, at Three Rivers, to learn the native language. After a year and a half of preparation, he left for the Sault St. Mary, to plant the first permanent mission and settlement within the bounds of our State.

There were then about two thousand Indians at this point, the facility with which they could live, by hunting and fishing, making it one of the most popular places in the Indian Territory. They were Algonquins, mostly Chippewas, and received the teachings of the good Father with great docility, and would gladly have been baptized, but the wise and cautious missionary withheld the rite until he could clearly instruct them in Christian duty. In the following year he was joined by Father Dablon, when the first Christian church on Michigan soil was erected. But he was not long to remain on this first field of his labors. In obedience to orders from his superiors, in the fall of 1669, he went to La Pointe, to take the place of

Allouez, who proceeded to found a mission at Green Bay. For a whole month, through much suffering and in constant peril of life, he coasted along the shores of the lake, contending with fierce winds, ice and snow. At La Pointe he found four or five hundred Hurons, a company of Ottawas and some other tribes. The Hurons had mostly been baptized, and, he says, "still preserve some Christianity." Other tribes were, to use his own language, "proud and undeveloped," and he had so little hope of them that he did not baptize healthy infants, watching only for such as were sick. It was only after long months of trial that he baptized the first adult, after seeing his assiduity in prayer, his frankness in recounting his past life, and his promises for the future. Here an Illinois captive was given to him, and he immediately commenced learning the language from the rude teacher, and, as he gradually acquired a knowledge of it, his loving heart warmed toward the kind-hearted and peaceful nation, and he longed to break to them the bread of life.

"No one," he exclaimed, "must hope to escape crosses in our missions, and the best means to live happy is not to fear them, but, in the enjoyment of little crosses, hope for others still greater. The Illinois desire us, like Indians, to share their misery and suffer all that can be imagined in barbarism. They are lost sheep, to be sought through woods and thorns." Here it was, in the heart of this northern winter, surrounded by his Indians, talking in a broken manner with his Illinois captive, that he conceived the idea of a voyage of discovery. He hears of a great river, the Mississippi, whose course is southward. He says this great river can hardly empty into Virginia, and we rather believe that its mouth is in California. He rejoices in the prospect of seeking for this unknown stream, with one Frenchman and this Illinois captive as his only companions, if the Indians will, according to their agreement, make him a canoe. "This discovery," he says, "will give us a complete knowledge of the southern or western sea." But his further labors at La Pointe and his plans of present discovery were suddenly terminated by the breaking out of war. The fierce Dakotas, those Iroquois of the west, who inspired the feeble tribes about them with an overpowering awe, threatened to desolate the region of La Pointe. The Ottawas first left, and then the Hurons, who seemed to be destined to be wanderers on the face of the earth, without a spot they could call their own, turned their faces towards the east.

Their hearts fondly yearned for that delightful home from which they had been so cruelly driven twenty years before, and we may well imagine that the devoted missionary longed to labor in that field made sacred by the

blood of Daniel, Brebeuf, Lallemont and others. But the dreaded Iroquois were too near and too dangerous neighbors for such an experiment, and, with their missionary at their head, they selected for their home the point known as St. Ignace, opposite Mackinaw.

Bleak, barren and inhospitable as this spot was, it had some peculiar and compensatory advantages. It abounded in fish, and was on the great highway of a growing Indian commerce. Here, in the summer of 1671, a rude church, made of logs and covered with bark, was erected, and around it clustered the still ruder cabins of the Hurons. Near the chapel, and inclosing the cabins of the Hurons, was erected a palisade, to protect the little colony against the attacks of predatory Indians. Thus did Marquette become the founder of Mackinaw, as he had before been at Sault Ste. Marie.

Some of the Hurons were still idolaters and the Christians were still wayward, but he looked upon them with parental love. "They have," he writes in 1672, "come regularly to prayers and have listened more readily to the instructions I have given them, consenting to what I have required, to prevent their disorders and abominations. We must have patience with untutored minds who know only the devil, who, like their ancestors, have been his slaves and who often relapse into the sins in which they were nurtured. God alone can fix their feeble minds and place and keep them in his grace, and touch their hearts while we stammer at their ears."

A large colony of Ottawas located near the mission, and though intractable, received his faithful and loving attention. Thus, stammering at their ears, and trusting that God would reach the heart through privation, suffering and incessant toil, subject to every caprice, insult and petty persecution, the good father labored for two years, cheered by the privilege of occasionally baptizing a dying infant, and rejoicing in a simple, mournful loving faith in its death. Hearing of a sick infant, he says, "I went at once and baptized it and it died the next night. Some of the other children, too, are dead and are now in heaven. These are the consolations which God sends us, which make us esteem our life more happy as it is more wretched." Here again, his attention was called to the discovery of the Mississippi, which he sought, that new nations might be open to the gospel of peace and good will.

In a letter to his superior, after speaking of his field of labor, he says: "I am ready to leave it in the hands of another missionary and go on your order to seek new nations towards the south sea, who are still unknown to us, and teach them of our great God whom they have hitherto unknown."

His fond wishes in this regard were about to be gratified. The news of the great river at the westward, running to the south sea, had reached the

ears of the great Colbert and through him, of the great Louis XIV himself. They did not fail to see the infinite advantage of discovering and possessing this great element of territorial power.

The struggle between the English and French for dominion in America was then pending. If the English settlements, then feeble, scattered along the Atlantic coast, could be hemmed in by a series of French posts, from the great lakes to the southern sea, France would control the continent and the ambitious schemes of Britain be nipped in the bud. Colbert authorized the expedition and was ably seconded by the wise energy and sagacious forecast of Count Frontenac, governor and intendant of New France. Joliet, a young, intelligent, enterprising merchant of Quebec, and Marquette, were appointed to execute the project. In the fall of 1672 Joliet arrived at Mackinaw with the joyful news. Marquette had, as he says, long invoked the Blessed Virgin that he might obtain of God the grace to visit the nations of the Mississippi. He is enraptured at the good news that his desires were about to be accomplished, that he was to expose his life for the salvation of those nations and especially of the Illinois. They were not to leave until spring. During that long, dreary winter, on that desolate point he spent his leisure time in gathering from the Indians all possible information of the unknown region they were about to visit, and tracing upon the bark of the birch, maps of the course of rivers and writing down the names of the tribes and nations inhabiting their banks, and of the villages they should visit.

On the 17th of May, 1673, in two bark canoes, manned by five men, and stocked with a small supply of Indian corn and dried venison, the two explorers left Mackinaw. "Our joy at being chosen," says the great Father, "for this expedition roused our courage, and sweetened the labor of rowing from morning till night," and merrily over the waters of Lake Michigan did they ply the paddles of their light canoe.

"And the forest's life was in it,
All its mystery and magic,
All the lightness of the birch tree,
All the toughness of the cedar,
All the larch's supple sinews,
And it floated on the water
Like a yellow leaf in Autumn,
Like a yellow water lily."

At Green Bay the Indians did all in their power to prevent the further progress of the expedition. They pictured to the explorers the fierce Dacotas with their long, black hair, their eyes of fire, and their terrible tomahawks of stone, who never spared strangers; they told of the wars then raging, and the war parties on every trail; they described the dangers of

navigation, of frightful rapids and sunken rocks, of fearful monsters that swallowed up men and canoes together, of a cruel demon who stops the passage and engulfs the navigator who dares to invade his dominion; of excessive heats that would infallibly cause their death. The good Father told them that the salvation of souls was concerned, and that in such a cause he would gladly lay down his life; that of the dangers they described they had no fear.

On went the travelers, faithfully ascending the Fox River, dragging their canoes up the rapids, over sharp stones that lacerated their bleeding and unprotected feet. In ten days from leaving Mackinaw they have passed the portage, and launched their canoes upon the waters of the Wisconsin, and commenced their descent towards the Mississippi. For seven days they floated down its crystal waters. Vine clad islets, fertile banks diversified with wood, prairie and hill, alive with deer and moose, delight their vision, but no human being is seen. On the 17th of June, 1673, with joy, "which," says the good Father, "I cannot express," they enter the great river, and the longed for discovery is made, and the father of waters is given to the civilized world.

It is true that De Soto, in that foolhardy and unfortunate expedition that has added a thrilling chapter to American history, had one hundred and thirty years before discovered the lower Mississippi, but it seems never to have been revisited, and the very knowledge of it had died out. For seven days more the joyous adventurers floated down its broad bosom, following its gentle curves, before they saw a single human being. The scenery has changed. The islands are more beautiful, there is little wood and no hill, deer, moose, bustard and wingless swans abound. As they descend, the turkey takes the place of smaller game, and the buffalo of other beasts. Although the solitude becomes almost insupportable, and they long to see other human faces besides their own, yet they move with caution.

They light but little fire at night on the shore, just to prepare a meal, then move far from it as possible, anchor their canoes in the stream, and post a sentinel to warn them of approaching danger. Finally, on the 26th of June, they discover footprints by the water side, and a well beaten trail leading off through a beautiful prairie on the west bank. They are in the region of the wild and dreaded Dacotas, and they conclude that a village is at hand. Coolly braving the danger, Marquette and Joliet leave their canoes in charge of the men, they take to the trail, and in silence for two leagues they follow its gentle windings until they come in sight of three Indian villages. Having committed themselves to God, and implored His help, they approach so near they hear the conversation without being discovered, and then stop and

announce their presence by a loud outcry. The Indians rushed from their cabins, and seeing the unarmed travelers, they, after a little, deputize four old men to approach them, which they do very slowly. Father Marquette inquires who they are, and is rejoiced to learn they are Illinois. He can speak to them in their own language. They offer here the pipe of peace, which is here first called the calumet. They are most graciously received at the first village. An old man, perfectly naked, stands at the cabin door with his hand raised towards the sun, and exclaims: "How beautiful is the sun, Oh Frenchman! when thou comest to visit us. Our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace." There was a crowd of people, who devoured them with their eyes. They had never before seen a white man. As the travelers passed to another village, to visit the chief sachem, the people ran ahead, threw themselves on the grass by the wayside, and awaited their coming, and then again ran ahead to get a second and a third opportunity to gaze at them. After several days' stay with this kind and hospitable people, our adventurers pass down the stream as far as Arkansas, when, finding that they could not, with any safety, proceed any farther, on the 17th of July, just one month after entering the Mississippi, and just two months after leaving Mackinaw, they commenced retracing their steps. They ascend the beautiful Illinois River, which is now for the first time navigated by civilized men. They are delighted at the fertility of the soil, with the beautiful prairies and charming forests, which swarm with wild cattle, stag, deer, bustards, swans, ducks and parrots.

They stopped at an Illinois town of seventy-four cabins, and Father Marquette promises to return and instruct them in the truth of religion. One of the chiefs, with his young men, escorts the company to the lake at Chicago, and they return to Green Bay. Thus ended that delightful voyage that added the region of the upper Mississippi to the geography of the known world, and gave to France advantages, which, had they not been prodigally thrown away in the wicked folly of the reign of Louis XV, might have given to America a widely different history. Joliet, with his journal and maps, passed on to Quebec, but lost all his papers before reaching there by the capsizing of his canoe. Marquette remained at Green Bay, to recruit from a disease brought on by his exhausting toils and his many exposures. Frem here he forwarded a report of his journey to his superior, drawn up with admirable clearness and a genuine modesty that became his magnanimous soul. The map accompanying the report, prepared, as it was, without surveys and without instruments, is wonderful for its accuracy of outline.

Indeed, this may be said of most of the maps of the period, drawn by the Jesuits, who, while they seemed to have mainly in view the conversion of

the savages, yet proved themselves to be the most valuable of discoverers and the most careful of observers.

It was not until late in October, 1674, that Marquette was so far recruited as to attempt to perform his promise to the Illinois. He then left Green Bay with two French voyageurs for his companions, but before he reached Chicago, by the slow process of coasting the shores of a stormy lake at an inclement season, his disease, a chronic dysentery, returned upon him with its full force. The streams by which he expected to reach his mission ground were frozen, and he was all too weak to go by land, and here in this, then a solitude, but where now stands a city of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, alone with his two voyageurs, in a rude cabin which afforded but slender protection from the inclemencies of the season, in feeble health, living on the coarsest food, with a consciousness that he was never to recover, he passed the long winter of 1674-5.

He spent much time in devotion, beginning with the exercises of St. Ignatius, saying Mass daily, confessing his companions twice a week, and exhorting them as his strength allowed. Earnestly longing to commence his mission among his beloved Illinois, yet cheerfully resigned to the will of God. After a season of special prayer that he might so far recover as to take possession of the land of the Illinois, in the name of Christ, his strength increased, and on the 29th of March he left his solitary and desolate wintering place, and in ten days he reached his destination. He found the Illinois, to the number of six hundred fires, awaiting his arrival. They received him with unbounded joy, as an angel from heaven come to teach them the prayer, and after much private teaching and exhortation to the principal chiefs and from cabin to cabin, he gathered them in grand concourse, and there, on a lovely April day, upon a beautiful open plain, with thousands of the tawny sons and daughters of the prairie hanging upon his lips, the dying man preached to them Christ and Him crucified. His persuasive words were received with universal approbation, but his rapidly failing strength warned him that his own days were numbered. He desired to reach his former mission of St. Ignatius, at Mackinaw, before his departure, to die with his religious brethren, and leave his bones amongst his beloved Hurons. He promised the Illinois that some other teacher of the prayer should take his place and continue the mission, and bade them a loving and regretful farewell. They escorted him with great barbaric pomp, contending with one another for the honor of carrying his little baggage. For many days, accompanied only by his two voyageurs, he coasted, in his frail canoe, along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, his strength rapidly failing and his precious life ebbing away. He became helpless, and was lifted

like a child into and from the canoe. His vision, too, failed, but his gentleness, his cheerful joy in the prospect before him, his calm trust in God never faltered. Daily he recited his breviary. He encouraged his companions, and exhorted them to put confidence in the God of their salvation, who would not forsake them. They read to him, at his request, a meditation on death, which he had long before prepared for this eventful hour. Often did he, with hopeful voice, exclaim: "I believe that my Redeemer liveth." On the evening before his death, with a face radiant with joy, he told his companions that on the morrow he should die. Calmly and sweetly, as if talking of the death of another, he gave directions as to the disposition of his body. On the following day, as he approached the mouth of a river, he pointed out the place of his burial, on an eminence on its banks. The weather was propitious and the voyageurs passed on, but a wind arose and they were driven back to the river's mouth, which they entered. He was carried on shore, a fire was kindled, a slight shelter of bark raised, and he was laid upon the sand. Here he gave his last instructions, thanked his followers for their faithful and loving service, administered to them the rites of their religion, sent by them his last kind message to his religious brethren, and bade them go and take their rest until his final hour should come. After two or three hours, and as he was about to enter his agony, he called them, gave them a last embrace, asked for the holy water, handed one of them his crucifix from his neck, asking him to hold it before him, and, with his eye fixed sweetly upon it, pronounced his profession of faith and thanked God he had granted him the grace to die a missionary of the cross, in a foreign land, alone. As his spirit was about to pass, one of his companions cried aloud, "Jesus, Marie." Aroused by the sound, he repeated the words, and, as if some glorious object appeared to him, he fixed his dying gaze above and beyond the crucifix, and with a countenance all beaming with a holy rapture, his soul departed, without a struggle, as gently as if he had fallen asleep.

Thus, on the 18th day of May, 1675, at the age of 38, after nine years of faithful service in the missionary field, Father Marquette departed, and like his great model, the Apostle to the Indies, he died upon a desolate beach, and like him, his dying hour was illuminated by a radiance from above. The little stream upon whose banks he breathed his last still bears his honored name and there will ever be connected with that spot tender remembrances and hallowed associations. In 1821 our own revered Father Richard paid to it a loving pilgrimage and erected thereon a wooden cross with an inscription traced in rude characters with a pen-knife. In its crude simplicity, fit

tribute from fit man. But no enduring marble is required to preserve in fresh fragrance the memory of his virtues. He is one of those few, those immortal names that were not born to die; but his mortal remains do not repose in their original resting place. Two years after his death the Indians belonging to his mission of St. Ignatius, returning from their winter hunting grounds, stopped at his grave, sought his remains and according to an Indian custom, cleaned his bones, placed them reverently in a box of birchen bark and then in a mournful procession the thirty canoes moved on toward Mackinaw. Before reaching the mission they were met by Fathers Pierson and Nouvelle and all the Indians at the mission, who came out to pay a fond tribute to their best beloved missionary. There the solemn De Profundis was intoned and then, with all appropriate rites, the precious remains were deposited in the church. The mission was subsequently moved to Old Mackinaw and that rude church has long since disappeared and the precise spot where the remains of Father Marquette now lie mingled with common dust is not known.

When Marquette left the Sault for La Pointe in 1669 the wise and even galic Dablon, then principal of all the Ottawa mission, as the missions of the upper lakes were named, was in charge of the mission at that point. He was succeeded by Father Dreuillettes, who, full of sanctity and zeal, labored there with most wonderful success for nine years. Large numbers were baptized and in general council the Indians adopted the God of prayer as their God. Here in 1671 an envoy of the French, accompanied by French soldiers, gathered a grand council of all the Northwestern tribes and formally took possession of all the land between Montreal and the South Sea, and Allouez made that remarkable and well known speech to the Indians in praise of the greatness of the French king, and from that time the Sault became a military post. When Marquette left Mackinaw for his great discovery in 1673 Father Pierson was left in charge and was there in 1677, when he was joined by Father Nouvelle. The mission was a very prosperous one. At what time it was moved across the strait to the site of Old Mackinaw and that became a military post I am not able to say, but it must have been about this time (1677). In 1694 when De La Motte Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, was placed in command, Mackinaw was one of the largest villages in Canada. There was a fine fort of pickets, sixty houses, 200 soldiers and many other residents. But with the foundation of Detroit in 1701 Mackinaw dwindled into comparative insignificance.

Cadillac, a man of great energy and address, drew away most of the Indians, both Ottawas and Hurons, and so complete was the desertion that in 1706 the missionaries, discouraged by this desertion and the licentiousness of

the *coureurs de bois*, abandoned the post and burned their church. But the French government would not permit the post to be abandoned, and, with the promise of protection, the missionaries returned.

Although Detroit was founded in 1701, I have been unable to find any record of any Jesuit stationed at this point previous to 1732. Cadillac, although a zealous Catholic, was a bitter enemy of the Jesuits. He had quarreled with them on the brandy question when he was in command at Mackinaw, from 1694 to 1697, and in receiving the personal orders from Count Pontchartrain to establish Detroit, he frankly told the minister that the Jesuits were his personal enemies and would thwart his objects. He quarreled with Father Valliant, who accompanied him on his first expedition, charging him with treachery, and his successful efforts in drawing away the Indians from Mackinaw still further embittered the controversy with the Jesuits. He glories in his success in a spirit not eminently Christian. In a dispatch to the French minister, 1705, after boasting of the arrival of thirty Hurons from Mackinaw, he says: "There remains only about twenty-five. Father Carheil, who is a missionary there, remains always firm. I hope this fall to pluck out the last feather in his wing, and I am pursuaded that this obstinate old priest will die in his parish without having a single parishioner to bury him."

Yet he seems to wonder that the Jesuits were not his friends, and says, "I do my best to make the Jesuits my friends, wishing truly to be theirs, but if I dare say it, all impiety apart, it would be better to speak agai nst God than against them, because on the one side a person might receive his pardon, but on the other, the offense, even though doubtful, is never forgiven in this world, and would not be forgiven in the other, if their credit was as good there as it is in this country."

It is not wonderful that, with this feeling on the part of the commandant, Detroit was served by the Recollects, rather than by the Jesuits. When Charlevoix was there in 1721, there was no missionary there among the Indians, but he says measures were to be taken to supply one.

It would be a grateful task, did time permit, to dwell upon the labors and characters of those Jesuits who were the compeers of Marquette. Such men as Allouez, Dreuillettes, Dablon, and Nouvelle. But with these men passed away the golden age of the Jesuits in the northwest. They were among the best fruits of that wonderful system that, in a century and a half, made the Order of Jesus one of the great powers of the world. They were placed in circumstances that developed in an extraordinary degree many of the best results of that training and discipline instituted by Loyale without, at the same time, bringing forth those bitter evils that are among its natural fruits.

They exhibited great learning, a high self control, an inflexibility of purpose, an enduring constancy, an unwearied patience in toil and hardship, a calm courage that despised danger and triumphed over intensest suffering, a fervent zeal and an earnestness of devotion that find few parallels in history. They did not develop, nor did the circumstances of the situation tend to develop that bitter intolerance, that hatred of civil and religious freedom, that passion for intrigue, that systematic treachery, that insatiate lust of power, and that unscrupulous and cruel abuse of power when obtained, that marked the Jesuits of Europe and aroused against them the deep indignation of Protestant and Catholic Christendom, and that led to their expulsion from the most enlightened Catholic kingdoms in Europe, and their suppression by the Pope himself.

But the influences that were already operating in the courts of Europe and undermining the Jesuitical power there, began to be felt in the wilds of Canada. Colbert, the great Minister of the Grand Monarch, liked them not and Frontenac cordially hated them. From 1671 to 1681, and from 1689 to his death in 1698, he was at the head of affairs in Canada. The Recollects, whom he favored, were re-established in the New World. Jealousies and dissensions arose and in a thousand ways the plans and purposes of the Jesuits were thwarted. Special efforts were made to ruin their influence at court. It is a curious study to read the voluminous dispatches that passed between Canada and the court of France. Louis XIV was at the very culmination of power, in the full exercise of that centralized absolutism, founded by Richelieu and perfected by himself. He was as minutely informed of the transactions of an insignificant post on the watery wastes of Lake Superior as if they were taking place on the banks of the Seine, and the most minute orders issued from his ministers, and sometimes from himself, in relation to these distant places. Thus in 1707 Detroit was a distant and insignificant post with some thirty soldiers. A complaint is made at Versailles that De La Motte Cadillac is trading in brandy and making a great profit thereon. An inquiry is made into the subject, and, amid the great affairs of state involving the welfare of France and the destinies of Europe, the Grand Monarch is gravely informed that M. La Motte has bought of four individuals, one hundred four quarts of brandy at four francs per quart and sold it at twenty francs, thus making a profit of four-fifths.

In this same way petty complaints against the Jesuits are made the subject of grave dispatches. Indeed, in this system of espionage, of centralization, of absolutism lies the grand fundamental reason why Canada never prospered under French rule. There was no freedom, no self government, and consequently no development of the real power of its people or the resources

of the country. The English colonies were left to wholesome neglect, to self government, to freedom. As early as 1681 M. Talon, intendant of Canada, informs the king that Boston is more republican than monarchical, and in 1679 another Canadian intendant informs the French minister in regard to the same city: "Their government is democratic, and it is a republic under the protection of England, faintly recognizing his Brittanic Majesty." The fruits of these two systems, side by side, teach a most salutary lesson against centralized power in any form of government, civil, ecclesiastical, monarchical, or republican.

There was one cause of difficulty between the Jesuits and the local authorities that did much to bring upon them the wrath of the governing power, but which redounds greatly to their credit. They, at an early day, boldly, earnestly, and persistently opposed and denounced the sale of brandy to the Indians. The pious Levalle was made bishop of Quebec, or, as was his title of Petra, in 1659. As early as 1665 he had, in concert with the Jesuits, forbidden the sale of brandy to the Indians on pain of excommunication, because it lead them into mortal sin. So effectual was this order that no one dare sell or give a glass of liquor to Huron or Algonquin. Complaint seems to have been made to the king, for the minister of marine, in writing to M. de Talon, governor of Canada, in 1665, disapproves of the order in a course of reasoning quite Jesuitical. He acknowledges the principal to be good, but contends that it is hurtful to trade, as it will drive the Indians to trade with the Dutch, they will be taught heresy, a greater evil than drunkenness; and he bitterly complains that notwithstanding the force of this reasoning the bishops and the Jesuits still persist, "not reflecting," says he, "that prudence, and even Christian charity, requires us to shut our eyes to one evil to avoid a greater."

For more than a quarter of a century the brandy war raged between the traders and the priests. Most of the secular officers were interested in Indian trade, and, as now, nothing paid so good a profit as brandy; consequently they took sides in favor of the traffic. Perhaps those who have so recently fought the battle of prohibition on the one side and the other in this State were not aware that the same battle was fought upon our own soil nearly two hundred years ago. Mackinaw and Detroit were both battle fields, and the arguments on both sides were perhaps as full and forcible as any that have been used by the recent combatants.

The holy fathers were not content with the mere exercise of spiritual power. They called upon the strong arm of the law, and as early as 1681, they had obtained an ordinance from the king prohibiting the traffic. At a later period, 1694, there seems to have been a special order forbidding the

transportation of brandy to Mackinaw. The worthy founder of Detroit, while yet in command at Mackinaw, made himself the champion of the unrestrained traffic. Some of his arguments are worthy of note. He says the principal food of the inhabitants is fish and smoked meat, and a drink of brandy after the repast is necessary to cook the bilious meats and the crudities they leave in the stomach. He appeals, also, with patriotic ardor to the Frenchmen, and asks: "In what country, or in what land, until now, have they taken from the French the right to use brandy? Are we not subjects of the king, as others?" He asks, too, with the same ardor that marks our recent debates, "What reason can be given why savages have not a right to drink brandy, purchased with their own money?" and scouts at the reason, urged by the Jesuits, that it would injure them. "The savage himself asks," says he, "why they do not leave him in his beggary, his liberty, his idleness. He was born in it and he wishes to die in it. He would not exchange his wigwam, and the mat upon which he camps, like a monkey, for a palace." He also uses the now familiar argument that if the savage cannot get brandy of the French, he will of the English, and therefore no good will be accomplished by prohibition, while trade will be injured. On the other hand, it would be difficult to find, in modern temperance documents, more graphic descriptions of the terrible evils of intemperance, and stronger arguments against the traffic, than are found in the memorials of the Jesuit Fathers, and the dispatches of the time. Thus, in a dispatch to the minister of the marine in 1690, the minister is assured that this unfortunate traffic proves the destruction, not only of the Indians, but of the French themselves, and of trade. "This," says the writer, "is established by the experience of many years, during which we have seen none become wealthy by that traffic, while the Indians are destroyed and the French become old and decrepit at forty. Even the women drink. Among the Indians it is the horror of horrors. There is no crime nor infamy they do not perpetrate in their excesses; a mother throws her child into the fire; noses are bitten off, and it is another hell among them during these orgies; their entrails are set on fire, and they beggar themselves by giving their peltries and their very clothes for drink." Thus manfully, like all true heralds of the cross, did the Jesuit Fathers fight against this great evil, and De La Motte charges them with adopting higher law opinions on the subject, and says that Father Carheil, in a sermon at Mackinac, 1797, exclaimed, "There is neither Divine nor human power that can permit the sale of this drink."

This controversy, in which the Jesuits never faltered, aroused against them the whole class of Indian traders, and many of the local officers did

much to make their position uncomfortable, and their ultimate recall under the reign of Louis XV, ended for many years their toils among the savages of Canada.

In seeking to give the Jesuits, who distinguished themselves in the early annals of the northwest, their true place upon the page of history, we cannot place them beside the founders of New England. They were not in any sense the founders of empires. They did not lay foundations, broad and deep, for free institutions. And even as missionaries among the Indians, they seem to have exerted but little permanent influence upon Indian life and character.

> "As from the wing, so near the sky returns,
> The parted wave, no furrow from the keel,"

so Indian character and destiny show us no distinct trace of the abundant and self-denying labors of these men. At least, those traces are sadly disproportioned to the learning, the piety, the fervent zeal and the precious human life bestowed upon this field of labor. Doubtless some of the causes of this result lie deep in Indian character and the unfavorable circumstances surrounding them, but there are, as we conceive, other causes, growing out of the fundamentally erroneous system of Jesuit Catholicism, still more effective; causes that must ever prevent that system from accomplishing any great permanent good for the race. There is no element of freedom in it. Unlimited, unquestioning obedience is of its very essence. To develop the human soul and intellect it must, like the body, have freedom.

But if they were not founders of empires, if they did but little or nothing toward the elevation of the Indian race and character, these men still have a proud place upon the historical page, which all readily concede. As discoverers and explorers they have had few superiors. Persevering, self-denying, toil enduring, courageous, no obstacles discouraged, no privations disgusted, no hardships appalled, no dangers terrified. Contemptuous of threatened evil, they boldly placed themselves in the power of the untutored and unfriendly Indians, living with them in their dirty camps, partaking of their inconceivably filthy food, sleeping with them and their dogs, annoyed with their vermin, poisoned with their stench, submitting meekly to the contumely of the haughty, and the insults and brutality of the mean. Calmly, persistently they braved the forced toil of paddling the canoe, or over sharp stones of dragging its weight up foaming rapids, often wading waist deep in the water or plunging through ice and snow. Piercing winds, bitter cold, dire want, and terrific danger were among their common trials, yet they persevered with a ceaseless assiduity and untiring energy that no suffering could subdue. Industriously they traveled, anxiously they in-

quired, carefully they observed, and minutely, under every disadvantage, by the light of the glimmering camp fires, they committed the result of their travels, inquiries and observations to writing. They opened to France and the world a knowledge of the great northwest, of these mighty lakes, noble rivers, of these beautiful prairies and extensive forests.

They were not only discoverers but they were pioneers in the pathway of civilization. Following in their footsteps came the trader, the voyager, the soldier, and ultimately the mechanic, the farmer, the merchant, and the gentleman. Delightful French hamlets sprang up by the side of the mission station, and there was reproduced in the forest recesses of the northwest a new and delightful edition of rural life amid the sunny vales and vine clad hills of France.

But the chiefest claim to admiration lies in their personal character, their apostolic zeal, their sublime and heroic virtues. Actuated by no love of glory, inspired by no hope of self aggrandizement, but panting with an earnest desire to save souls for whom Christ had died, and open the pathway to heaven to benighted heathen, they faced the untold horrors of a missionary life among wild, wandering, irreverent, brutal savages, and here developed, in the midst of trials the most severe, those Christian graces of character to which our attention has been called, and that entitle them to a rank among the Christian heroes of the world, Success could have added nothing to the rich fragrance of their virtues.

It becomes us who now occupy the soil, enriched and made sacred by their tears, their toil, their suffering and their death, not only to revere their memories, but to perpetuate them.

EXTRACTS FROM A MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL.

NOTE.—The following extracts, copied from the original manuscript Journal, were presented to the State Historical Society of Michigan by Horatio Gates Jones, of Philadelphia, Pa., March 29, 1858. Accompanying the document the donor furnishes the following preliminary note:

"The Rev. David Jones was a Baptist clergyman. He was born May 12, 1736, in White Clay Creek Hundred, Newcastle Country, Delaware, and after studying divinity at Hopewell, New Jersey, became pastor of the Freehold Baptist Church. In 1772 and 1773 he went on a missionary tour among the Indians in the Ohio country and upon his return he published an account of his adventures in the form of a Journal. When the Revolutionary war broke out he took such an active part on the Whig side that he became obnoxious to his Tory neighbors, and was compelled to leave Freehold. He thereupon settled as pastor of the Great Valley Baptist Church in Chester county, Pa.,

but his heart was in the great struggle for independence and he entered the army as chaplain in 1777 and continued in service until peace was declared. He was chiefly attached to General Wayne as chaplain, and being near neighbors they were very intimate. When Wayne, after St. Clair's defeat, took command of the United States Legion, he had his friend appointed chaplain, and although the affair of Newman caused an estrangement, it was only temporary. So patriotic was Mr. Jones that when the late war (1812) was declared he again offered his services as chaplain, and officiated, although he was then in his 77th year. He died at East town, Chester county, Pa., February 5, 1820, at the good old age of 84, and his remains are interred at the Great Valley Church. The writer of this is his grandson. HORATIO GATES JONES."

"Philadelphia, March 29, 1858."

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUCRIPT JOURNAL OF THE REV. DAVID JONES, A. M., CHAPLAIN OF THE UNITED STATES LEGION, UNDER MAJOR-GENERAL WAYNE, DURING THE INDIAN WARS OF 1794-5-6.

July 13, 1796. Left home in company with Dr. de Benneville.

July 22. Arrived at Pittsburg.

July 24. Preached there.

August 31. Contracted with Captain Harrison for the third and fourth ranges of two miles wide in the eleventh range of Judge Symmes's purchase.

September 3. Took my journey for Greenville. Lodged at Hamilton.

September 4. Came to St. Clair.

September 5. Came to Greenville; the same day Mr. William Wilson was buried at Greenville. I found the garrison very sickly and was unwell myself.

September 6. Remained at Greenville waiting for company to visit Detroit. At this time the garrison was extremely sick. It consisted of 350, and 300 were sick.

September 7, 8, 9. I was very unwell, chiefly afflicted with diarrhœa.

September 11. Preached.

September 12. About ten o'clock I left Greenville alone, and arrived at Laurimiers near sunset. The course near north. The distance twenty-six miles. I lodged with Lieut. Whistley, commandant, and at this time sick. Mrs. Butler was very kind in supplying me with a good pickle, which relieved my stomach considerably.

September 13. Rose pretty well. The day drizzly, and traveled to St. Mary's.

September 16. Set out in company with several, and passed the Ioway towns about four miles, being forty-eight miles from Fort Defiance. Mr. Duffy engaged to set out with me next morning for the fort, but failed in fortitude.

September 17. At gray-day set out alone, and in the evening, in twilight, came to Defiance, considerably fatigued, and there I left my horse to be brought on by the company with Mr. Swan.

September 18. Took water with Mr. Elliot of the artillery and Major Henfry. We passed down a few miles and camped. Slept very cold.

September 19. Passed on towards the rapids, and camped near the head of them. The rapids of the Miami are near eighteen miles in length, but the upper part abounds in miles of very still water. The latter part is very rapid, without much intermission. Before night we came to Fort Miami, formerly occupied by the British. Here we came the 20th day.

September 21. Drew eighteen rations, and passed down near the mouth. Lodged in a Frenchman's house. The wind blew very high that night, and it rained considerably. Clearing up in the night very cold.

September 22. We turned the first point, and met with great difficulty in the night passing through rushes; finally, we came to the shore about ten o'clock in the night.

September 23. We were obliged to lie by part of the day on account of high winds, and passed one point and camped.

September 24. We had to cross over Stony Point, and brought around the canoe, and after breakfast we set out to turn the last point, and with much labor, and with difficulty, we completed our object, and before night we camped on a point of the main land, having passed more dangers than ever I wish to see again. We were now about eighteen miles from Detroit.

September 25. Set out and landed about three miles below the town, where we shaved and changed our clothes. The wind rising very high, we were obliged to walk to town, leaving the soldiers with our goods, and Major Henfry sick, who came next morning. Through the care of that God who has preserved me all my life, I came safe and enjoyed the happiness of seeing General Wayne in a good state of health. I lodged at Mr. Abbott's. The lady is a daughter of Samuel Bartlow, formerly of the city of Philadelphia.

September 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30. I remained at Mr. Abbott's, not being able to obtain quarters. I had a hint that by some means General Wayne was displeased with me, and all his conduct confirms the case; but on what account I know not. However, I am resolved to return home.

October 1. Remained in the same place.

October 2. Preached to the troops in the citadel. In the afternoon I crossed the river and preached to a few people met at Mr. Messamore's.

October 3. Returned to Detroit, but felt unhappy. I knew General Wayne was offended with me but knew not the cause of it.

October 4. Wrote my letter to the General, No. 1, and on the 5th received an answer. On the 10th wrote No. 2, and on the same day received an answer in which he invited me to take breakfast with him next day.

October 11. After breakfast the General went and brought a number of papers. One gave him offense. It was written by Mr. Harrison at the falls of Ohio. The contents were a report of a Robert Newman, by which he criminated General Wayne and General Wilkinson in the campaign of 1794, by saying he did not desert to the enemy, but was sent in by them, for they had sold the army to the enemy.

NOTE.—In a previous part of the Journal, under date of November 11, 1794, there is the following entry:

"An express arrived in the morning who brought the news that a certain traitor named Newman, who deserted to the enemy near Auglaize, was safely delivered in irons at Fort Washington. He will soon receive the reward of his perfidy. This wicked man went to the Indians and informed them of our advance, which gave them time to escape and prepare for our advancement."

I gave a true statement of the whole affair, but he blamed me for letting General Wilkinson know anything on the subject.

October 12. Dined with Mr. Abbott, and Dr. Brown was one of the guests. In the evening an English gentleman came to my lodging.

October 13. Dr. Ballman, his companion, arrived.

October 14. Dined at headquarters.

October 15 and 16. At home.

October 16. Was very rainy. I preached none.

October 17. At home all day.

October 18. Took breakfast and dinner at home. This day I drew up a certificate for General Wayne respecting Robert Newman and read it to him, but it was necessary after some conversation to make some additions.

October 19. Took breakfast at home.

October 20. Dined at headquarters.

October 22. Dined with Thomas McKee, son of Colonel McKee.

October 23. Preached.

October 30. Being Lord's day, preached in the council house.

November 1. Dined at headquarters.

November 2. Settled with Caleb Swan, P. M. G., to the last day of October, 1796, forage rations and pay. He paid me two hundred and thirty dollars.

November 3. Left Detroit in the Saginaw.

THE SOURCES OF OUR EARLY HISTORY.

[The author's name and date do not appear on the copy of this paper furnished the State Pioneer and Historical Society.]

During the last summer I made a trip of pleasure and recreation to Toronto and down the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec, and immediately I spent some time in inquiring into the sources of our early history. I hoped to find somewhere among the Canadian archives many manuscripts that would throw light upon the period of our history antecedent to the conquest of Canada by Great Britain. The French officers and the Jesuit Fathers, who acted a prominent part in the history of the Northwest, were voluminous writers. Their letters were numerous and full, their dispatches and memoirs copious and minute. Those already published gave certain assurance that there were many unpublished, and awakened a keen desire that these also should see the light.

Through the kind intervention of Gen. Cass I was furnished a letter of introduction from Lord Napier to Gov. Gen. Head. Sir Edmund received me with courtesy, interested himself in the object of my inquiries, and granted me every facility for making the examinations I desired. By his procurement the Provincial Library was thrown open to me and full permission given me to make any copies I saw fit, of the valuable manuscripts there deposited. Free access was also given to papers and records under his immediate charge, in the care of the secretary, R. I. Perryfather, Esq. Sir Edmund called my attention especially to some Indian records in this department, as throwing much light upon some periods of our history. George Futvoye, Esq., permanent clerk of the Crown Law Department, from whom the Society has received valuable contributions, took especial interest in my inquiries and introduced me to gentlemen connected with the office of Provincial Secretary, where most of the provincial records are kept.

I could nowhere find trace of correspondence or manuscript of the era of the French dominion. The belief was expressed that they must have been destroyed in the fires which have twice burned the parliament buildings and destroyed many valuable records and manuscripts. But incidentally I found a manuscript record of the articles of capitulation by which Canada was yielded to Great Britain, and by their very terms the French officers were permitted to carry with them to France all public records and papers,

except those connected with land titles. This was undoubtedly done, and in Paris alone can the originals be found, if found at all. Many of these were copied by Mr. Broadhead and were published in the valuable collections relating to the colonial history of the State of New York. The Broadhead papers, so far as they relate to Canada and the Northwest, were copied by the direction of the Provincial Parliament, and are now in their library. Subsequently by the same direction, G. B. Fairbault, Esq., of Quebec, President of the Quebec Historical Society, an enthusiastic antiquarian and an accomplished gentleman, visited Paris and had copied from the originals more than twenty large manuscripts, volumes of letters, memoirs, reports and dispatches not contained in the Broadhead collection. These volumes I carefully examined and found them to contain much of very great value connected with our own history. They are particularly rich in correspondence and papers relating to De La Motte Cadillac, the founder of Detroit; containing many letters to and from and about him, never published; among them letters from Father Marest, Germain, Vaillard and Carheil. There must be from one to two thousand pages of manuscript in this collection bearing directly upon our own history.

The Indian records already referred to I found of peculiar interest. There were several volumes of original records kept by Sir William Johnson, containing copies of matters received and written by him, records of Indian counsels, and reports of speeches made in them and minutes of intelligence received. Among them is a record of his visit to Detroit in 1761, and of Indian counsels held there, and quite a voluminous correspondence relating to the Pontiac Conspiracy, the siege of Detroit, and the capture of other parts. Here was also a large volume containing the original and official record kept by Colonel De Peyster, commandant at Detroit, of Indian counsels held by him here, and in this vicinity from 1781 to 1783, throwing much light upon the transactions of that period in this region. In the office of the Provincial Secretary, I found records of many commissions issued to magistrates and other officers for the District of Hesse, in which Detroit was situated, during the period of the English dominion. Among the recipients of such commissions were many well known Detroit names, such as William Ancran, William Macomb, John Askin, M. Baby, Alexander M'Kee, Captain Elliot and Thomas Smith.

I have no doubt that a full and careful investigation of official records and collections at Toronto would lead to the discovery of much valuable material for our history.

At Montreal there are many gentlemen who are deeply interested in historical investigation. The most eminent of these is Hon. Jacques Viger,

who, amidst the employments of an active public life, has found time to make an exceedingly valuable collection of books, manuscripts and papers connected with Canadian history, and many historical writers are deeply indebted to him for valuable aid and material for their work. He has many volumes of manuscripts carefully and neatly transcribed by his own hand and his annotations exhibit great and accurate research and a genuine love of historic truth. In his collection are very many manuscripts of no little value to us. These, of course, are private property, and it is only through the liberality and courtesy of M. Viger, that access can be had to them. He very cheerfully permitted me to make such extracts and copies as my time allowed. There are some Catholic clergymen connected with the learned institutions of Montreal who have devoted much attention to Canadian history and who, I have no doubt, could render essential service in furnishing us with historical material. The Historical Society of Quebec has some valuable collections, and its accomplished president, M. Fairbault, presented us several valuable volumes, among others, the voyages of Jacques Cartier, published by that society and a lithograph of his residence of Street Male, France. He also procured for us a striking lithograph of the great voyage.

I take the liberty of calling the attention of the society to the very great importance of having transcribed many of the records and manuscripts to which I have referred, and such others of value as may be discovered by careful inquiry and research. It is absolutely necessary for the full accomplishment of our organization—the collection and preservation of the materials of our history. I am well aware that we have no funds to appropriate to this purpose, but it is an object well entitled to legislative aid. The expense will be very trifling, and our State pride is deeply interested in preserving the materials of our early and romantic history. Most of the historical societies direct legislative aid in the prosecution of their objects,—these objects are purely of a public nature. In Wisconsin the historical society receives regular and ample aid from the State treasury, and by the means it has already become an institution of which the State is pretty proud. I cannot doubt but if properly applied to, the Legislature would cheerfully respond to the extent of making an appropriation sufficient for the purpose of transcribing such valuable records and manuscripts. For a few hundred dollars duplicated copies could be procured, one set of which might be deposited in the State library, and another set with our valuable collection. In this way the chance of loss by fire or other casualty would be effectually guarded against. Would it not be well for this society to take measures to present this subject before the Legislature at its coming session, and to solicit the aid of County Societies and of gentlemen of different parts of the State, interested in historical investigation and inquiry ?

In the effort to trace something of the early history of Michigan, I have come across some things which merit some notice. To some of these I will now briefly advert, although they are wholly disconnected.

By the treaty of Versailles between France and England, concluded in 1763, the whole of the boundless province of Canada passed to the British crown ; of that province Michigan then formed a part. In October of that year the British king issued a royal proclamation, which is very familiar to the American people. By it he established four separate and distinct governments in the territories just acquired from France. The boundaries of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Canada are distinctly given; but strange to say neither Michigan nor any part of the territory northwest of the Ohio river is embraced within the limits of either. A considerable portion of Canada seems to have been in the same condition. For a period of eleven years, the whole of the Northwest Territory continued to be without the pale of civil government. At length, in 1774, a bill was introduced into the British parliament, entitled "An act for making more effectual provision for the government of Quebec, in North America." It excited extraordinary interest in the British parliament, and called forth the talents of Burke, Fox, Grenville, Dunning, Lord North, Thurber, Wedderburn, Barre, Bluchistine, Glen and the Earl of Chatham. There are few debates on record of a more interesting character than those elicited by this bill, but we are now only interested in the new boundary which, by this bill, was given to the Province of Quebec. Upon the motion of Burke the bill was amended so as to embrace the whole of the Northwest Territory. This district of country is declared by the act "to be annexed to and made a part of the Province of Quebec."

It appears that English statesmen, at that period, knew but little of the geography of this country. Pending the discussion of this bill several eminent persons were examined at the bar of the House of Commons, to obtain information. Among others, Gen. Carleton, the Governor General, was put on the stand, and the following examination took place:

"Can you inform the committee whether Detroit and Michigan are under the government ?"

Answer: "Detroit is not under the government; Michigan is under it. There was very little inconvenience in governing them, for the reason there was very few Europeans setted there. There were a great many just where officers of discretion were sent to regulate trade and manage the government by presents and great civilities. I do not know the settlement of Detroit very accurately. It has been established for some time. The intendant had delegates up there; but there was very little business. The greatest concern was the management of the savages."

"Do you apprehend that other settlers, beside some Canadians, would be very likely to go to the place upon proper encouragement?"

Ans.: "With proper encouragement, no doubt they would."

"Do you apprehend the obedience of those other settlers would have been less than what you expect from the Canadians?"

Ans.: That depends upon such a variety of circumstances that, unless one knows them precisely, it is difficult to judge upon the matter. They are a lawless people that have not been accustomed to government."

"Would the tract of country between Ohio and Lake Erie be easily managed by the Legislative Council and Governor, resident in Quebec?"

Ans.: "I can tell, from information, that it was very easily governed when under the French government."

"Was the country so described considered as a part of the province of Louisiana, and not part of the province of Canada?"

Ans.: "I always understood it was sectioned under the French Government as part of the province of Canada. The posts were sent from thence, and relieved thence. I speak to the best of my memory."

"What inconvenience arises, in your opinion, from the limits given to Canada in the proclamation?"

Ans.: "I had frequent complaints from the Canadians that the province cut off in that manner, and contracted, deprived them of the greatest part of their property, which was promised to be protected. The English, as well as the Canadians, complained that their property went up to the upper country, and that if the persons entrusted with this property did not, of their own accord, act honestly, they had no means of procuring justice."

"Can you give any account of the number of people at the posts, or elsewhere, that were shut out by the proclamation?"

Ans.: "Fourteen or fifteen hundred. I speak at hazard."

"Do you look upon Illinois as part of old Canada?"

Ans: "I believe so. New Orleans was under the government of Quebec; but where the present district ends, I do not really know."

"If these posts of Detroit and Illinois were put under the government of Canada, and a line drawn there, would not all that difficulty be removed?"

Ans.: "Provided they did not trade beyond the line."

"How far do you take the Illinois, which is the bounds of Canada by this bill, to be from Quebec?"

Ans.: "I do not know."

"If a thousand miles, how is justice to be secured there?"

Ans.: "It was executed by the delegates of the intendant, or commander, I understand, of Quebec."

"What purpose will it answer to extend the colony to the River Ohio?"

Ans.: "One good purpose; that the courts of justice can extend so far that there may not be an asylum for all the vagabonds to take shelter there."

"Did you ever hear of any plan for selling the south and southwest parts of the colonies to prevent the land from becoming derelict, and becoming a retreat for vagabonds?"

Ans.: "Only from public talk."

"Are you not of opinion that when these posts at Detroit and Illinois are put under civil government other provinces will trade into the country with greater safety than they do at present?"

Ans.: "No doubt they will trade most where justice may be had now."

"From what authority have you asserted that the government of Louisiana was under the Governor General of Canada, and what period did you mean to speak to?"

Ans.: "The authority is from all the reports of the Canadians of Canada. I speak of the latter time."

"Do you recollect of any one man of knowledge in the country?"

Ans.: "Yes; Morris St. L., and I speak precisely. I have often heard him give an account of judges sent down from the government of Canada, a good deal below the sides of the Ohio."

"Did not the intendant regulate the price of all grain by his own will and pleasure?"

Ans.: "I believe it was indispensably necessary the Governor should sign the order with him."

"How were taxes levied under the French government?"

Ans.: "By the king's edict of old France."

Such is a portion of the information elicited on that important occasion. Burke was very strenuous for the boundary line and the minister was rather opposed to it. "If," says Burke, "the noble lord (North) gives me this boundary, he takes off the northern part of the objection."

The American Congress, in 1774, declare that "several late cruel and impressive acts have been passed respecting the town of Boston and Massachusetts Bay; and also an act for extending the Province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontier of the colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant colonies whenever a wicked ministry shall choose to direct them." This was the act referred to; its provisions I may have occasion to examine on some subseqnent occasion.

Notwithstanding the extension of a civil government to this region, the settlement of Detroit appears to have continued for many years afterwards as little known as before.

In the year 1795 an effort was made to change the government of the province, and on that occasion Mr. Lymbumer, the agent for the province, read at the bar of the House of Commons in England a printed paper (a copy of which I found in the repositories of the late Judge May, with the name of the late Chief Justice Powell endorsed on it), in which he is strongly opposed to a division of the province, which was then advocated in Parliament by a strong party, substantially on account of the great distance which the members of the Legislature would have to travel to Quebec. He says: "I beg leave in the point to bring to the recollection of this honorable house that the distance from Quebec to Niagara is about 500 miles, and that Niagara may be considered as the utmost extent westward, of the cultivable part of the province, for although there is a small settlement at Detroit, which is and must be considered of great importance as a post to trade with the Indians, yet it must appear to this honorable house from its situation it can never become of any great importance as a settlement. The Falls of Niagara are an unsurmountable bar to the transportation of such rude materials as the produce of the land. As the farmers around Detroit, therefore, will have only their own settlement for the consumption of their produce, such a confined market must greatly impede the progress of settlement and cultivation for ages to come." He further remarks: "During 20 years that I have resided in that Province, I don't recollect a single instance of a highway robbery, and the farmers consider themselves so secure that they often go to sleep without bolting their doors." "Such, sir," says this agent, "has been the unhappy tendency of the government of that province that not only the people have been oppressed and the resources of the country neglected, but almost every public building in the province has been suffered to decay and perish. There is not a court house in the province, nor a sufficient prison, nor a house of correction; there is not a public schoolhouse. In short, the country is reduced to a state of nature." He continued: "Will any person assure this honorable house that the Loyalists, settled in the District of Lunenberg, which joined the District of Montreal, have advised and consulted with those who are settled at Niagara or Detroit, as to the propriety of the measure. I am confident, sir, that no person will assert any such thing, for I believe I may truly say that few of the people of these different settlements have ever seen one another since they began their settlements, except in passing to Montreal." It would thus seem that the

prospects of the settlement at Detroit at that period were cheerless enough. A few years later and the chain which bound that settlement to the province of Quebec, or rather to Upper Canada, was severed forever; notwithstanding the great change which this had produced in the condition of the country our Canadian neighbors were unwilling to admit that it would advance our interests; on the contrary, this very change was to operate more powerfully against us. In 1812, and while Detroit was held by the enemy, Judge Campbell, of the Court of King's Bench, in Upper Canada, holding the assizes at Sandwich, addressed to the grand jury a charge (a printed copy of which is now before me, and which I present to the Society). In that document he says: "If there is a man so blind to his own immediate interest, so ignorant of the various modes and commercial channels through which his flour, his beef, his pork, his potash and all other articles which his farm produces, find their way to the final market or place of consumption, and upon which all previous or intermediate sales and markets must depend; if he is ignorant of the decided naval superiority of Great Britain, which gives her the absolute command and control of those markets, and the means of reaching them, so much so that scarcely a foreign ship can appear upon the ocean without British permission or protection,—I say, if there is any man so ignorant as not to know these plain facts, I can only pity his ignorance, but cannot hope to cure it."

And again he says: "You may rest assured that Great Britain, (whatever events or vicissitudes may occur during the war) will not, at the conclusion of it, agree to cede these provinces or any part of them to the United States; on the contrary, the probability is, and for many good reasons, that their frontier boundary will be removed further from you."

The whole charge is couched in very offensive terms; is in bad taste, and even wholly unworthy of a generous enemy. The grand jury caused it to be printed in this city. The ungracious job was done by Theophilus Mettez, a Canadian, whom I knew many years afterwards as a butcher in our market. I trust he could urge the apology of Shakespeare's apothecary: "My poverty, but not my will consents," but his offence is half atoned for the shabbiness of the performance.

Governor Hull and Judge Woodward made a communication to President Jefferson, dated on the tenth of October, 1805, intimating their arrival here, the organization of the government and describing the condition of the people after the destruction of the city, a printed copy of which (found among the papers of Judge May) I present to the Society. In that paper this paragraph occurs: "When it is remembered that the troops of Louis

the XIV came without women, the description of persons constituting the second generation will not be difficult to conceive."

Whether the fact assumed here be true or not, it is undeniable at this day, that emigration from the shores of France set in for Canada at a very early period, of a highly respectable class of persons with their families, and among them were many of the *noblesse*. Emigration of a different class of persons, it seems, followed the troops after they rested from their labors. We have the authority of Baron de la Hontan, a French gentleman, who visited the province in 1683 and 1684, whose letters were published in 1703, (but who, apparently, may be charged with a love for the marvelous) that a large number of females were introduced into the province after the French troops were disbanded. The following extract is from his third letter, dated at Beaupre, 2d May, 1684: "After the disbanding of these regiments there were dispatched from France several vessels loaded with ladies of a certain description under the direction of some old nuns, who had them divided into three classes. These vestals were, if I may be allowed the expression, put up in three lots from which the husbands chose their wives, not unlike butchers, choosing sheep from a flock. There were sufficient materials to please the most fantastical, for amidst the variety of ladies in these three lots, there were to be seen big ones and little ones, fair ones and dark ones, fat ones and lean ones, so that any person could satisfy his whim in that particular. There was not one to be had at the end of fifteen days. I was informed that the fattest went off better than any other, for the husband supposed that from being less active they would be able to leave their work but seldom, and that they would resist better the cold of winter, but in these points many were completely deceived. I cannot refrain from making at this time a remark that to whatever place the guilty of the European females are banished, the inhabitants beyond the seas believe that their sins are so washed away by the ridiculous baptism which I have mentioned in my former letter, that they are in future to be considered as girls of virtue and honor, irreproachable. Any person who wished to be married addressed himself to the directresses already mentioned, to whom he was obliged to state fully his means of livelihood, before he was allowed to take away her who most pleased his fancy. The marriage was concluded without delay by means of a priest and notary, and the following morning there was distributed to the married couple, by order of the Governor General, an ox or cow, a boar and sow, a cock and hen, two barrels of salt beef, eleven half crowns and some arms, such as the Greek 'Kenas.' The officers, more scrupulous than their soldiers, attached themselves to the daughters of the respect-

able families of the country, or of the rich inhabitants, for we know well that it is now nearly one hundred years since the French obtained possession of Canada."

If the observation of the Governor and presiding judge, above quoted, was intended to intimate that the territory had many descendants of the class of persons to whom they allude, I think they were entirely in error. I think the number must have been very limited. But we have good reason to believe there were many such in Canada. An ancient writer (Salmon) states that the Spaniards encouraged the native Spaniards and Creoli, their descendants, to marry the young Indians, whereby the Americans are so incorporated and allied to many Spanish families that they are in a manner become the same people. "The like policy," says this writer, "the French observe, in their American plantations, while the English imprudently prohibit their people marrying with the Indians."

EARLY FARMERS.

BY L. CAMPAU.

The first American, as distinguished from the French farmers of Michigan, were mostly Indian prisoners, taken during the War of the Revolution, and who remained after the peace, and Englishmen who came in during the English government and remained as Americans after the war.

On the St. Clair river were Mr. Cathell, an American Dutchman, whose residence was at Cathellsville, one of the aforesaid prisoners. He was an extensive farmer. He was a whole souled Dutchman, highly respected. He died about 1815.

Neighbors to Cathell were Captain Horn, another Indian prisoner, and Captains Hallow and Farsan, formerly British subjects. They were all high-minded, honorable men. They were the first who, in schooners, navigated the upper lakes to Mackinaw and Green Bay. Hallow died about 1810. Horn was made a prisoner in the war of 1812, was wounded, exchanged, and died about 1816. Farsan died about the same time.

On Clinton river, Macomb county, were Mr. Tucker, a noble old farmer, who died about 1808, leaving a large and highly honorable family, and Mr. Conner, father of the Honorable Henry and James Conner, men well known in the history of Michigan. He died about 1800, and Mr. Thomas. These men were all Indian prisoners and pioneer farmers.

About 1800, Christian Clemens, afterwards judge, settled, as a farmer, at a place named after him, Mt. Clemens. He built the first distillery in Michigan, much to the dissatisfaction of the people. Mr. Lith, of Grosse Point, also one of the Indian prisoners, was one of the best farmers of those days. He was highly respected by all classes. He left a very large and distinguished family. His sons, men of energy and high character, took an active part in the war of 1812. Two of them resided on the Canada side, and were true to their allegiance. The others were engaged on the American side. One of his daughters was the wife of the Honorable Mr. Venzie, one of the original proprietors of Chicago. I have, in 1816 and 1818, seen Mrs. Venzie come in from Chicago to Detroit at the head of a company, or caravan, bearing furs collected by her husband. Her entry to Detroit was greeted by shouts and acclamations, as, at the head of her procession of skilled laborers and heavily laden horses, she directed her course to the residence of her father.

On the 9th of January, 1819, as I was returning with furs from Saginaw, I met William Hunter, a blacksmith, of Detroit, with a gang of men, on the plains, a few miles from Royal Oak. They were cutting a road to Pontiac. He was the first settler there and the first man to chop in the woods between Detroit and Pontiac. He still resides there.

ACCOUNT OF A PLOT FOR OBTAINING THE LOWER PENINSULA OF MICHIGAN FROM THE UNITED STATES IN 1795.

BY J. V. CAMPBELL.

(Written August 11, 1857.)

It is not generally known that Michigan was at a very early day the theatre of some of the most extensive land speculations ever known in this

country. One, which was brought to the attention of Congress in 1795, was so remarkable in some of its features that it is singular it should be so generally unknown.

When General Wayne brought his Indian campaign to a successful termination he appointed a time for the tribes to meet him at Greenville, to conclude a definitive treaty. This council opened in June, 1795, and continued into August. It is well known that the hostilities were kept alive by the covert interference of the British and that Detroit was the source whence this influence was exerted most powerfully. In spite of the treaty of peace at the close of the Revolution, the British, on one pretext or another, kept possession of the country; and it was not until Jay's treaty provided definitely for its cession that any steps were taken towards its possession. The British merchants, who were largely interested in the fur business, were very reluctant to see the American dominion established; and there is no doubt that, by this means, disaffection was long kept up among the Indians.

Immediately upon the conclusion of Wayne's treaty (which put an end to all private dealings with the Indians for the purchase of land), an agreement was made between several prominent inhabitants of Detroit and several persons from Vermont and Pennsylvania, which, if it had proved successful, would have made an entire change in the destiny of this region.

Ebenezer Allen and Charles Whitney, of Vermont, and Robert Randall, of Philadelphia, who were professedly American citizens, entered into a contract with John Askin, Jonathan Schifflin, William Robertson, John Askin, Jr., David Robertson, Robert Jones and Richard Patterson, all of Detroit, and all attached to Great Britain, the terms of which were in effect as follows: They proposed to obtain from the United States the title to all the land within the limits of the present peninsula of Michigan, then estimated at from eighteen to twenty millions of acres, (excepting such parts as were appropriated along the settlements), upon the understanding that they would themselves extinguish the Indian title. They meant to secure the purchase from Congress at a half a million dollars, (or a million at the outside), by inducing that body to believe that the Indians had not really been pacified by Wayne; and that nothing but the influence of the Canadian merchants could bring them to terms or render the important interests of the fur trade safe under the American rule.

But they relied upon a more potent method of persuasion in secret. Their enterprise was to take the form of a joint stock company, divided into forty-one shares. Five shares were allotted to the Detroit partners, twelve to the others and the remaining twenty-four were to be divided among members of

Congress to secure their votes. The connection of the Canadian proprietors with the scheme does not appear to have been made public; and it is probable they were not intended to appear until the scheme was consummated.

Immediately after the plan was concocted the three American partners set about operating upon the members of the next Congress. They associated with them Colonel Pepune and others; Jones, of Massachusetts, aiding them in their honorable work. Whitney first applied to Daniel Buck, a member from Vermont, and was indiscreet enough not only to inform him pretty plainly of the plan proposed, but also to show him the articles of agreement. He also applied to Theodore Sedgwick, more cautiously, but allowed enough to be drawn from him to expose the true character of the plot. Mr. Sedgwick quietly put himself in communication with the Vermont members to promote its progress.

In the meantime Randall approached the southern members and laid open his views to William Smith of South Carolina, William B. Giles of Virginia, and Mr. Murray of Maryland. These gentlemen, after consulting with the President and many other persons of character and standing, determined to throw no obstacle in the way of a presentation of a memorial to Congress, desiring to fix the parties where they would be sure of exposure.

The confederates, blindly imagining that they were on the highway to success, put into the hands of the members whom they approached the fullest information concerning all but the names of their Detroit associates, and assured Mr. Giles that they had secured a majority of the votes in the Senate and lacked only three of a majority in the House.

On the 28th of December, 1795, Messrs. Smith, Murray, and Giles announced to the House of Representatives that Randall had made proposals to them to obtain their support to his memorial, for which support they were to receive a consideration in lands or money. Mr. Buck also stated that Whitney had made similar proposals to him and he supposed him to be an associate of Randall. Randall and Whitney were at once taken into custody, and an investigation was had in the course of which several other members came forward and testified to similar facts. Whitney made a full disclosure and produced the written agreement. Randall made no confession, but contented himself with questioning the witnesses. He was detained in arrest, but Whitney, who appears to have been less guilty, was discharged very soon after the investigation closed. The memorial never made its appearance. The partners at Detroit had not been inactive. They, or most of them, had already, from time to time, obtained from the Indians large grants of land, in the hope, doubtless, that the purchase might be ratified by the authorities. Schiffliin in particular had acquired enormous

grants in this way. There is, however, much reason to believe that these grants were not all obtained from the recognized Indian rulers.

An examination of the records shows that one of the largest was made under very peculiar circumstances. We have seen that the council in Greenville was in session from June till some time in August. While this treaty of Greenville was in progress and the tribes were represented there by their chiefs and head men, a private council was held at Detroit on the first day of July, 1795, by the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattomies, as high contracting parties on the one side, there being present as witnesses the Askins, Henry Hay, the oldest son of Governor Hay, and himself a British officer, and some others of the principal British residents.

The purpose of the council was private in its nature, and under the treaties then existing, the British authorities could not have well acted as principals on such an occasion. Certain chiefs, purporting to act for their tribes, there named, granted to Jonathan Schifflin, Jacobus Visgar, Richard Pattinson and Robert Jones a large tract of land, embracing thirteen or fourteen of the oldest and best counties in the present State, for the expressed consideration of twenty-five pounds sterling.

We can readily imagine that if their plan had succeeded in Congress they would have had little difficulty in buying up the Indian claim to the whole peninsula.

It may not be out of place to state that, in spite of their ill success, the four gentlemen named sold their Indian title, just mentioned, in 1797, for two hundred thousand pounds of York currency, amounting to half a million of dollars. Whether the purchaser expected to claim against the treaty of Greenville, we are not informed.

This formidable title has never turned up since. Whether disgusted with the experience of republics, or some other cause, the Detroit partners in the joint stock company all elected, under Jay's treaty, to become British subjects. The annals of our country have never shown a more extensive or audacious plan of bribery, and the public suffered no great detriment by their defection.

Had the plan of these confederates received the aid of Congress it is difficult to imagine the importance of such an event in its bearing on the future of the peninsula. The circumstances render it highly probable that it was intended to retain a footing for the advancement of the British interests in the northwest. Be this as it may, the evil effect of having so large a proprietary monopoly, covering the whole country, cannot well be estimated. Neither the United States nor the future State would have owned any lands

in the lower peninsula of Michigan; while we should have been subjected to all the evils which abound when the tillers of the soil are mere tenants, and not free-holders. Such a domain would have been a powerful barrier against the increase of the Union in this direction, and would have kept up a border population of a character by no means to be admired.

The important and singular facts referred to should not be lost sight of by the historian who may narrate the annals of our State.

NOTE I.—Under Jay's treaty, British subjects were at liberty to remain within the American borders if they saw fit; but if they did this, unless they declared their intention to retain their nationality, within a year from the rendition of the posts, they were regarded as having chosen to become citizens of the United States. A large number of persons removed into Canada within the year, while many more remained in Detroit and its vicinity, of whom a large number signified their desire to remain British subjects, by notification, addressed to Peter Audrain, Esq., at Detroit. Upon examining the list it appears that the feeling was very strong in favor of Great Britain; and any step tending to carry out the interests of that kingdom would have met with favor from many, if not from a majority, of the men of substance. The neighborhood, in Canada, had been settled to a considerable extent by a population to whom the American name was an abomination. At the close of the Revolution the refugee Tories were cast upon the care of the British, and lands were set apart in that portion of Canada lying along Lake Erie, and Detroit River, and Lake St. Clair, for the benefit of these people; and their descendants of the Mohawk loyalists are still to be found in strength upon the lake shore, in the districts east of Malden. They are in peculiarly bad odor among shipwrecked mariners.

The following names appear in the records as electing to retain their British character. Many of the number removed to Canada, and many who removed within the year now made written election.

[NAMES.]

Augustin Amelle,	Jeane Bt. Pere,	John Clark,
Lauret Maure,	Jean Bt. Montroi,	James Fraser,
James McIntosh,	Thomas Green,	J. Portier Benac,
Robt. Innis,	Francis Primo,	Wm. Hands,
Rt. Pattinson,	Charles Petre,	Francis Rassette,
Robt. Grant,	Pre. Lanoux,	Simon Druillar,
Jonathan Schifflin,	Redmond Condon,	Geo. Jacob Rudhart,
John Martin,	Joseph Bernard,	Pierre Rell.
D. McRae,	John Grant,	Basile Durocher,
Wm. Forsyth,	George Sharp,	Alexis Crait,
Francis Bertrand,	James Vincent,	Joseph Borrell, fils,
Pre. Gabarne,	Louis Barthy,	Alexis Borrell, fils,
Hugh Heward,	Alex. Duff,	Richard Money,
Wm. Fleming,	Batiste Boete,	Neel Delisle,

[NAMES.]

Charles Chovin,
James Donaldson,
Louis Moore,
James Condon,
Pre. Dolorme,
Alex. Harson,
Thomas Smith,
John Askin, Sr.,
Pierre Vallee,
John McKirgan,
James Smith,
Joseph Mason,
John Anderson,
Agnes McIntosh,
Conrad Showler,
Charles Roque,
John Little,
Ch. Poupard,
In. Robital,
Nicholas Boyer,
John Fearson,
Benoit Chapoton,
James Cartwright,
Gabriel Hewes,
Robt. Forsyth,
Antoine Chanvin,
John Daine,
William Harfy,
Samuel Edge,
John Langloi,
Jas. Guthrie,
John Whitehead,
Wm. Thorn,
Jonathan Nelson,
Geo. Meldrum,
A. Iredell,
J. Bte. Barthe,
J. Bte. Barthe, Jr.,
Robt. Nichol,
Alex. Maisonville, fils,
Jean Bt. Bernard,
John Reul,
Mathew Dolson,
Wm. Park,
Wm. Smith,
Robt. McDougall,
John McGregor,
John Askin, Jr.,
Joseph Borrelle, pere,
James McGregor,
Robt. Goine,
Wm. Mickle,
Wm. Baker,
John Cain,
R. McDonnell,
John McDonnell,
John Wheaton,
Louis Coutre,
Amable Latour,
Wm. Mills,
James Anderson,
Peter Blanch,
Isaac Ganize, pere,
John Lagord,
Bt. Telemaindit,
——— St. Louis,
Bte. Monmerell,
Richard Donovan,
Isaac Gragnier, fils,
Franc Lenaire,
Sam'l Eddy,
Dominique Druillard,
Bapt. Druillard,
Bapt. Rousseau,
Phillip Bellanger,
Joseph Grenist.

These are the names as they appear of record. There are doubtless some inaccuracies.

NOTE II.—To understand the important bearing of the conspiracy in a national point of view, it may be well to notice the condition in which its success would have left the frontier. Many of the names appended to the notice of election will be recognized in Detroit as land owners, holding valuable private claims along the river. But with the exceptions of eight or ten, all of these claims had united to the government. The lands not embraced in the narrow private claims, on the Detroit River and its tributaries, were by various Indian deeds conveyed to some of the persons engaged in the plot, singly or together, from the foot of Lake Huron to the Cuyahoga River, with some inconsiderable exceptions. If those Indian titles could have been made good, these parties would have had almost entire control of the country, and the condition of the private claims would left the holders of those, too, at their mercy. With all these circumstances combining, it is not a wild conjecture to suppose that the possibility of getting back into British allegiance a country controlled by British subjects may have been within the minds of the conspirators, as an incident, if not an object of their action.

DATE OF THE DETROIT SETTLEMENT.

BY J. V. CAMPBELL.

As it is of some importance to determine the dates of our early settlements it may be worth while to collect even fragmentary notices of such facts as are to be found scattered among the authorities.

The precise date of the founding of Detroit has always been a matter of question. The settlement of 1701 has been adopted as its origin, because the only *permanent* one; but historians have, upon grounds more or less satisfactory, dated back the first establishment much further. It is impossible to fix this matter now with certainty, but the reasons are very strong in favor of the idea that the location chosen by De La Motte Cadillac was not a new one.

The country lying along the strait and extending from Lake Erie to Saginaw Bay was known as the Saginaw, or Saghinaw, prior to the first visits of any of the French, and was famed for its excellence as a hunting ground. It abounded in all beasts of the chase and fur-bearing animals to an extent not equalled by any other region mentioned by the early travelers. The *coureurs de bois*, as is well known, were the first Frenchmen who went among the Indians and their interests led them to those resorts where furs and peltries abounded, as it was in trading for these that they made their living. But it is well known that many of these adventurers joined the Indian tribes and settled among them. It would be singular if such were not the case here. The combination of advantages possessed by this point, as easy of access by water and affording an abundance of fish as well as of land animals, rendered it always a favorite camping ground of the Indians. An Indian town was found here by the first explorers, if we may credit the authorities. That there were either Frenchmen or friends of the French among them will appear from further statements to be referred to.

It is asserted repeatedly in the government memoirs that Champlain visited and described this region as early as 1612. (9 N. Y., Doc. 378.) As reliance is placed on his printed account for this statement, it could hardly have been made carelessly. Be this as it may, there can be little doubt that during his time a missionary station was established by the Recollets at the

foot of Lake Huron, and the history of the religious differences in the colony makes it altogether likely that it was founded in the early part of the century. Its existence is a corroboration to some extent of the probability of Champlain's visit to the country.

We have no printed account of any expedition of explorers passing through the Detroit river before that of Joliet, who returned this way in 1674. His journal of this part of his voyage was not printed, but it is said that he sent a map of his course to Paris. But in 1671, before his expedition had been planned, a very accurate description of the whole chain of lakes was given in an introduction to the account of the expedition of De Courcelles to Lake Ontario. The situation and length of the whole strait from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, and the dimensions of Lake St. Clair (which was not then named) are given with such accuracy as to show that they were not obtained from any loose reports. There is nothing in the accounts of the missionaries, so far as the Relations show, which could have furnished this intelligence. It must probably have been obtained from the roving Frenchmen who traversed this region.

That the country was by no means an unknown land is very evident from the history of La Salle's expedition. The year before he started from Niagara river with his company, he sent forward a number of Frenchmen to winter at Detroit and await his arrival the next season. In the spring he sent forward the Chevalier Tonty in advance of the rest to join these men. The brevity of the historians of the enterprise omits mention of many things which would have been valuable aids now in determining the state of the country. But the fact that these men were sent forward in this way is very good evidence that La Salle knew they would find safe quarters and would not be exposed to any serious inconveniences.

About 1685 the English determined to push their settlements along the lakes and as far as Mackinaw and Lake Superior, which would have enabled them, by communicating with Hudson's Bay, to form a complete barrier against the extension of French colonization and would have secured to them the monopoly of the rich fur trade of the Northwest. As the Canadians controlled the passage by the Ottawas river, and nothing could be done without water communication, it was obvious that the nation which secured the passage of the Detroit river would maintain supremacy in the upper country. No military station then existed south of Mackinaw. In 1686 the Governor-General of New France, hearing of the designs of the English, sent orders to De La Durantaye, who then commanded at Mackinaw, and also to Du Luth, who had charge of the Indian affairs over the upper region, to establish some points in the Saghinaw. In pursuance of these orders a fort was built

by Du Luth at or near the head of St. Clair river—probably at Port Huron—and garrisoned by a force of rangers. This post was named Fort St. Joseph or Du Luth. It has been generally supposed that no fort was established on the strait at that time; but from the occurrences of the next year, as authentically reported, it would seem that a post was also located on Detroit river at or near the present city.

In the winter of 1686 orders were sent to Tonty, who commanded at Fort St. Louis in the Illinois country, and to De La Durantaye and Du Luth, to collect such Indian forces as they could muster and bring them to Niagara to join the colonial forces in waging war against the Iroquois. De La Durantaye set out from Mackinaw with a considerable body to join Du Luth, and when near Fort St. Joseph captured a body of English and Indians who were on their way to Mackinaw—thirty Englishmen being taken prisoners. Meanwhile, Tonty, having sent forward his subordinate, De La Doret, by water, to communicate with the others, led his own forces across the country by land to Detroit, and sent up to Fort St. Joseph for the rest to join him. In his report (which is not the spurious narrative afterwards published in his name) he says:

"After 200 leagues of journey by land we came, on the 19th of May, to Fort Gratiot. We made some canoes of elm and I sent one of them to Fort St. Joseph on the high ground above Detroit, thirty leagues from where we were, to give the Sieur Du Lud, the commander of this fort, information of my arrival. The Sieur Beauvais de Tilly joined me and afterwards the Sieur de la Foret; then the Sieurs de la Durantaye and Du Lud. I made the French and savages coast along the bay. After the Sieur de la Durantaye had saluted we returned the salute. They had with them thirty English whom they had taken on the Lake Huron at the place at which they had reached it." (1 Louisiana Coll., 69.)

This would seem to render it certain that some kind of a post had been erected here besides Fort St. Joseph. La Hontan, who was then with the main army, mentions that the forces of the Indians under Tonty waited for the others to join them near Lake St. Clair, which corroborates the statement of Tonty. (La Hontan, 115.)

Subsequent documents and accounts not only confirm the existence of a separate post, but aid in fixing its locality.

In the fall of 1687 the Baron La Hontan, with a company of regulars, returned with Tonty and Du Luth (who was Tonty's cousin), to Fort St. Joseph, which the baron was appointed to command. In August, 1788, in consequence of the abandonment of Forts Niagara and Frontenac, he deemed it his duty to demolish Fort St. Joseph and withdraw his men. Having

carefully destroyed the defences and buildings, he took his soldiers to Mackinaw. From this time on we have no mention of the rebuilding of Fort St. Joseph.

But in 1689 there was some question raised about the expediency of continuing to maintain a post at Detroit, which could hardly have been Fort St. Joseph (9 N. Y., Doc. 399). In 1691 it is recommended by the authorities that the posts then occupied in the Northwest should be preserved, and the forts named were St. Louis, Detroit and Michillimackinac (9 N. Y. Doc. 511, 9). In 1695 and 1696 there were Frenchmen wintering in the Saginaw whom the Indian chiefs regarded as under the supervision of La Motte Cadillac, who then was in command of the whole Northwest, having his headquarters at Mackinaw, (9, N. Y. Doc. 647). In 1700 there was unquestionably a fort at the Detroit, of which M. de Longueuil was commandant, and an important council was held that yéar at the post with the Pottawattomies, Hurons, Ottawas and White River Indians, (9 N. Y. Doc. 704).

The forts first erected in this region were not intended as germs of settlements, but, on the contrary, settlements were prohibited. La Motte Cadillac desired to establish a post on the Detroit, not merely for a garrison, but for trading and farming, and he wished to make it the center of a large Indian and French population. For such an object he would be quite likely to avail himself of any existing establishment, unless not suited to his purpose. There is nothing in his reports or proceedings inconsistent with such an idea (so far as they are accessible). And the Governor General, in reporting to the minister his design of forwarding the movements of La Motte, uses language quite applicable to an existing post, (9 N. Y. Doc. 713).

It is, therefore, very probable that the occupation of this spot as a military station dates back as far as that of Fort St. Joseph.

EARLY DETROIT.

BY C. I. WALKER.

(Written in 1858.)

Detroit is to-day, with one exception,—and in many respects without exception,—the most prominent and important city of the Northwest.

It is pleasantly situated on the margin of one of the noblest and most beautiful rivers on the continent, whose blue and sparkling waters form an important link in the wonderful and stupendous chain of great inland seas and mighty rivers, that, finding their springs in the heart of a continent, roll their clear waters from the Lake of the Woods to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.

It contains a population of 70,000 inhabitants, characterized by great activity and energy, a liberal public spirit, and a high order of intelligence. It presents to the most careless observer evidence of a growth steady yet rapid, and a prosperity at once great and solid. It has a commercial marine second to no place upon the lakes.

Its crowded docks, its busy streets, its thronged railroads, its capacious, expensive, and well-filled stores, its noisy workshops, all give evidence that it is the home of commercial and mechanical industry and enterprise; while its tasteful dwellings, shaded by trees and embowered in shrubbery and flowers, and its numerous and elegant churches, give token of refined and religious culture. And it needs no prophet's vision to discover, through the vista of coming years, the certain promise of a continued and enlarged prosperity that, within a short time, will give Detroit a high place among American cities. It is the commercial metropolis of a great State, surpassing rich in resources of which the development has just commenced—a State with a seaboard on the great lakes greater than the seaboard of any State on the Atlantic, with a soil rich and varied in its fertility, with the finest pine forests on the continent, with mines teeming with mineral wealth inexhaustable in extent and inestimable in value. As the application of capital and labor shall develop these resources, and as multiplied railroads and other facilities for intercommunication shall concentrate this new created business in our city, who can fix a limit to its growth and prosperity?

But unlike most western cities, Detroit has a past, and one of no small interest,—a past that reaches back beyond the clearly defined regions of fact into the dim and shadowy regions of romance. We have no grim and war-worn battlements, telling us, in their mute but expressive language, of an iron age and an iron race long since passed away. We have no ruined temples and columns, no broken statues, no exhumed cities left as monuments of a civilization that no longer exists. But we have the history of the gay and happy Frenchman, leaving his storied native land, its vine-clad hills and sunny valleys, and, with a passive heroism that defies every danger and endures every trial, here cheerfully, nay, joyously struggling with nature in her wildest, obscurest depths, and meeting, on his own ground and around his own camp-fires, the still wilder savage—here planting the footsteps of an

advancing civilization, and, in the midst of every peril and every privation, creating an Arcadia of simple happiness amid the sombre forests that lined the banks of our noble river. Nor is the history one of mere endurance,—it has its stormy and its romantic incidents.

A distinguished fellow citizen, who has helped to make much of the recent and preserve much of the past history of Detroit, says: "No place in the United States presents such a series of events, interesting in themselves, and permanently affecting, as they occurred, its progress and prosperity. Five times its flag has changed, three different sovereigns have claimed its allegiance, and, since it has been held by the United States, its government has been thrice transferred. Twice has it been besieged by the Indians, once captured in war, and once burned to the ground."

It is one hundred and fifty-seven years ago to-day since De la Motte Cadillac, with fifty soldiers and fifty artisans and laborers, descending the river in Indian canoes, landed at this spot and commenced the erection of a fort, which was called Fort Pontchartrain, from the distinguished French minister of that name. It owed its foundation, and, for ten years, its continued existence to the zeal, energy and indefatigable exertions of De la Motte Cadillac, one of the most remarkable of all those distinguished men who have indissolubly connected their names with the early history of the Northwest. It is eminently fitting that the early history of our city, its first feeble struggles for existence, the obstacles with which it had to contend, and which seriously threatened its very being, should be fully known, and especially that the life and character of its great founder should be with us, familiar as household words. Our affections intensify as the circle they embrace grows narrow. We admire the vast universe of God; we are more deeply interested in the planet we inhabit. We have an absolute love for our own, our native land, while still more intense is our love for the place we call home. And in proportion to the strength of this passion is the interest we take in every event in its history, and in the character and lives of those whose names have become identified with it. We commemorate their virtues with a filial affection, and throw over their faults the broad mantle of a loving charity.

While there is much in the early history of our city of deep and tragic interest that can never be recalled, yet there lie scattered in manuscripts and printed volumes, like grains of gold through the river sands, facts that need only to be carefully separated from the rubbish in which they are imbedded, and brought into their proper connection with each other, to become of more than golden value as illustrative of our early annals. Many loving

laborers have wrought diligently in this field, but much, very much yet remains to be done.

I propose to make the principal theme of my discourse to-day, De la Motte Cadillac and the first ten years of the history of our city, during which he was commandant.

The rapidity with which the French penetrated the forest recesses of this new world is among the wonders of history. From the time that Champlain founded Quebec upon the rock of St. Louis, to the close of the seventeenth century, the French missionary, the French trader, and the French officer, impelled by religious zeal, the love of gain, and the glory of France, had traversed the entire region extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Lake of the Woods on the north and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, carrying with them the cross, French goods, and the flag of France. Mission stations, trading points and military posts were established at Mackinaw, on the St. Joseph, on the Illinois, at Green Bay, and on Lake Superior.

The English who had taken possession of the Atlantic coast, from Cape Cod to Cape Hatteras, had during the same time scarcely got beyond old ocean's roar. There was something in French character that peculiarly fitted them for this mission of opening up the new world to Christianity and civilization, and that made the toils, the adventures, the hardships, the privations and the dangers that everywhere beset their path a pleasure and a delight. The cheerful and ever gay facility with which they adapted themselves to the life and character of the sons of the forest, enabled them to win their affections, while the calm and ready courage, and even reckless daring with which they met every danger, commanded their admiration and respect.

As early as 1615 the French missionaries penetrated to the region about the Georgian Bay, and established a mission there. In 1641 they reached the Sault St. Marie. In 1660 Father Mesnard reached Keweenaw Bay; in 1665 a mission was established at La Pointe; in 1668, at the Sault Ste. Marie; in 1671, at St. Ignace, Mackinaw, and soon after at St. Joseph. For obvious reasons the beautiful regions bordering on the Detroit, and the lower part of our peninsula, were not visited as early or as freely by the French as the regions bordering on the upper lakes.

From the days of Champlain, who espoused the cause of the Algonquins that inhabited the valley of the St. Lawrence, the Iroquois became the inveterate and hereditary foes of the French, and they controlled the route to the West through Lake Ontario, the Niagara River and Lake Erie. The

French were therefore driven to the difficult and circuitous route of the Ottawa river, Lake Nippising and Lake Huron.

Then, too, the true seat of the Algonquin power was in the region around Lake Superior. There dwelt the Chippewas, the largest and most powerful of all the Algonquin nations. There burned those eternal fires whose extinction presaged the overthrow of Indian power. The Ottawas had their camp-fires in the northern portion of the Lower Peninsula, but their settlements did not extend below Saginaw on the east and Grand River on the west. The settlement of the Miamis extended as far north as the St. Joseph. Lying between the St. Joseph and the Grand River, and principally in the western part of the State, were the Pottawattomies, a nation neither numerous nor powerful.

The banks of the Detroit did not form the home of any large body of Indians, and consequently were not attractive either to the trader or the missionary, both of whom sought the Indian around his own camp-fires. One reason why this region, unusurpassed in beauty, fertility and commercial advantages by any portion of New France, was not a favorite residence of the Indian was that it was on the war path of the Iroquois. These fierce and ambitious Romans of the western world carried the terrors of their ferocious prowess to the rich prairies of the far west, and were the scourge of the peaceful Illinois. Desolation and death marked their course, and depopulation reigned where they marched.

While, doubtless, solitary missionaries and adventurers visited the banks of the Detroit at a much earlier date, I have been unable to find any authentic account of its being visited by white men previous to August, 1679, when the gallant La Salle sailed up our beautiful river in the ill-fated Griffin, built near Black Rock. The adventurous voyagers were enraptured with the scene. Father Hennepin, the historian of the voyage, thus describes it:

"On the tenth [of August, 1679], we came to an Anchor at the Mouth of the Streight which runs from the Lake Huron into that of Erie. The eleventh, we went further into the Streight, and passed between two small Islands, which make one of the finest Prospects in the World. This Streight is finer than that of Niagara, being thirty Leagues long, and everywhere one League broad, except in the middle that it stretches itself, forming the Lake we have called St. Claire. The Navigation is easie on both sides, the Coast being low and even. It runs directly from North to South.

"The Country between these two Lakes is very well situated, and the Soil is very fertile. The Banks of the Streight are vast Meadows, and the Prospect is terminated with some Hills covered with Vineyards, Trees bearing

good Fruit, Groves and Forests, so well disposed, that one would think Nature alone could not have made, without the Help of Art, so charming a Prospect. That Country is stocked with Stags, wild Goates and Bears, who are good for Food, and not fierce as in other Countries; some think they are better than our Pork. The Turkey Cocks and Swans are there also very common; and our Men brought several other Beasts and Birds whose Names are unknown to us, but they are extraordinary relishing. The Forests are chiefly made up of Walnut trees, Chestnut trees, Plum trees and Pear trees, loaded with their own Fruit and Vines. There is also, abundance of Timber fit for Buildings, so that those who shall be so happy as to inhabit that Noble Country cannot but remember with Gratitude those who have discovered the Way, by venturing to sail upon an unknown Lake for above one hundred of Leagues."

Forty-two years later the accomplished Charlevoix visited the same scene, and says:

"It is pretended that this is the finest spot of all Canada, and really, if we may judge by appearances, nature seems to have refused it nothing that can contribute to make a country delightful—hills, meadows, fields, lofty forests, rivulets, fountains, rivers, and all of them so excellent in their kind, and so happily blended, as to equal the most romantic wishes. The lands, however, are not all equally proper for every sort of grain, but most are of a wonderful fertility, and I have known some produce good wheat for eighteen years running, without any manure,—and besides, all of them are proper for some particular use. The islands seem placed on purpose for the pleasure of the prospect; the river and lake abound in fish, the air is pure, and the climate temperate and extremely wholesome."

Hennepin proposed a settlement here, but La Salle had still grander projects, and pushed his way west. As early as 1683 the English of New York had their attention turned to the importance of competing with the French for the beaver trade of the upper lakes, by trading companies which should reach the Ottawas through Lake Erie and the Detroit River, and deserters from the French were employed to accompany the Iroquois on such an expedition, but nothing was accomplished.

It however aroused the vigilance of the Governor General, the Marquis de Denonville, who, in November, 1685, wrote to the Minister of the Marine and recommended that a military post be established on the Detroit, for the very purpose of preventing the English from getting access to Mackinaw and its rich fur trade. In June, 1686, having received orders to that effect from France, the governor wrote to M. Du Lhut, who, with M. de la Durantaye, was in command in the upper country, to choose an advantageous position

on the Detroit, near Lake Erie, and establish a garrison of fifty men. The Governor speaks of the post as one of much importance.

This post was actually established that season near Port Huron, and was called sometimes Fort St. Joseph, and sometimes Fort DuLhut. It has been supposed that it was abandoned in 1688, but in 1689 it was undoubtedly still occupied; and in an official document in 1691 the importance "of preserving the posts we occupy at Fort St. Louis, at Detroit and Mackinaw," is spoken of; and in 1700 M. De Longueil, who is mentioned as commandant at Detroit, held an Indian council at his post of Detroit. Whether this was at the same post seems difficult to determine, but it is very evident that whatever post was then existing was temporary in its character.

The English were determined to secure the trade of the Ottawas, and for that purpose in 1686 they planned an extensive expedition to Mackinaw. The Governor of New York issued a formal commission to Capt. Patrick McGregory to command it. This is dated December, 1686. The expedition must have left the region of Buffalo early the next spring. It was manned by about sixty Englishmen and several Indians, and was separated into two divisions, each having a sufficient amount of goods to purchase 8,000 beaver skins. One division, consisting of twenty-nine Christians and six Indians, was captured by M. de la Durantaye of Mackinaw, after it entered Lake Huron. The other by M. Du Lhut commandant on the Detroit, near his post. The prisoners were taken to Montreal, and one, a renegade Frenchman, was executed. This put an end to any further attempt to secure the Indian trade to the English by entering the French country, but great efforts were made to draw the Indians to "Orange" and "Manatte," as Albany and New York were then called. They offered the inducement of high prices for beaver and cheap rum. These allurements were not without their effect upon the Indians of the Northwest, and that effect was heightened by Iroquois endeavors in the English interest. It was to prevent this, to command this channel of communication between the upper lakes and the Iroquois and the English, that in 1709 Louis XIV commanded Antoine De la Motte Cadillac to establish Fort Pontchartrain upon the Detroit, as a permanent post.

Cadillac, or De la Motte as he was usually called, was a native of Gascony, of noble birth, and had served in the army in France. He came when quite young to New France, and served as a captain in the army in Arcadia, then one of the most flourishing of the French colonies, and the cruel desolation of which by the English has been commemorated in immortal verse by the genius of Longfellow. He here acquired such distinction that, in 1689, on the breaking out of the war between England and France, after the revolu-

tion of 1688 and the ascension of William and Mary to the throne of England, he was sent for to Versailles, by Louis XIV, to give there accurate information in relation to the condition of New France and the English colonies, and especially in relation to the condition of the harbors and the defences on the coast, with which he was well acquainted. There is strong official evidence of the high estimate in which his opinions were held by the King and court.

While in Arcadia he had ascended the St. John 150 miles in a canoe, and in 1692 he furnished a full account of the country to the King. In 1691 he was ennobled by Louis XIV, by the title of Lord Bouaguat and Mount Desert, and the King at the same time granted to him Mount Desert Island, and a large tract of land on Frenchman's Bay, in the State of Maine, and in 1787 the government of Massachusetts, of which Maine was then a part, granted to his grand-daughter, Madame Gregoire, the entire of Mount Desert Island not owned or occupied by actual settlers, and naturalized her and her husband.

In 1694 De la Motte was appointed by the celebrated Count Frontenac, then in his old age, and for the second time Governor-general of Canada, to the command of Mackinaw. This, with the exception of Montreal and Quebec, was the most important post in all Canada. It was the great center of Indian trade and Indian influence. It was founded first at St. Ignace, on the north side of the strait, in 1671, by the ever to be revered Father Marquette, who here sought a refuge and a home for his band of Christianized Hurons and his Kish Ka-kons, who had been driven from the beautiful Chegoimegon La Pointe of Lake Superior by the fierce Dacotas. Although having a sterile soil, and a bleak, inhospitable climate, its exhaustless fisheries pecularily fitted it for the residence of savages, who depended upon the bounties of nature for a subsistence rather than the culture of the soil. As Father Marquette had clearly foreseen, it became a great center of Indian commerce in the New World. It was situated at the confluence of the three great lakes, Michigan, Huron, and Superior. Here, as by a natural law, gathered the products of the chase for the whole Northwest; and from here radiated in every direction those *coureurs de bois,* who carried into the deep recesses of the forests that stood upon the banks of the Lake of the Woods and shaded the sources of the Mississippi, the blanket, the red cloth, the glass beads, the powder, and the brandy, that formed the staple commodities of Indian trade.

The vast importance of this post was soon discovered by the French authorities, who established a fort on the south side of the strait, on the upper point of this peninsula, known as Old Mackinaw, and it was success-

ively commanded by some of the ablest of the enterprising officers, who, having been trained in that army which had fought under Conde and Turenne, in old France, had sought a larger and wider field of adventure and prowess in the new world, under the banner of New France. At the time De la Motte took command at Mackinaw, there was a fine fort of pickets, manned by two hundred picked and well-disciplined men, consisting of the best formed and most warlike soldiers of the new world. There were about sixty houses built upon either side of a pleasant, straight street. Besides the soldiers, many traders, adventurers and voyageurs made the post their home.

Outside of the fort, and within pistol shot, were the villages of the Indians, and there were occasions when it is said six or seven thousand savages gathered under its pickets, composed chiefly of Ottawas, Chippewas and Hurons, but there were amongst them representatives from nearly all the tribes and nations, from the Iroquois of New York, to the Dakotas of the far west. For nearly three leagues about the fort the land had been cultivated by the Indians, and produced Indian corn for the supply of both soldiers and savages.

De la Motte left Montreal for Mackinaw on the 24th of September, A. D. 1694. From the very first his progress was impeded by contrary winds and incessant rains, so that in twelve days he made only twenty-five leagues.

The voyageurs became so completely disgusted and disheartened that he sent them back, selecting, however, five of them and two Indians, with whom to complete his journey. Floating ice in immense quantities obstructed their passage through Lake Huron, making his advance dangerous and frightful. On his arrival he found himself at once made the umpire in all matters of difference between the chiefs of the various tribes and nations resorting to Mackinaw. This caused him great heaviness of spirit; but the subject which caused him the greatest annoyance was the cessation of the brandy trade, by order of the King.

From the very foundation of the colony, the fur trade was the great source of gain, and brandy was one of the staple commodities of that trade. It soon began to work out among the poor Indians its legitimate fruits of misery and death.

The Jesuit missionaries were, of all others, in the best position to see this wretched fruition, and at an early day they commenced a determined warfare upon this brandy traffic with Indians, and for nearly a century, with steady, persevering consistency—with all the energy of their characters, and all the earnestness of a holy zeal, they placed themselves between the savage and his deadliest foe. They invoked in this holy warfare the aid not only of a burning and invincible logic, but the authority of the church and the

arm of the civil power. And no modern temperance documents contain more vivid descriptions of the terrible effects of intemperance upon the physical, social, and spiritual welfare of its victims, and more earnest appeals for the intervention of the strong arm of the law, than are to be found in the papers, official and unofficial, of those Jesuit Fathers. But most of the colonial officers were, directly or indirectly, interested in the fur trade, and consequently in this traffic, and they, as well as the traders with all the energy, ingenuity and determination of purpose that belongs to self-interest, resisted the efforts of the holy fathers. But in 1694 the latter secured an ordinance from the King prohibiting the transportation of brandy to Mackinaw, the great emporium of Indian commerce. This ordinance had just come into force when De la Motte assumed the government. Its publication and enforcement produced an intense and universal commotion, not only among the Indians, but among all the French and traders. No one was more bitterly opposed to the ordinance than De la Motte himself, and he brought to bear against it every argument, every influence and every exertion that he could command. This brought him in immediate conflict with the missionaries, and from this time there sprang up between him and the Jesuits a permanent bitterness of feeling, a settled and active enmity, that lasted during his whole careeer in the Northwest—an enmity that interfered with, and sometimes defeated, many of his dearest plans, and blasted his fondest hopes. In his future career he often complained of their interference with his affairs, their determined opposition to his projects, and their steady implacability. On one occasion he says:

"I do my best to make the Jesuits my friends, wishing truly to be theirs; but, if I dare say it, all impiety apart, it would be better to speak against God than against them, because, on the one side, a person might receive His pardon, but on the other, the offense, even though doubtful, is never forgiven in this world, and would not be in the other, if their credit were as good there as it is in this country."

It is at least doubtful whether this mutual enmity between De la Motte and the Jesuits had its sole orgin in this brandy warfare. It must be borne in mind that the golden age of the Jesuits had passed. Those noble men who, as pioneers of Christianity in the forests of the New World, and as martyrs for their faith, had won imperishable renown. Brebeuf, Lallemant, Daniel, Dablon, Dreuillettes, Allouez and Marquette, had gone to rest, and the predominating spirit of the order here, as well as in Europe, had become worldly and ambitious; so much so that an opposition to them deep-seated, determined and powerful, had sprung up within the bosom of the church itself—an opposition that ultimately led to their expulsion from

most of the Catholic countries of Europe, and the abolition of the order by the Pope himself. This hostility was very strong in the court of Louis XIV, and extended to New France.

De la Motte espoused the cause of the Franciscans, and, although a zealous Catholic, he cordially and openly hated the Jesuits, and probably did so before his controversy with them at Mackinaw.

In his resistance of the ordinance he uses, and with great effect, just the line of argument which is familiar to our ears in opposition to modern prohibitory laws. He claims the right to use brandy as a birth-right of Frenchmen. He indignantly asks: "Are we not subjects of the King even as others? In what country, then, or in what land until now, have they taken from the French the right to use brandy?"

He claims its use for purposes of health, and says: "Fish and smoked meats constitute the principal food of the inhabitants, so that a drink of brandy, after the repast, seems necessary to cook the bilious meats and the crudities which they leave in the stomach. The air is penetrating and corrosive, and without the brandy that they use in the morning, sickness would be much more frequent."

He claims that it does not interfere with the Indians becoming Christians, for the Sioux don't drink brandy at all, and yet they despise the missionaries, and laugh at the foolishness of preaching. He finally insists that if the French do not furnish the Indians with brandy, the English will.

When importuned by the chiefs to furnish them brandy in exchange for beaver, as his predecessors had done, he excused himself upon the ground that the trees on the other side of the great water, which produced it, had frozen this year, and exhorted them to have courage and patience until another year.

De la Motte remained in command of Mackinaw until 1697. It was during a period of active warfare between England and France. The colonies of the two countries were involved in the contest, and consequent upon this was an Indian war. The Iroquois took part with their English allies, while the Chippewas, the Ottawas, and most of the nations of the Northwest took part with the French. But no arts and no efforts were wanting to win them from their allegiance and enlist them with the English, and if that failed, at least to withdraw them from the contest. Iroquois emissaries were everywhere applying all the arts of Indian diplomacy, aided by English wealth. The duties of the commandant of Mackinaw were complicated, arduous and important. It was his duty to detect and defeat the intrigues of a wily foe; to maintain the friendship of fickle, credulous and treacherous allies;

to guard his own post from surprises alike from professed friends and open enemies; to send to the aid of the Governor General such Indian forces as could be mustered in the Northwest, and through all to keep alive the commerce of his post. These duties Cadillac performed with singular ability. He had thoroughly studied the Indian character, and had in a striking manner those qualities that gave him great power over the Indian mind. He was sagacious, prudent, and had all the suavity of the Frenchman, united with a fearless intrepidity of character, and a manner and habit of command that gave him great influence over the sons of the forest. He won their affections and commanded their respect. Official documents of the time contain many evidences of the great service he rendered the King during this period.

His just and prudent conduct, his skillful address in dealing with the savages, the discreet and dignified mingling of argument, persuasion, promises, and threats in council, when enlisting them in the service of the King, or thwarting some plan of treachery prompted by Iroquois and English influence are fully acknowledged. Some fine specimens of his eloquence, adapted to the Indian character, are preserved. "Big Head," an influential Ottawa chief, was desirous of trading with the English, and, for that purpose, that peace should prevail between them and the French, De la Motte addressed him in this manner: "Hast ever seen the moon in thy lake when the evening is clear and the weather calm? It appears in the water, and yet nothing is truer than that it is in the sky. Thou art very old, but know that, wert thou to return to thy early youth, and to take it unto thy head to fish up the moon in thy lake only once a year, you would more readily succeed in scooping that planet up in thy net than in effecting what thou art ruminating upon. In vain dost thou fatigue thy brain. Be assured that the English and the French cannot be in the same place without killing each other. Those are arrangements made beyond the great lake." Big Head laconically replied, "How strange!"

It was doubtless at Mackinaw, and while witnessing the ready access which the Iroquois, and, through them, the English, had by the way of the Detroit to the Indians and the Indian commerce of the upper lakes, and the uninterrupted war-path between the Iroquois and the peaceful and friendly Illinois, that Cadillac conceived the plan of a permanent post and settlement on the Detroit—one that, from its strength and character, would become the center of influence and power and should effectually hold in check the Iroquois. He doubtless had dreams of personal aggrandizement and power, of becoming a kind of feudal lord over this beautiful region, with vassal and retainer. In 1699 he visited the court of Versailles, where

his great merit and services were well known, and solicited from the King the right and power to serve His Majesty by establishing this post. In an interview with Count Pontchartrain, the colonial minister in 1700, Cadillac, with tact and skill, overcame his objections to the project. He claimed that "the first and perhaps most important object (in establishing Detroit), would be to make it a permanent post, not subject to frequent changes, as are many of the others. To effect this, it is only necessary to have a good number of the French, soldiers and traders, and to draw around it the tribes of friendly Indians, in order effectually to conquer the Iroquois, who from all time have ruined the colonies and prevented the advancement of civilization." He frankly informed the minister that the Jesuits were his personal enemies, and would oppose him. At the close of the conversation the count said: "If the King approves this project, I will give you two hundred chosen men, of different trades, with six companies of soldiers, in order that the place may be in a condition to hold the Iroquois in subjection in time of peace, and to destroy them if they wish for war, and particularly that our allies may be secure under this protection. Therefore, prepare yourself to return to Canada, and commence the establishment of Detroit."

The King did approve and Cadillac was commanded to return without delay and take prompt possession of Detroit. A commission as commandant was issued, and he was granted a tract of land fifteen acres square, "wherever on the Detroit the new fort shall be established." He arrived in Quebec on the eighth day of March, A. D., 1701. He left La Chine, near Montreal, for Detroit, on the 5th day of June, with fifty soldiers and fifty traders and citizens, and on the 24th of July, one hundred and fifty-seven years ago to-day, he landed upon this spot and established the fort. Against his will, but by the command of the Governor General, he came by the circuitous but safe route of the Ottawa River, Lakes Nippising and Huron. Father Valliant, a Jesuit missionary, accompanied the expedition, and by his intrigues on the route, sought to defeat it, and persuade the men to return. De la Motte detected the plot, and made a frank, manly and characteristic speech to the company and they remained true to their purpose.

I am not aware that there is any evidence that when De La Motte landed there were any Indian villages upon the banks of our beautiful river. On the contrary, he speaks of it as an abandoned country, long in the possession of the Iroquois and the wolves, as their natural hunting ground. Whether this particular spot was then covered with trees, or whether it had been cleared and cultivated by its former Indian possessors, I have not been able to ascertain, but of the general character of the scene there can be no doubt. The river moved with the same quiet beauty and majesty that now marks its

course. Its clear blue waters glistened in the summer sun, and the wild water-fowl gracefully skimmed its surface. The forest, primeval and gloomy, gave a melancholy grandeur to the picture, and the deep verdure of the interlocked branches shaded the rich soil from the rays of the sun. The native grape-vine hung in rich festoons from the boughs of the trees. Wild flowers, in bright and beautiful profusion, covered the earth. The trembling deer cowered in the thickets or bounded gracefully through the forest. What were the emotions of those early settlers as they gazed upon the scene, fresh, solitary, yet magnificent, and thought of the homes they had left beyond the almost pathless forests they had traversed, and the perils that environed them now, let each for himself fancy.

Fort Pontchartrain, a mere stockade of pickets, with four wooden bastions, occupied the ground extending from the residence of Joseph Campau to the Michigan Exchange, and extended to the river, which then ran along where Woodbridge street now is.

The little settlement, from the very first, had many enemies and struggled with many difficulties, and on more than one occasion its continued existence was exceedingly problematical. The Iroquois were its bitter foes. They had remonstrated against its establishment, and when established they sought its overthrow. Nor can this be wondered at. It cut them off from all ready access to the upper lakes, where both their terrible prowess and their wonderful diplomacy had often been displayed; it interrupted their path to the Mississippi and interfered with their hunting grounds. It found, too, in the Jesuits, a no less determined and more powerful foe. The feud between them and De la Motte burned with unquenchable fierceness. They looked upon the savages as their peculiar inheritance, and they could tolerate no effort for their control, from which they were to be excluded; and well they knew the power that De la Motte could and would exert over them.

From the very first, too, it had the settled and almost fatal opposition of the Governor General. Unlike other posts, it was established by the direct command of the King, De la Motte receiving his commission and his original orders direct from His Majesty, and not from or through the Governor General. It was, therefore, in a measure independent of his authority. This feature was well calculated to excite jealousy and dislike. Then, too, the very theory of its establishment contemplated the partial or entire abandonment of Mackinaw, as the Indians then located there were to be gathered around this post, and here brought under the influence of this civilization. The great Indian trade that had passed from Mackinaw to Montreal, and in which the governor was, directly or indirectly, largely interested, would be extinguished, or rather transferred to Detroit. And

last, not least, Detroit felt in its full force the effects of that vicious commercial policy which characterized the whole government of France in the new world. Trade was not left to its natural freedom, but was hampered and crippled by monopolies and unwholesome restraints. Greatly to the chagrin of De la Motte, during the very first year of its existence, the entire monopoly of the fur trade was granted to the "Company of the Colony," of course to the exclusion of all other inhabitants. The company were to complete the construction of the fort, and to keep it in repair. The King was to support the garrison, but the company were to transport provisions and other articles for that purpose at certain cheap rates. The commandant and one other officer were to be supported by the company.

After so far completing the fort as to make it defensible against Indians, erecting some log houses, and preparing the ground for fall crops, De la Motte addressed himself, with all the energy of character for which he was distinguished, to one of the great purposes he had in view, that of gathering around the infant settlement the Indian nations of this and the Upper Peninsula, and especially those which had gathered about Mackinaw, and to make this place the great center of Indian trade, Indian power, and Indian civilization. He had, while in command of Mackinaw, acquired, in a high degree, the confidence of the Indians, and although every effort was made by the Fathers Marest and Carheil, and other Jesuits to defeat his plans and prevent this emigration, he succeeded in this part of his enterprise most remarkably. In 1703, several villages had been gathered about the fort. Most of the Hurons arrived, some Ottawas, some Miamis, Pottawattomies, and other tribes. He writes to Count Pontchartrain on the 31st of August:

"Thirty Hurons of Michilimackinac arrived here on the 28th of June, to unite themselves with those already established here. There remain only about twenty-five at Michilimackinac. Father Carheil, who is missionary there, remains always firm. I hope, this fall, to pluck out the last feather of his wing, and I am pursuaded that this obstinate old priest will die in his parish without having a single parishioner to bury him."

In 1705 he informs the Count that there are 2,000 Indians in the villages near the fort, 400 of whom are warriors. There were probably periods in our history when our Indian population was still greater than this. In 1736 the number of warriors at this place was estimated as follows: Hurons, 200; Ottawas, 200; and Pottawattomies, 150. This would indicate an Indian population of nearly 3,000.

The Huron village was on the old Jones farm, near where the gas buildings now are. The Pottawattomies were on the Navarre or Brevoort farm,

and the Ottawas were on the Canadian side of the river. The Hurons and Ottawas had very respectable forts defended with pickets.

But the implacable hostility of the Jesuits to De la Motte and his whole project was a constant source of annoyance and trouble. He says, in one of his letters: "I have not lived until now without knowing perfectly well how dangerous it is to cross their path."

After the quarrel with Father Valliant, and his departure, the Jesuits claimed the right of being the missionaries to the Indians which should gather about Detroit; and, under the direction of the Governor General, an arrangement was made between the Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec and the Company of the Colony, for the establishment and support of a Jesuit mission here, by which the company was to pay each missionary 800 francs, and the King was to furnish provisions for their support. In accordance with this agreement, the company, in the spring of 1703, sent an express canoe for the celebrated Father Marest, at Mackinaw; but he declined coming. De La Motte complains that they will not occupy the post themselves nor let others do so. This was the only French settlement in all Canada where the Jesuits were not. I apprehend that no mission was established among the Indians here until after 1730—certainly there was none among them when Charlevoix was here in 1721. There were Franciscan priests here, but their legitimate duties did not extend to the care of the Indians.

De la Motte did not lose sight of the civilization of the Indians. He built comfortable houses for some of the chiefs, and sought to inspire them with a love for domestic comfort and the habits of civilized life. He urged very strenuously upon the Colonial Minister the establishment of a seminary for the education of the Indian children with those of the French. He also proposed the organization of military companies among the Indians, to be equipped and disciplined like French soldiers, allowing them, however, a much larger liberty than belonged to the latter. He sought to encourage permanent settlement by the French, and the granting of land titles to them; but in this he was greatly thwarted by the Company of the Colony, who had the exclusive monopoly of the fur trade, and who were interested in having as few settlers as possible in the country.

But the very success of De la Motte in drawing to this point the Indians of Mackinaw created one of its principal dangers. It interfered with the interests of many persons connected with the colonial government, and who were also connected with the fur trade, as it seriously checked the intercourse of the Indians with Montreal. They were in the habit of going down there annually in large numbers, and never went empty-handed. Rich and

costly furs were often presented to officials, while the return presents came from the King. Thus the whole influence of the colonial government was added to the united influence of the Jesuits against the very existence of Detroit. Strong representations against its continuance were early made to the King with such effect that in May, 1703, he ordered that the principal men of the country be assembled, to consider and pass upon the expediency of its future existence. The order is of much interest, and is as follows:

"The information laid before His Majesty regarding the establishment of Detroit is so conflicting that he is very glad, once for all, to know what he is to rely upon. His Majesty will not repeat to them the reasons which have prompted him to order this report to be made. Sieur de la Motte Cadillac continues to be persuaded that these reasons exist, and that this establishment will have all the effect expected from it. Others pretend that the land there is good for nothing; that it will never produce anything to feed its inhabitants; that the only thing there is the very poor fishing, and that the hunting is between thirty and forty leagues off; and finally, that it is to be feared that the Iroquois will attack that post without its being in our power to assist it, and that war will recommence in consequence. The Company of the Colony complains, likewise, that it involves them in an exorbitant expense, which it is out of their power to sustain, if it be continually required to convey to that post the supplies necessary for the support of the people there. His Majesty's pleasure is, that the Messrs. De Callieres and De Beauharnois assemble the said Sieur de la Motte Cadillac and the most respectable of the inhabitants of the country, whether officers or settlers, for the purpose of discussing, with great attention and care, the reasons for and against that establishment, and that they afterwards draw up an exact report thereon, which they will cause to be signed by the said Sieur de la Motte Cadillac and the most respectable of those who will have attended that meeting, and that they will sign it themselves, so that His Majesty may issue orders on its contents, either to consent to the preservation or augmentation of that post, or to abandon it altogether, or to allow it to remain as a mere trading post. His Majesty is persuaded that they will act therein without prejudice, and with a view solely to the public good and service."

The manner in which this order was executed illustrates both the opposition of the colonial government to Detroit and the unfairness which they used to defeat the intentions of His Majesty in its favor.

The Governor General and Intendant, instead of assembling De la Motte and the principal inhabitants of the country, as required in the order, made the report called for, in November, 1703, having assembled at Quebec, without notice to De la Motte, such persons as they saw fit, to pass upon the pro-

priety of continuing the post, and called in such traders and others from here as were then in Quebec, and these were not permitted to leave until they signed the report declaring the post uninhabitable and burdensome, and recommending its abandonment.

About this time the fort was partly burned, being set on fire by an Indian, supposed to be an Iroquois emissary. A barn filled with Indian corn and other grain was fired, and there being a high wind it extended to the church and the house of the Recollets.

De la Motte's house and that of his lieutenant were also consumed, and a portion of the defences. The soldiers, generally about twenty-five in number, were now reduced to fourteen, but the savages cheerfully aided in rebuilding, and presented De la Motte with 100 bushels of corn, in part to make up the loss he had suffered by the fire. They also supplied the garrison with corn of their own raising, of which they had an abundance.

Soon after this a band of Miamis, 400 strong, attacked the Indians at Detroit, and two Hurons, two Ottawas and a Pottawattomie were killed, but the bold, energetic conduct of De la Motte brought the aggressors to terms, and they replaced the dead with the living, and made large presents to the relatives of those who were killed. De la Motte suspected the fire and the attack were alike the result of Jesuit intrigue to destroy the post, but of this there is no evidence. This event was followed by the approach of a small war party of Illinois, who were discovered and taken prisoners, and whipped by order of De la Motte, who sent four of them back with a stern message to the nation that brought them to submission and terms.

By an arrangement made with the Company of the Colony in 1702, they were to pay De la Motte 2,000 francs a year and furnish his supplies, and it became his duty to prevent others than the agents of the company engaging in trade in furs.

His lieutenant was M. de Tonty, brother of the Chevalier de Tonty, the friend and companion of De La Salle. He persisted in violating the rights of the company by trading on his own account, and De la Motte reported him at Montreal. He also detected two of the agents of the company in like practices and embezzling furs from the company's warehouse. These he likewise reported to the Governor General and to the company. All of these offending parties were strong at the colonial court. One of the detected agents was a brother-in-law of the two principal directors of the company, and the other was a son-in-law of one of them, who was an uncle to the Governor General. This discharge of his duty, united to existing causes already referred to, originated a settled determination at Montreal to destroy De la Motte, if not Detroit.

In the fall of 1704 De la Motte visited Quebec. He was there arrested, by order of the Intendant, on various charges of a vexatious rather than a serious character; such as acts exceeding his authority, a want of regard for the interests of the company, and an improper imprisonment of some of its officers.

After vexatious delays, detaining him from his duty here, he was acquitted of the charges on the 15th day of June, 1705; but the Governor General delayed his consent to his return to his command. But in the mean time the Colonial Minister, Count Pontchartrain, had arrived at Quebec, and De la Motte presented himself before him to vindicate his conduct. The Count was indignant that Detroit, of which he was the especial patron, had not succeeded better, and had, doubtless, heard much that was prejudicial to the conduct of De la Motte, and he met him with bitter reproaches. But De la Motte knew the uprightness of the character of the minister, and was confident both in his own innocence and his own ability. He gave to the Count a detailed history of his operations here, of the obstacles that beset his path, of the conspiracy of the Jesuits and the colonial officers to destroy him and his post, of the grasping and illiberal policy of the company, and, finally, went into a full defense against the recent specific charges against him.

This document, in the form of a dialogue between De la Motte and the Count, is one of exceeding interest as illustrative of our early history, and is highly honorable to both parties.

De la Motte succeeded entirely in reinstating himself in the confidence of the minister, and in the summer of 1706 returned to his command, relying confidently upon the support of the King.

But his long absence from the post had greatly endangered its safety. During the absence of De la Motte, M. Bougmont had been sent here to command. The Ottawas, partly owing to De la Motte's continued absence and partly to dissatisfaction inculcated by the Iroquois, whom they occasionally visited, and partly to the indiscretion of M. Bougmont, became insolent and turbulent, and finally, in the spring of 1706, they attacked the Miamis near the fort, killed Father Constantine, a Recollet, and La Rivere, a soldier, who were outside of the walls, and kept up a brisk fire upon the fort for several hours.

There were but fifteen soldiers in the fort, not enough to resent and revenge the attack, scarcely enough to defend themselves, and their whole stock of powder was less than 100 pounds. The Indians hovered around the fort in a threatening manner for some forty or fifty days, keeping up a kind of siege, but did no further mischief.

The French, and De la Motte in particular, were deeply indignant at this attack, and were determined to have a signal redress.

The Ottawas became greatly alarmed, and sued for peace in the most humble terms.

The Governor General, to whom they sent a deputation with presents, after rebuking them sharply, referred them to De la Motte, who had now returned to his post. The deputation then came here, and most earnestly and humbly besought his pardon and mercy.

He looked upon Le Pesant, or the Bear, a chief of great power and influence, as the principal offender, and was determined that he should be given up to vengeance. He had previously written to the Governor General:

"My own opinion is that this attack of the Ottawas ought not to go unpunished.

"In order to completely quiet these troubles, it will be necessary to put Le Pesant, and three or four others to death, and to pardon the rest. This punishment would render the chiefs of each nation more wise and circumspect, since the chiefs are always the authors of such mischief." And he adds, by way of religious consolation, I suppose: "Le Pesant is old and his missionary will pray God for him after his death, and give him absolution at his death if he demand it."

At the great council, now being held, he exhibited, in a striking manner, his knowledge of, and power over, Indian character. In a stern and uncompromising manner he demanded that Le Pesant should be delivered to him for punishment.

The chiefs, seeing his determination of purpose, finally yielded but requested that De la Motte should send a canoe to Mackinaw, where they would deliver him.

He did send a canoe as requested and the old chief was given up. When the submission thus became perfect, De la Motte, with the genuine kindness of soul that characterized him, pardoned Le Pesant and set him at liberty.

This came very near involving De la Motte in a war with the Miamis, who clamored for the blood of the Ottawa. But he was equal to any emergency, and by his prudence and courage averted the impending danger and compelled a peace.

The Iroquois, too, threatened the destruction of the post, but the danger which was the most imminent and from which De la Motte justly apprehended the most difficulty was of another character. He had, from the first been a favorite with the French court, and especially with Count Ponchartrain, but notwithstanding the favor and honors with which the latter sent him back to his post in 1706, powerful interests were at work at Versailles to

undermine his position. The combined and powerful influence of the Governor General and the Jesuits was brought to bear against him, and through him against the post he commanded. In consequence of complaints of the conduct of M. de la Motte made to the King by M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor General, and M. Raudot, the Intendant, and of counter-charges made by De la Motte that these officers did not furnish the means to sustain the post, the King, on the thirtieth of June 1707, appointed Sieur d'Aigremont, who is mentioned as sub-delegate to Sieur Raudot, the Intendant, to visit Detroit and to make careful and thorough inquiries as to the condition of the post, the character of its soil, the advantages of its location, the facts as to the remissness of the colonial officers in supplying it with the means of support and defence, the conduct of De la Motte generally, and whether he was engaged in a trade with the English, and especially as to the trade in brandy and powder which he might carry on. D'Aigremont was also to visit Mackinaw and other posts, but Detroit was to be the chief object of his visit. The instructions were written in a very friendly spirit to De la Motte.

It is not easy to form in our minds a clear and distinct picture of Detroit as it was at this time, 1707–8. The location of the fort and the character of its defences I have already mentioned. The soldiers rarely numbered more than twenty-five, and sometimes did not exceed fourteen or fifteen. They were poorly paid and illy clad. There were less than seventy French settlers properly so-called, nearly half of whom were traders. Twenty-nine of these settlers had taken ground plots within the fort, and had erected small log houses thatched with grass, situated on either side of streets about fifteen feet in width. Besides the settlers there were found occasionally at the posts many voyageurs and bush-rangers, while around were gathered the Indians in their villages. They, and especially the Hurons, cultivated the fertile soil with no inconsiderable success, raising large quantities of Indian corn, peas, and beans, and some wheat. During the hunting season the place was nearly deserted by the Indians, but at other times they gathered here in large numbers and engaged in their favorite sports, games, dances, and feasts, and not infrequently in wild and drunken revelry.

It was over this motley group of soldiers, settlers, traders, voyageurs, bush-rangers and Indians that De la Motte exercised absolute authority, subject only to the command of the Governor General and the authority of the King, both of whom were too far distant to operate as a serious check upon the commandant. The Company of the Colony no longer monopolized the fur trade, and with their monopoly ceased the salary of 2,000 francs which they had paid to De la Motte, and the supplies they had furnished him. He became dependent upon such resources as the place itself could furnish

to support himself and family in a position becoming his rank and his command. That he adapted himself gracefully to his duties as well as necessities of his position, there can be no doubt. His wife and daughter personally gave their attention to the nursing of the sick, and performed those acts of kindness becoming their sex and position.

The income necessary to sustain himself and to keep up the establishment was derived from various sources. He charged licenses to mechanics for the exercise of their trades. Thus he charged Parent, the blacksmith of the place, who had, I suppose, the monopoly of both the French and Indian business, 600 francs and two hogsheads of ale, and he was also to shoe De la Motte's horse. He had at a large expense erected a mill for the grinding of grain and charged the one-eighth for toll. He charged the inhabitants a small rent for the use of the lands they occupied, and a poll tax of ten francs a year; but unquestionably the chief source of profit was the fur and brandy trade. He established some curious regulations of the latter trade in order to prevent the disturbances that would have arisen from the excessive use of brandy. It was all kept in the public storehouse and was dealt out to each customer, whether French or Indian, in his turn. Only one twenty-fourth part of a quart could be obtained at a time, and for that a price was paid of twenty francs a quart. The high price and the small quantity operated as magic regulators and measurably prevented intoxication.

It was natural that in such a state of society as this, where all power, military and civil, judicial and administrative, was exercised by one man, that complaint and causes of complaint should exist, and especially that an unfriendly inquirer could find material for charges against the commandant. The enemies of De la Motte could have found no more fitting emissary than M. d' Aigremont.

He arrived in Detroit on the 15th of July, 1708, and remained here nineteen days. He evidently came here with a prejudgment against De la Motte, for during his whole stay he did not have more than two hours of conversation with him, while he was very active in making secret inquiries of both French and Indians, in relation to his conduct. His report, made from Quebec on the 14th of November, 1708, is written in a captious, unfriendly spirit, and is full of petty charges against De la Motte, none of them of a grave character or involving moral turpitude, but acts, which, if true, manifested too strong a love of gain and an undue exercise of power—such as charging an oppressive sum for licenses to certain mechanics, and too great an amount of toll for grinding at his wind-mill.

M. d' Aigremont reported strongly against the further maintenance of

this post as highly prejudicial to Canada, mainly for the reason that it would be fatal to Mackinaw, and would throw the Indian trade into the hands of the English. He gives a very unfavorable description of the soil, as consisting of a sandy surface nine or ten inches deep, beneath which is a clay so stiff that water cannot penetrate it, and the trees as being stunted oaks and hardy walnuts. While he admits that Indian corn grows very well, he does not believe that the fruits of Europe can be brought to perfection, and says that chestnuts are the only kind of fruit that is good.

In conclusion he cordially recommends the establishment of Mackinaw, which had become almost a ruin, having had no garrison for many years, and now having only some fourteen or fifteen French inhabitants.

This elaborate report did not have all the effect that the enemies of De la Motte and Detroit hoped for. On the 6th of July, 1709, Count Pontchartrain, the steady friend of De la Motte, acknowledges to M. d' Aigremont the reception of his letter. He rebukes him in the following language: "I have noted all you write me respecting Detroit. As it was the main object of your mission, it seems to me that your sojourn there was not long enough to obtain a thorough understanding of it. Besides, M. De la Motte complains that you did not confer a sufficient length of time with him to appreciate the reasons whereon he acted, which, perhaps, might have led you to adopt other sentiments than those you embraced. In a new country like that, new maxims are sometimes necessary, which may appear censurable on their face, and be intrinsically good."

He cordially endorses De la Motte's conduct in some particulars in which it is attacked in the report, and mildly censures him in the following language: "Nevertheless, I find a too great cupidity in said Sieur de la Motte, and that his private interests in establishing that post may have engaged him to prefer his special advantages to the general good of the colony." He declares that the King has decided to withdraw his troops from Detroit, and to leave the post entirely in the hands of De la Motte to sustain at his own expense, and enjoy its command and its emoluments. The troops, however, do not seem to have been withdrawn, for they were there in 1712 in small numbers.

In the early part of 1711, De la Motte having been appointed to the difficult and important post of Governor of Louisiana, bade a final adieu to Detroit. His success here had fallen far short of his expectations, but it was owing entirely to his unconquerable perseverance and his great ability that it continued to exist at all. Unexpected obstacles had encountered him at every step. The difficulty of establishing a colony in the very heart of the new world, amongst a savage population, a thousand miles from the sea

coast, to which access can only be obtained by canoe navigation, interrupted by portages, is, under the most favorable circumstances, an undertaking of great magnitude and difficulty; but when, in addition to those difficulties which are natural and inevitable, such an undertaking meets the opposition of the government upon whose fostering care it relies, and encounters the steady, bitter enmity of the most powerful religious society the Christian world ever saw—then in the height of its power—success, in the highest sense of that term, becomes impossible. De la Motte had hopes to build upon the banks of the Detroit a large and flourishing colony, of which he should be the acknowledged founder and head. He left it, after ten years of indefatigable exertion, a feeble trading post struggling for existence, its fate being yet doubtful. But could he have looked through the gloom that surrounded him to this hour, and have witnessed the scene that spreads itself before our eyes, and seen and heard grateful tribute we now make to him and his work, the rich sunshine of joy would have illumined his sorrowful soul, as, with tearful eye, he turned a last fond look upon this theatre of his hopes, his toils, his sacrifices and his disappointments.

To his memory, as the founder of our city, we owe this cordial tribute of gratitude and respect, nor is he unworthy of that tribute. There are few names connected with our northwestern history that are entitled to so high a place in our memories. He had a mind sufficiently comprehensive to originate great and noble enterprises and every capacity to carry into successful execution the enterprises thus formed. He had a calm courage and a bold intrepedity of character that shrank from no danger, and fitted him for every emergency. He possessed great influence over others, and was eminently fitted for command, and, while he loved power, it was never exercised with cruelty or oppression.

He was eminently frank and truthful, a cordial friend and an earnest, open foe. His enemies accused him of being ambitious of gain, but no taint of fraud, corruption or treachery ever rested upon his name, while recorded facts show that he devoted himself with disinterested and self denying toil and sacrifices to the well being of the little colony he founded. No special vices seem to have marked his career or marred the harmony of his character. Such was De la Motte, the founder of Detroit, the first Governor of Louisana.

The Territory of Louisiana was at this time almost an unknown wilderness. Lower Louisiana contained only twenty-eight families of Frenchmen. One hundred and seventy-five soldiers were scattered at the different posts, a few hundred inhabitants were situated at different places throughout the vast territory, which scattered from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains

and embraced the whole valley of the Mississippi. But in the comprehensive plans of the French monarch its government assumed an importance greatly disproportioned to its population.

The great contest between England and France for the dominion of the New World, which began with the foundation of Quebec and was terminated just a century and a half thereafter by the victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, began to attract the attention of the civilized world. Already had France commenced that magnificent design of a cordon of posts from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, which gradually but surely were to hem in the English settlements and subject them to the power of the Gallic monarch. Had the wisdom that conceived that plan been spared for its execution America would doubtless have had a far different history. But the folly and profligacy of the reign which succeeded that of Louis the Grand sacrificed the glory and the power of France to the shameless pleasures of a corrupt court.

It was in the partial execution of this grand plan of dominion and conquest that a man of De la Motte's capacity, energy and experience was selected to fill the position of the first Governor of Louisiana.

Exaggerated ideas already existed of the boundless wealth of the valley of the Mississippi, ideas that a few years after culminated in the world famous Mississippi scheme of John Law. "Anticipating the future, the French nation beheld the certain opulence of coming ages already within their grasp."

De la Motte here on this new field manifested the same qualities that had ever distinguished him. He visited in person the distant posts of Illinois to advance the interests of the colony.

Colonists were attracted to this new Eldorado, settlements were extended, trade with Indians encouraged and enlarged, and a valuable commercial arrangement formed with the Spanish authorities of Mexico; but it was not within the power of human effort to meet and realize the expectations of the French court and the French people. They demanded that the golden stream should be quick and violent, and to meet this demand the government and trade of Louisiana, in 1817, passed into the hands of the new western company of John Law.

Of De la Motte's history after this I have been able to find no authentic trace. Some authors say he died in Louisiana while yet Governor and before Law's company took possession; others that he returned to France. That he died not far from this period I have no doubt, for if living he would have left his mark.

The year succeeding the departure of De la Motte from Detroit was one

of deep and tragic interest to the little post, and that for a time threatened its complete extinction. It was attacked by a large force of Foxes, a bold and warlike race of Indians, who doubtless were instigated to the attack by Iroquois and English interference.

Du Buisson held command of the post and his report of the siege and its results is deeply interesting. Early in the spring of 1712 the Indians encamped in large numbers within fifty paces of the fort, in opposition to the remonstrances of Du Buisson, who, however, was compelled to treat them with mildness, as his whole force consisted of but thirty Frenchmen and eight Miami Indians, and his ordnance of two swivels. They were insolent; claimed the country as their own, and killed the poultry and other animals of the French, who dared to offer no resistance, but when they ventured to come in the fort to kill an inhabitant, Du Buisson could no longer restrain himself, but took arms and drove them from the immediate vicinity, but they intrenched themselves within easy musket shot. He then tore down a church and some other buildings that stood outside the fort, so that the Indians could neither find shelter there nor set fire to the buildings, and burn the fort itself. The Indian allies of the French, the Pottawattomies, the Ottawas, etc., had not yet returned from their winter hunting grounds. The French were in consternation, and the commander, as he quaintly says, "did not know on what saint to call." He says he put on the best countenance he could and encouraged his people. He divided his little force into four brigades and assigned them their stations. The cannon were ready to be loaded, with slugs of iron made by the blacksmith, and the Rev. Father was ready to give absolution in case of necessity. "But Heaven watched over our preservation" said the commander, and just at the very crisis of their fate a large force of friendly Indians arrived, some from a great distance. These were the Illinois, the Missouris, the Osages as well as the tribes in the vicinity, the Ottawas, the Pottawattomies, etc. Detroit, says the narrator, never saw such a collection of people. They were admitted to the fort and supplied with ammunition. The Foxes, from being the besiegers became the besieged. For nineteen days they held their position with wondrous valor and endurance. They dug holes in the ground to protect themselves from the firing of the besiegers. They could not go out for water or food, and their women and children died with hunger and thirst.

When the Indian allies took prisoners they shot at them for sport and then burned them. The Foxes sued for mercy, but the Indian allies would listen to no terms. "I was touched with compassion," says Du Buisson, "but war and pity do not agree together." On the night of the nineteenth day, in the rain, the Foxes escaped, and took refuge on a point running into

Lake St. Clair, a few miles above the city. The French and their allies followed and attacked them, and at the first onset lost twenty men. They then commenced a regular siege, which lasted four days—a hundred canoes carrying the provisions. After fighting with desperate courage, the Foxes surrendered at discretion, but no quarter was given to them. The women and children were spared at the time, but only to be shot at for amusement afterwards—four or five of them in a day, as modern sportsmen shoot at turkeys. The Hurons did not spare a single one that fell to their lot. Nearly one thousand of the Foxes perished in this ill-fated attack upon Detroit, while the allies lost only sixty Indians and one Frenchman. "In this manner," says Du Buisson, "came to an end those wicked nations. Our Rev. Father chanted a grand mass to render thanks to God for having delivered us from the enemy."

With this siege ended the chief perils to our young city. For many years peace prevailed, settlements up and down the river were made, and war and danger gave place to peace and safety.

I have thus briefly and imperfectly sketched to you the career of our illustrious founder, and some of the facts of our history for the first few years of our existence. I am fully conscious that I could have chosen a more attractive theme for an occasion like this.

It would have been particularly pleasing to me to have dwelt at length upon a brighter page in our history, upon that period that followed the seige of Detroit in 1712 to the expiration of the French dominion in 1760.

Although but few facts of this period remain to gratify the economist, enough remains to enable us, with but little aid from the fancy, to form a picture of the social condition of the time. The country bordering on the river was esteemed the loveliest portion of Canada.

The early French writers exercise no moderation in their praise of its beauties and its charms. The deep majestic river, the noble forests, the beautiful meadows, the rising banks, the vines, the fruits and the flowers, the rich soil, the woodlands teeming with every variety of game, from the roving buffalo to the whistling quail, the water-fowl that hovered on the streams and the fish that inhabited them, the mild climate and the salubrious air, all united to swell their rapturous strains.

A country so abounding with beauties and advantages soon attracted to it adventurous settlers from France and the older portions of Canada.

There were two classes came, having the same general national characteristics, yet quite distinct. One was the class of active, intelligent, gen-

tlemanly traders and farmers, many of them of respectable and some of noble connections; the other class were voyageurs and peasants. Here, side by side, they planted their residences and lived in perfect harmony, yet each in his own sphere, each contented with his place. The peasant indulged in no dreams of the equality of man, and ambition never embittered his heart, while a gentleman, jealous of no encroachment from the peasant, was the indulgent and kind-hearted employer and patron. On the banks of the river they built their simple, cheerful homes and surrounded them with fruits and flowers. They were a light-hearted, gay people, full of vivacity and graceful hilarity, scrupulously honest, generous and hospitable; surrounded by danger, they were of undaunted courage, but when the pressure of the present peril was passed, their habitual gayety returned. No memory of the past or fear of the future were permitted to mar the happiness of the present hour. Sorrows and sufferings were soon forgotton and privations laughed at, or cheerfully endured. Simple and frugal in their habits, contented with their lot, they renewed in the forest recesses of the new world, the life of the old.

The joyous scenes of sunny France were lived over again on the banks of the Detroit. Upon the bright green sward young men and fair maidens danced to the music of the violin, and

"Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again."

And here, in almost Arcadian simplicity and happiness—in loving social intercourse, and in the exercise of a simple but generous hospitality—free from ambition and its cares, but without high aims, lived and passed away the first two generations of the founders of Detroit.

Of such great nations are not made. A noble discontent is necessary to call forth the giant energies of the human soul. It is, however, refreshing to escape for a moment from the atmosphere of feverish excitement, overwork and unrest, in which we live, and dwell upon such a scene of quiet beauty and content. The author who, with a genial spirit and an artist eye, looking through the dim transparency of the past, shall reproduce to this generation a true and lively picture of the first sixty years of Detroit, will deserve and receive the warmest gratitude.

Other periods there are, too, which, if they have less of the charm of romance to them, have perhaps a still deeper interest. This is especially the case with that period within the memory of those who are present on this occasion. Some there are who remember Detroit as it was before its destruction by fire, on the 11th day of June, 1805. Others recollect the stirring events of the war of 1812; the ready valor with which our population

responded to the call, "to arms;" the deep chagrin which pervaded every heart and was expressed on every face when the shameful and cowardly surrender was made to an inferior British force, and the joy and exultant enthusiasm with which the victory of Perry on Lake Erie, in the following year, was welcomed as in some measure avenging that base surrender.

"But Peace hath her victories no less glorious than War;"

and the change that has taken place in our city and State within the last forty years is a conquest over nature better deserving of commemoration than achievements on the battle-field. Our city has risen to its present noble proportions, and our State, from being the haunt of the wolf and the bear,—the fit hunting-ground of the savage,—teems with an active, industrious, intelligent population, and the wild beauty of the forest has given place to the higher beauty of cultivation. Happy homes, schools, churches, pretty villages and thriving towns occupy the sites of Indian wigwams, and the streams where alone moved the bark canoe, float upon their bosoms the commerce of a rich and populous State. In these changes many present have taken a part; some a prominent one. The production of these changes has developed a true heroism of character, before which that heroism that faces death at cannon's mouth pales its ineffectual fires. The record of these changes, of this heroism, would have been to me a grateful task; but, after much hesitation in selecting between the various subjects that presented themselves, I deemed it peculiarly fitting that on the first celebration of the foundation of our city, I should bring strongly into the foreground Antoine De La Motte Cadillac, its founder, its early and brave defender and steadfast friend. His was not in the ordinary sense a successful life, but rather one of hardship, privation, anxiety, toil and bitter disappointment; but nobly and with unflinching courage he wrought at his great work, and proudly and indissolubly has he connected his name with this beautiful City of the Straits and with the early history of our noble State. Tenderly and with filial reverence let us cherish his memory and perpetuate his fame.

JOURNAL OF PETER AUDRAIN, Esq.

(Presented to the Michigan Historical Society, March 26th, 1838.)

MEMORANDUM.

PITTSBURG, June, 1796.

Fort Defiance—Four loaves of bread, 5 cents each; 12 pounds beef.

Fort Miami, August 9, 1796—Forty pounds of flour, 81 pounds of beef.

Greenville, July 26, 1796.—General Wilkin's wagon contains 1 quarter cask wine, 1 10-gallon keg brandy, 1 small keg of brown sugar, 1 keg of loaf sugar and coffee, 1 10-gallon keg, with biscuit, 2 trunks.

For Capt. Heath.—1 10-gallon keg of sugar, 2 trunks, 2 mess boxes.

Left Fort Washington on 19th of July, 1796, at 11 o'clock A. M.; arrived the same evening at Fort Hamilton; distance, 26 miles.

The country is very fine and thickly settled both sides of the road; amazing large fields planted with Indian corn; crops of grain and hay have been abundant; cattle fat and large size. The road in general very good and pretty level.

20.

It rained hard the whole day. We remained at Fort Hamilton and were very politely entertained by Major Cass, commanding officer there.

A town has been laid out here by Mr. Ludlow; great many pretty good log houses. It lies on the bank of the big Miami.

21.

We set off this morning at 9 o'clock and arrived at Fort St. Clair at 6 in the afternoon. This is a small Fort guarded by a sergeant and 12 privates; distance, 25 miles.

The first six miles from Fort Hamilton the land is uncommonly fine; afterwards it is beachy land of inferior quality, the road swampy and bad, no good water to be got; there is but one good spring at about 14 miles from Fort Hamilton; no settlement on the road, not even a single cabin.

22.

Left this at 5 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Fort Jefferson at half after 12; distance, 20 miles; halted there for an hour and proceeded to Greenville, where we arrived at four o'clock; distance, 5½ miles.

The road swampy and bad to Fort Jefferson, and very fine from thence to Greenville.

No settlement on the road at all; very little or no good water, except at Jefferson, where it is excellent.

Fort Jefferson stands upon an eminence and commands a beautiful prospect; it is small, but neat, and has but a sergeant's command.

Greenville is also in a fine situation, although not so high. The fort is on a very large scale, of a square form; the outside pickets contain about a mile square. The garrison is small, of about 120 men, not more than half fit for service. This fort will probably be evacuated in a short time. Col. Strong, who commands here, is ordered to go and take the command of Fort Wayne, about 79 miles from this place, and will leave here but 50 men, most of them invalids.

This fort stands in an advantageous position with respect to forage, being between two large prairies where any quantity of hay can be got.

Remained at Fort Greenville the 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th, waiting for the Commander-in-Chief.

On the 27th in the morning arrived here Mr. Winthrop Sargent, Deputy Governor, who is to accompany General Wayne to Detroit, in order to establish there the civil authority.

On the 24th General Wilkinson left this place for Fort Washington with his lady and suite, from whence he is to proceed to Philadelphia via. Pittsburgh.

On the same day Mr. Allison, chief surgeon of the army, set off for Fort Washington with his lady and suite.

Number of Indians are here from different nations begging for bread and clothing.

Remained at Greenville the 28th and 29th, the Commander-in-Chief not being ready and a little indisposed.

On the 30th left Greenville at 11 o'clock, and arrived between 4 and 5 at Fort Lorimier, distance 25 miles, a small fort commanded by Capt. E. Butler. The road swampy and bad.

31.

Left Lorimier at 3 o'clock P. M., and arrived at St. Mary at 6; distance eleven and three quarters miles.

August 1.

Left St. Mary for Fort Defiance at 6 A. M., passed the Tawas Towers at 12, and came to encampment 12 miles farther. August 2, continued in the wilderness and came to encampment on the bank of Grand Glaise, 19 miles

from Fort Defiance. The distance from Fort Lorimier to Defiance, 74 miles.

Aug. 3.

Arrived at Fort Defiance at 12 o'clock. The road is along the river Au Glaize for a considerable distance and is pretty good.

Fourth and fifth of August remained at Defiance, commanded by Major Wilson of the cavalry. Here Grand Glaise empties itself into the Miami of the Lake and loses its name.

5, Aug.

Left Fort Defiance at 11 o'clock A. M., and embarked in a Kentucky boat, 7 large pyrogues to go down the Miami as far as the foot of the rapids, having sent all our horses by land.

6, Aug.

We floated down all last night, and the current was so low that we did not go more than nine miles. We passed five riffles extraordinately low, and arrived at the celebrated Vocheđ about half after 6 in the evening in camp about one mile above Fort Deposit.

7.

Took our horses and rode to Fort Miami—distance about 7 miles. As we came down we viewed the battle ground of the 20th of August, 1794. Gen. Wayne described every position of his army, every movement, and all the particulars of the action. Arrived at Fort Miami about 12 o'clock at noon.

Fort Miami, formerly occupied by the British, and commanded by Major Campbell at the time of the action, is situated on a high ground at the foot of the rapids, and commands the most elegant view up and down the Miami river and over the prairies, which are large and beautiful. The command of the garrison consists in a captain, a subaltern, and 50 or 60 privates. We encamped below the fort on the eminence level with the fort.

Here are two stores for Indian trade kept by two Scotchmen, Anderson & McDonnall; their prices are behind any reason.

The different falls from Fort Defiance are ten or twelve in number, and most of them very dangerous, the water not being deeper than three or four inches in many places. Our boat had to be dragged over stones and rocks, and was so thatched that two men were kept constantly busy in bailing her, and an hour after she was unloaded she sunk. The country is rich and fine; most of the Indians, which were numerous and settled at Rodre-de-Cout, are gone with the British; but few are coming back now and then, finding themselves deceived by the English.

8.

Remained in our encampment.

Tuesday, Aug. 9, 1797.

Remained in the encampment, and busy in preparing keel boats to go down the river and across the lake to Detroit. The distance from here to the lake eighteen miles, across the lake thirty-six miles, and by river Detroit to the Fort eighteen miles.

Wednesday, 10.

Dined early in camp, and got on board at three o'clock P. M.; came down to Swan Creek, about twelve miles.

Thursday, 11.

Got under way early and came up the bay to ———.

Friday, 12.

Got under way and came to River Raisin.

Saturday, Aug. 13.

Came up part of River Detroit and encamped within three leagues of the Fort, at the Indian settlement of the Hurons.

Sunday.

[End of the Manuscript.]

THE SUFFERING OF SOLDIERS IN EARLY DAYS.

BY HENRY B. BREVOORT.

Look on this Picture: Extract from Gen. Harrison's official report of the battle of the Thames: "We have suffered greatly for want of provisions, and the whole army have subsisted for three days on raw beef without salt."

And then on this picture: Resolution offered in Hudson by Martin Van Buren, during the war: "*Resolved,* That the war is impolitic and disastrous, and to employ the militia in an offensive war is unconstitutional."

It is the fate of soldiers to suffer. In 1801 sailing-master Henry B. Brevoort left Natchez with a crew of 36 men and ninety days' provisions, on board the schooner "President Adams," mounting one double fortified twenty-

four-pounder, and with orders to proceed to Pittsburgh, where he had left on the 8th of June, 1798. The crew suffered much on the voyage for want of provisions; they were often two, three, and once six days without bread, meat or salt. Having dispatched the jolly boat with a crew of five men (all that were well) to Fort Pickering, about a hundred and sixty miles above us; having no salt provisions at that place she was obliged to proceed to Fort Massai, on the Ohio, two hundred and sixty miles further up. We subsisted on the Muscadine grapes during this six days, and wild potatoes, which grew on the banks of the Mississippi. At another time the boat was sent to Fort Pickering; on arrival there was no meat, and we had to send a hundred and twenty miles in the interior to the Chickasaws to get a supply of jerked beef of six-ounce and two-sixteenths of an ounce per ration. At this time the vessel was stranded; all the crew but five sick. Corporal Gaunt requested leave to hunt for fresh provisions, as the deer tracks were plenty on the margin of the mainland, about one-and-a-half miles distant, where we went daily for wood, but he never returned, having perished in the canebrakes. We finally arrived at Fort Pickering (Chickasaw Bluffs) in December, 1800. After resting, and sending out again a hundred and twenty miles to get a supply of provisions, we departed, and arrived in the mouth of the Ohio on the 16th of March, 1801, when I met my old friend, Capt. Ricion descending the river in a flat boat with further instructions for me. I then proceeded to Wilkinsonville, where Col. Strong had arrived a short time before with the Second Regiment and encamped, when I borrowed an anchor cable and from the rope, having lost all mine in the quicksand on the Mississippi, as well as three cannon which I was obliged to use for anchors, and my shrouds for cables, after a voyage of more than three hundred days. After recruiting my crew I again proceeded for Pittsburgh, where I expected to arrive in the spring following 1802, as I should be necessarily delayed at the falls of the Ohio in fixing a tin of ring-bolts in the rocks, in order to warp over them in the spring of 1802; but I had not proceeded farther than between the mouths of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers when I was hailed from a flat boat, informing me they had dispatches for me, when Lieut. Joseph Miller came on board and handed them to me, on opening of which I found I was directed to return to Wilkinsonville, lay up my vessel, and do duty in the Second Regiment. I then held a Lieutenancy in the Third Regiment of Infantry, then commanded by Major Jonathan Cass, father of our Senator in Congress. I was soon after appointed the Adjutant of the First Regiment for a short time, until the arrival of Gen. Wilkinson and his two aides at Wilkinsonville, Lieutenants, afterwards Colonels Macomb and Walbeck, when I was relieved from duty and ordered

to proceed to Pittsburgh in the large barge they had descended in, with the remainder of the packages I brought up in the "President Adams," where I arrived on the 29th of December, which place I had left three years and a half before, from which I was directed to report to the Honorable Secretary for the Department of War, Gen. Henry Dearborn, and in the following spring, 1802, to proceed to Detroit and take charge of the government vessels, having arrived here on the 2d of July, 1802, and report myself to the Lieutenant Colonel Commandant John F. Hamtramck.

I have written the above from seeing in an old newspaper, which was found in an old pocket of mine, the two pictures, "Look at this, and then at this" to show that it was no uncommon thing for soldiers and sailors to fare hard at times. See my voyage to relieve the fort at Mackinac from starvation (as it was alleged) in December, 1816, for what I suffered.

HENRY B. BREVOORT.

SPRINGWELLS, 10th April, 1854.

I sometimes think of making a few remarks of what has happened to me since I first came to the lake country, in 1797, and there to see to my leaving Pittsburgh in June, 1798. I have seen many hard times in this route during seventeen years in public service.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS.

PROCLAMATION ANENT THE MAKING USE OF FOREIGN SALT.

CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: To Macers and Messengers at Arms, our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, Greeting: Forasmuch, as upon divers important considerations, by Our Proclamation of the fifteenth of June, one thousand six hundred and sixty five, We did impose twelve pounds Scots upon each Water-boll of Foreign Salt, which should be imported into this, Our Kingdom of Scotland, excepting such salt as was to be employed for making and curing of Fishes: And by another Proclamation of the ninth of March, one thousand six hundred and seventy-one, We did prohibit the importation of all salt into this Kingdom, without

License of the Commissioners of Our Treasury, under the pain of confiscation thereof, and of the ships and vessels in which the same should be imported. Notwithstanding whereof, many of Our Subjects do employ and consume considerable quantities of Foreign Salt, upon domestic and ordinary uses, albeit the Salt made in this Kingdom be abundantly sufficient for the same, and that the commissioners appointed for managing of the Salt, are willing and ready to furnish and provide Our Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom with competent quantities of that Salt at reasonable rates. And seeing the intent of the foresaid Acts and Proclamations is like to be altogether frustrate, and the profitable Manufactory of Salt in this Kingdom will be exceedingly damnified, if the foresaid practice be not restrained for the future. Therefore, We, with the advice of the Lords of Our Privy Council, do hereby prohibite and discharge all Our Subjects of this Kingdom, after the first day of January next, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, to imploy or consume for domestic uses of any sort, any Foreign Salt, under the pain of twelve pounds Scots, to be applied to our behoove, for every Boll of Foreign Salt, and proportionally for any lesser quantity which shall be made use of by them, in manner foresaid and this but prejudice of the penalties provided by the foresaid Proclamations, against the importers of Foreign Salt. And ordains these presents to be printed and published at the Mercat-cross of Edinburgh, and other places needfull, that none pretend ignorance. Given at Our Palace of Holyrude house, the eighteenth day of September, one thousand six hundred and seventy-two, and of Our Reign the twenty-fourth year.

AL. GIBSON, *Cl. Sti-Concilii.*

EDINBURGH: Printed by His Majestie's Printers, 1672.

MARRIAGE CONTRACT BETWEEN MR. ROBERT NAVARRE AND MISS MARIE L'HOTEMONT-BARROIS, ETC.*

Before the undersigned, Jacques Pean, Esquire, Seigneur de Livandière, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Major of town and government of Quebec, commanding for the King in the Fort Pont Chartrain du Detroit Erie, and the Reverend Father Bonaventure, Franciscan friar, missionary at the said post. Were present Robert Navarre, son of Marie Francois Navarre and of Jeanne Pluyette, his father and mother, born in the parish of Villeroy, diocese of Meaux, in France,

*Translated by Rud. Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors of the *Michigan Volksfreund* Jackson, Mich.

And Mr. Francois L'Hotemont, called Barrois, and Demoiselle Marie Anne Sauvage, his wife, residents at the said post at Detroit, who stipulate for Marie L'Hotemont-Barrois, their daughter, who is present and accepts.

And the said Robert Navarre and Marie L'Hotemont-Barrois, with the agreement of their parents and the following friends, on the part of the said Robert Navarre: of the above said Esquire Pean, of Mr. Duburont, Second Commander at Detroit, and of Mr. Duyveux, on the part of Marie L'Hotemont-Barrois: of her father and her mother, of Mr. and Mrs. De Roquetaittade, her grandparents on her mother's side, of Mr. Joseph Lequin de Laderoute, her uncle, on account of Francois Sauvage, her aunt on her mother's side, and of Charles Chesne, her uncle, on account of Catherine Sauvage, her aunt on her mother's side, and of the aforesaid Rev. Bonaventure, have promised and promise to take each other for husband and wife, by laws of marriage, and to have the same celebrated as soon as it may be done, and as shall be determined upon between them and their parents. The said couple shall be married in face of Our Mother, the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church, and have everything in common, personal property, earnings and real estate, according to the custom of Paris, which is followed in this country, and to which they refer and submit. In case they should live or acquire property in countries where custom should be contrary, the said future wife shall be endowed by the said future husband in the sum of three thousand livres, which shall not be deducted from her dower proper.

The surviving party shall in either case have in preferred claim upon the estate of their future common property up to the sum of two thousand livres, according to an inventory to be taken by them and to an estimate to be made before the division and without auction, or in ready cash, at the choice of the survivor.

The said future husband, with his present and future rights and titles, takes the said future wife, and they have agreed with each other that in case the pre-decease of one of them shall arrive without their having any children, the share which they shall have in the said common property, shall remain and properly belong to the survivor, without his being obliged to render account of said share to the parents or heirs of the pre-deceased, they making each other a present in fee simple, in the best form in which a donation can legally be made; and in case the dissolution of the future marriage shall take place, by the decease of the future husband, the future wife shall have the choice of accepting the said future common property or rejecting and renouncing the same, to take away frank and free, all that she shall have brought in, as her dower, as well as her preferred claim, together with her

clothing, linen and other things for her use, with her furniture; and in general all that which shall have come to her, or been left her, during the said future marriage, be it by succession, donation or otherwise. All this shall be reciprocal to the future husband, in case of the decease of the said future wife; and for the execution of these presents the said future married couple have made and constituted the bearer of this their procurator, to whom they gave power for them and in their name, to have the said donation recorded in the Royal Court, at Montreal. For such has been agreed and stipulated by the said parties, each promising legally and obliging and renouncing, and made and delivered at the Fort Pont Chartrain du Detroit, Erie, in the house of the said Mr. Pean, the tenth day of the month of February, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four, at which day they have signed, the persons who are hereafter named: Mr. and Mrs. Barrois and Madame Seguin de Laderoute, having declared that they cannot write with their own hands, and having made their ordinary mark, after this document had been read to them.

(Signed) Marie L'Hotemont, Robert Navarre, Pean de Livandière, J. Bte. Laderoute (led), C. Sauvage, Duburont, Francois Bonaventure, Duyneaux, F. L. Raimbault.

To-day, on the seventh of May, one thousand seven hundred thirty-four, at eight o'clock A. M., before the Royal Notary in the Royal Jurisdiction of Montreal, *Has appeared,* Francois L'Hotemane, called Barrois, bearer of the contract of the marriage between Robert Navarre and Marie L'Hotemane-Barrois, made before Jacques Pean, Esquire, Seigneur de Livandiére, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Major of town and government of Quebec, commanding for the King in the Fort Pont Chartrain du Detroit, Erie, which said Barrois in the name and as procurator of the said Navarre and Marie Barrois has said and declared, that the parties have voluntarily agreed in presence of their parents and friends to the clauses, conditions, and conventions mentioned in said marriage contract, which remains on file with the records of our notary office so that recourse may be had to it, if occasion requires, and they are willing and consent, that it be executed according to its form and contents, as if the said contract had been delivered before myself, and said donation therein explained avails to the profit of the survivor, in the case that on the day of the decease of the dying there be no children born or expected from the said future marriage.

For this purpose, and promising, and binding, and renouncing, and in

order to have recorded the said marriage contract and these presents in the Royal Court at Montreal, and wherever else it may be necessary, in the interest of this said future married couple, the said parties have made and constituted the bearer of these presents their procurator, to whom they gave power to have them recorded and to require act made and delivered at the said Montreal office of the said Notary. The day and year above mentioned, in presence of Mr. Benoit and Jean Bte. Sener as witnesses, both residing at said Montreal, who have signed to the minutes of these presents in the name of the above named Barrois, after hearing them read.

(Signed.) C. PORTIER,
Royal Notary.

Jurisdiction of Montreal.

SEAL

Sealed at Montreal,
May 8, 1734.
C. P.

To all to whom these presents may come, greeting: In the name of Pierre Raimbault, Royal Counselor and Lieutenant General, civil and criminal, at the seat of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal, be it known that this day and date of these presents, in open court, has appeared Mr. Francois L'Hotemane, called Barrois, bearer of the Marriage Contract between Robert Navarre and Marie L'Hotemane-Barrois, taken before Jacques Pean, Esquire, Seigneur de Livandiére, knight of the military Order of St. Louis, major of the town and government of Quebec, commanding for the king at the Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit, Erie, this tenth day of February last and filed with the notarial records of Mr. Claude Portier, Royal Notary and Clerk of the Court of our jurisdiction, containing a donation pure and simple for life between living persons and irrevocable in favor of the survivor of them who accept both and either [jointly and severally] the personal property and real estate, present and future, to enjoy them during life, as is more at length set forth in the said marriage contract, and has requested us to order it to be recorded. We, having taken cognizance of the said marriage contract of the tenth of February last and the ratification of the same delivered before Mr. C. Portier, Royal Notary, to-day after hearing it read by our clerk of the Court in our court room, *have ordered* that the donation contained in the said marriage contract shall be recorded and registered on the register record

of this seat as above named, that they may be of use and value to the parties in law and equity, whereof we order act to be taken. Given at Montreal by us, the said Lieutenant-General, in open court, Friday, the seventh of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-four.

(Signed) C. RAIMBAULT.

C. PORTIER,
Clerk of the Court.

By order of Mr. Pierre Raimbault, Royal Counsellor, Lieutenant General, civil and criminal, at the seat of the Royal Court of Montreal, the donation contained in the marriage contract of Robert Navarre and Marie L'Hotemane-Barrois, received by Mr. Pean, Comman. of Detroit, has been recorded and registered upon the Register-Record of this Court, at the request of the said parties, in order to be of use and value in law and equity. Thereof act made at Montreal, in the said Record-Office, the twenty-second of May, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four.

(Signed) C. PORTIER,
Clerk of the Court.

DEED TO LAND AT FORT DETROIT.

Charles Marquis de Beauharnois Commander of the Military Order of St Louis, Governor & Lieut. Gen., for the King in New France and Louisiana.

Gilles Hocquart, Knight, Counselor of the King in his council Intendant of Justice, Police and Finances in New France and Louisiana.

Upon the representations made by the inhabitants of Fort Pont-Chartrain, on the Detroit (strait) of Lake Erie, to Messrs. de Bois-hebert, Capt. of a company of a marine detachment and formerly a commanding officer in said Fort Pont-Chartrain and Peon, Knight of the Military order of St Louis Major of the city and Government of Quebec and now the commanding officer of the said Fort, and which representations they have tendered to us, stating therein that the inhabitants aforesaid, have not to this day dared to undertake the clearing and settling of the land situated and lying on the aforesaid strait, because they had no title by which the possession thereof would be secured to them; that should we be pleased to grant them said titles, they

would thereby not only be enabled to cultivate and improve said lands without running a risk of being disturbed thereafter, but that considerable advantages would be derived by their labors in procureing thereby in said Detroit and its vicinity provisions in abundance which would enable the garrison of the aforesaid Fort, also the inhabitants and voyagers to find a convenient subsistence; having taken the above reasons in consideration, and considering the letters-patent of his Majesty given at Paris in the month of April 1710 recorded in the Supreme Council on the first of Dec. ensuing, and likewise the decree of counsel of state of the King dated May 19, 1722,

WE HAVE, in the name of his Majesty, given, granted, and conceded, and by these presents do give, grant, and concede unto Jean Chapaton, a surgeon, residing in the aforesaid Fort Pont-chartrain, in Detroit, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, subject to quit rent from this time and henceforward and forever, a concession of land situated and lying on the said strait of Lake Erie containing three arpents in front by 40 in depth, adjoining on one side to the west-southwest the land formerly granted to Mr. Marsac Derrochess, on a line drawn north-northwest and south-southeast, and on the opposite side towards east-northeast unconceded lands, bounded in front by the Detroit Strait of Lake Erie and in the rear by a line running east-northeast and west-southwest separating it from unconceded lands: To hold and enjoy the possession of said lands by him the said Jean Chapaton, his heirs, and assigns, subject to charges, clauses, and conditions, to be hereafter mentioned, that is to say that the said Chapaton, his heirs and assigns shall be bound to take his or their grain to be ground to the seignorial or manorial mill when any such shall be established or erected, under the penalty of incurring the confiscation of said grain, and also an arbitrary fine; to establish, or cause to be established, an actual residence on the aforesaid land within one year, at the latest, from this day; to clear the neighboring forests whenever it shall be requisite to cultivate and improve said land; to allow to pass through said land all the roads that may be deemed necessary for the public utility; to make or cause to be made from time to time the division fences, according to the regulations that may be made to that effect; and to pay every year to the receiver of the domain or crown lands of his majesty in this country, or to the deputy of said receiver, who may then reside in Detroit, one sol de cens for every arpent in front and 20 sols of rent for every superficial arpent, forming the sum of six livres, and three sols for the three arpents in front by forty in depth, and in addition to that three quarters of wheat for the three arpents in front, the whole of which is to be paid yearly on the day and festival of St. Martin; the first yearly

installment thereof will fall due on the eleventh of November, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five, and so from year to year. The aforesaid quit rent being subject to fines of alienation defaultant penalty, together with all other royal and seignorial rights, whenever the case may happen, agreeable to the custom of the prevost and vicount of Paris. It will, however, be lawful for the said Jean Chapaton to pay the aforesaid six livres of rent and three sols de cens in fur at the Detroit market price until a current coin be established. Reserving in the name of the King on the said land all the timber trees that his majesty may want for the construction or erection of any buildings and forts that he may hereafter think proper to erect or construct, likewise the entire property of mines and minerals, if such should ever be found on any parts of the aforesaid land; and further, the said Chapaton, his heirs and assigns shall be bound to cause said concession to be surveyed and the boundary lines thereof to be laid out and defined immediately at his expense, and to execute the clauses and conditions mentioned in the present title, and to apply for and obtain a Brevet of Confirmation from his majesty for the aforesaid lands, within two years from this date the whole under the penalty that otherwise these presents shall be null and void.

Made and given at Montreal July 7th, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four. (Signed.) HOCQUART.

(Signed.) BEAUHARNOIS,

By My Lord De Benard,

By My Lord Deschesneaux.

PART OF A DEED TO LAND AT DETROIT.*

* * * To cultivate the said land, to allow such roads as may be deemed necessary for the use of the public to be built, to make their party fence according to regulation and pay each and every year to the receiver of his Majesty's domain in this country or to the clerk of the said receiver, who shall come to Detroit, one sou† ground tax for each front arpent, and twenty sous rent for each square arpent, making for the said three arpents front by forty deep, six livres and three sous‡ ground tax and rent, and besides three quarters of wheat for the said three front arpents, the whole payable each year on St. Martin's day, the first year's rent falling due on the eleventh of

*Translated by Rud. Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors of the *Michigan Volksfreund*, Jackson, Mich.

† About one cent, U. S. currency.—Translators.

‡ $1.23 U. S. currency.—Translators.

November, 1735, and yearly thereafter, the said ground tax including perquisites in tithes and taxes on sales. Defaults and fines with all other rights of the crown and manor in a case of emergency to be regulated according to the custom of the provostship and viscountship of Paris. It shall, however, be optional to pay the said six livres rent and three sous ground-tax in furs at the Detroit price, until a money currency shall have been established. Reserving in the name of the King upon the said settlement all the wood which his Majesty shall need for timber and the construction of buildings, ships and forts which may hereafter be established, as well as the ownership of mines, ores and minerals, if any should be found in the extent of the said concession. And the said Chapoton, his heirs and those interested, are held to immediately have the said concession surveyed, measured and bounded in its whole length and depth at their own expense, to execute conveyances by the present title and to take a patent of confirmation from his Majesty within two years, the whole on pain of annulling these presents.

Made and given at Montreal, the seventh of July, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four.

BEAUHARNAIS, HOQUART.

By Monseigneur de Chevrement,

By Monseigneur Devall Mur.

MARGINAL NOTE.—Collated Aug. 23d.

FIRST EMPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN INDIANS BY THE WHITES IN WARFARE.

DETROIT, May 10, 1865.

C. I. Walker, Esq:

DEAR SIR: In the progress of the Repentigny suit, I met with the enclosed, which appears to me to have some literary value, as it may throw light on the question often raised as to whether it was the English or the French who first made use of savage troops in warfare between civilized nations on this continent.

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE C. MAHON.

In the District Court of the United States for the District of Michigan:

Louise Pauline de Repentigny and others,
vs.
The United States.

Order to Louis Le Gardeur de Repentigny to go to the war.

Rolland Michel Barrien Cheve., Marquis de La Galipouiere, Chevalier of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, Captain of the King's Ships,

Commander-in-Chief for his Majesty in all New France, the lands and country of Louisiana.

The Chevalier de Repentigny, Ensign of Infantry, is ordered to go to war upon the Territory of New England with the party of French and savages of which we have given him command.

He is charged to treat the prisoners he may make with humanity, and to engage the savages to do the same.

Montreal, 11th July, 1748.

(Signed) LA GALISSONIERE.

By his Lordship:

(Signed) PINIAMET.

Equipment of 80 Savages.

80 Guns.
80 Breech Cloths.
80 Pair of Mittens.
100 Deer skins.
8 lbs. Vermillion.
8 Butcher knives.
80 lbs. Powder.
80 lbs. Balls.
80 lbs. lead in cans.
80 Collars for carrying.
80
80 Tinder boxes.
400 Gun flints.
80 Powder horns.
100 Eagles.
3 lbs. of thread.
80
8 Hatchets.
4 Pair of Scissors.
80 lbs. of Tobacco.
8 Kettles.
8 Canoes.
Victuals for 13 days to St. Frederic.

Two Iroquois who have joined the party have had the same.

26 Canadians have also been equipped in the same way, and the party has received victuals to last them until reaching St. Frederic.

33 Nipissing and Algonquin Indians have been equipped in the same way and have received six guns.

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTER OF THE VESTRY-BOARD OF ST. ANNE AT DETROIT-HERIE.*

[First Book, sixth page.]

To-day, the thirteenth of July, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, we, the Franciscan missionary and the church-wardens of the parish of St. Anne of Detroit-Herie, having assembled in the customary manner, Warden Beaubien, who was in the chair, having represented to us that Mr. Pierre Labutte, Sr., moved by a holy and religious good will for the glory

* Translated by Rudolph Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors of the *Michigan Volksfreund*, Jackson, Michigan.

of God and the decoration of His temple, has resolved to give alms to our church in the sum of a thousand livres in merchandise, to be taken from his magazine at our selection at the rate of thirty per cent profit, touched by a just thankfulness for so signal a favor and remembering his great and continued alms which he has made before and will continue to make to our church, after having between us duly deliberated, we have concluded and resolved in order to give him efficient testimony thereof and to make his charity public that we bind ourselves in the name of the above church and for ourselves and our successors to pray continually to the Lord for the preservation and the lasting prosperity of the said Mr. Pierre Labutte and his family, and that when God should call him to Him in order to reward him for his religious alms, we shall cause to be celebrated at the expense of the vestry, both for him and for Louise Barois, his wife, immediately upon the decease of either of them, a solemn service for the repose of their souls. Thus deliberated, concluded and resolved on the day, month and year above stated.

(Signed) J. SIMPLE BOQUET, *Franciscan.*

Beaubien.

This extract is a true copy of the original, collated by us, a Franciscan priest, missionary in the said church, this 15th day of January, 1760.

(Signed) J. SIMPLE BOQUET, *Franciscan.*

COMMISSION TO THE KING OF MONGUAGON.

Pierre de Rigand de Vaudreuil Governor Lieut. Gen. for the King, in all New France, and country of Louisiana.

We, on good evidence, which has been produced to us, of the religion, the zealous attachment to the French, and the devotion to the service of the King of Monguagon, of the village of the Pottawatamies, have nominated and appointed him chief of the said Pottawatamies, with authority and command over the warriors of said village.

In testimony whereof we have granted this commission, which we have caused to be sealed with the seal of our arms and countersigned by our secretary.

Done at Montreal the 4th of September, 1755.

VAUDREUIL.

By Monseigneur N. LISLE.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE SURVEYOR OF DETROIT.*

First Observation to Make.

The surveyor who shall be nominated for Detroit is requested to observe that the lands which have been conceded to the Post of Detroit have not all been squared in the same point of the compass.

For instance: Those who are established upon the north territory must be squared north-north or east and southeast, nevertheless there is a very perceptible difference.

The lands which are west of the fort are squared north-north or east and south-southeast. Those which are east of the fort going along Lake St. Clair are a little more away from north. Why?

Since they have commenced squaring the lands which are on the side of the River Rouge before paying attention to the disposition of the lands along the little lake.

They might have been regulated all upon the same point of the compass, north-north or east, but it was found that besides these lands, which are east of the fort, there were others lying too far toward north on account of the windings of the Little Lake, where it would have caused too much changing, very disadvantagious to certain settlers, who have pushed their claims more lively than their neighbors, which would have occasioned to those who had worked the hardest, would have found themselves expelled and deprived of the fruit of their labors, while in the present state of things everybody has found himself contented, the only inconvenience being that the territory of the fort is narrower in the woods than in its front.

Second Observation.

The lands which Mr. de Sabrevois has ceded in in 1749, on the territory south of this river below the Huron Mission, opposite the mouth of the River Rouge, going down the narrows, have been laid out and squared by a line north-northeast and south-southwest in the front, and by a line which runs east-southeast and west-northwest, the winding of the narrows being the cause of the difference of these to those who are in the surroundings of the French fort. These lands have been laid out by Messrs. de Sabrevois and de Lerg, in no great regularity. I believe that they will be found fully three arpents too large.

In case an examination of these limits shall be made in the future, the defects of this survey can only be attributed to the negligence, ignorance or bad faith of the peasants who carried the poles which have been used for measuring these cessions.

*Translated by Rud. Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors of the *Michigan Volksfreund*, Jackson, Mich.

DR. GEORGE CHRISTIAN ANTHON.

Desiderata by Dr. H. Anthon: The record of his father and mother's marriage from the register probably of the French Roman Catholic Church in Detroit, also of the baptism of his brothers John and George, born there. Particulars in relation to the massacre of the party at Fort Wayne, by the Indians, in which Major Jadot fell.

NEW YORK, March, 1860.

If Mr. Walker can, at any time when it is convenient, make inquiries tending the above I shall esteem it a great favor.

H. ANTHON.

George Christian Anthon, son of John Michael Anthon and Dorothea Louise Cramer, was born in Saltzengen, in the Duchy of Saxe Meinengen, August 25, 1734. Died in the city of New York, December 22, 1815.

He studied medicine in Eisenach, and in 1750 stood his examination in Surgeons' Hall. In 1754 left Germany for Amsterdam. In 1757 on his voyage from thence to Savinaw was captured by a British privateer out of New York, and carried into the harbor, where the vessel was condemned.

In 1758 he was appointed assistant surgeon in the general British hospital, in Albany, under Sir James Neiper, its head, and when the hospital broke up soon after, received the warrant of assistant surgeon to the first battalion of sixtieth regiment, Royal Americans. In 1760 detached with a party that took possession of Detroit, under Major Rogers, and became the surgeon of the whole command. Continued in Detroit from 1760 to 1764. In 1761 appointed surgeon in Detroit for the army and navy. Returned to New York in 1764 with Col. Gladwyn, and in 1765 appointed under Sir William Johnson surgeon for the Indians. Went down with Col. Croghan to the Illinois, was taken prisoner below the Wabash by the Kickapoos, etc.; a captive about three months, brought to Detroit and released. Came back to New York, and in 1767 returned again to Detroit, and appointed surgeon for the garrison by Gen. Haldeman.

In 1770 married Marian Navarre, who died in 1773. In 1778 married Genevieve Jadot, who died in New York in 1821. In 1786 sold the farm, now the property of En. Cap, and removed to New York. The father of G. Jadot or Jadeau was from Lovaine, in Alsace, a Major in the militia in Canada, was sent to the Indians, with presents, at the Miami, Fort Wayne, and killed.

RECEIPT OF MR. NAVARRE.

Received of Mr. Moran the ground-tax and rent of a lot in the Fort, due since on the 22d of March, 1760, and also the ground-tax and rent of an estate of three arpents, due since [Nov.] 11th, 1759, and two livres too much.

(Signed) NAVARRE.

Also two years' rent for a new lot, which makes him square up to the 22d March, 1761.

RECEIPT OF MAJOR CHAVE.

DETROIT, 21 April, 1766.

Received of Charles Morand the sum of one pound, N. Y. C., being the taxes of his lot of land without the Fort, for the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty six.

By order of Lt. Col. Campbell, Commandant.

JOHN CHAVE, 2d,
Major of Regiment.

REPAIRING FORT DETROIT.

SIR:—We have taken your order of the 3d inst., respecting the furnishing of materials by us for repairing this Fort into consideration and find it absolutely impossible to comply with it. The requisition made of us few individuals would amount to at least four thousand pounds New York currency. A sum by far too great for the whole settlement and all the trading people from different places now residing here to pay. However, that we may not be looked upon to be actuated by a spirit of opposition, we have taken all the pains in our power to obtain the fullest information we could in regard to the obligations we are supposed to lay under for keeping up the repairs of this Fort upon its present plan. We find, sir, that till the year 1750 the Fort was about half the extent it now is. The inhabitants till then were obliged to furnish one picket for each foot of ground they possessed in front within the Fort and pay annually two sol per foot to the Crown by way of quit rent. It was with difficulty that the circumstance of

this place could accomplish the payment of their dues to the French King. Of which he proved his sensibility by easing the inhabitants of the heavy burden of furnishing pickets; for from that time the Fort was enlarged upon an entire new plan at the sole expense of the Crown. This measure was not only necessary for easing the inhabitants but for the conveniency of public buildings. The annual tax of two sol per foot in front was continued till the surrender of this country to the English, since which the service has required such taxes of us that they have been almost unsupportable. Permit us, Sir, to mention them and you will see that we stand in greater need of assistance than be obliged to pay any new demands. Capt. Campbell, the first English commandant at Detroit, on his arrival here levied a tax on the proprietors of the Fort for lodging the troops, which amounted to a very considerable sum, besides each of the farmers were obliged to pay a cord of wood per acre in front. The second year the proprietors paid again for quartering the troops and the farmers furnished double the quantity of wood they did the year before. The third year Col. Gladwin continued the same taxes. The following, being 1762, the tax within the Fort alone amounted to one hundred and eighty-four pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence. In the year 1760 the taxes came to one hundred and fifty-eight pounds, New York currency. In the year 1765 you was pleased to signify by Messrs. Babee and Shapperton that the taxes for the future should be the same as in the French government, which, as we have said before, was two sol per foot in front for the lots within the fort; the farmers were subject to a quit rent of two shillings and eight pence, New York currency, and seven bushels of wheat per acre in front, which was accordingly paid to Mr. Shapperton, who was appointed to receive the same. After this we could not help being surprised at the tax for the current year, viz.: One shilling per foot in front for lots within the Fort and ten shillings per acre for the farmers in the country. The heaviness of this tax is most severely felt, as you may judge by the delay and the difficulty the people have in paying it. This proves the badness of our circumstances. We have not mentioned anything here with a view of throwing any odium on you or any of your predecessors in this command, but to show the impossibility of complying with the requisition now under consideration. To make our plea of exemption still stronger, we take the liberty to lay before you Mr. Navarre's letter to us with its translation, as he has long resided here in a public character and being a man of knowledge we cannot doubt but testimony will have its deserved effect with his excellency the general. We forbear any further argument of our inabilities. You know, sir, the sorrowful situation we was reduced to for the want of money and the languishing condition our trade

is in. In short, the knowledge you have of everything that relates this infant country, and the countenance and protection you have always showed to a fair trade make us hope that you will do us the justice to represent our circumstances as they really are to those in power, and then we are sure we shall be relieved from some of our present embarrassments instead of being loaded with new taxes.

As you are soon to leave this country it gives us sensible concern that any of your orders should meet with opposition from us, especially when we consider that all your orders preceding this relative to this settlement have ever been founded on the most just and equitable principles. We have benefited too much to pass them over unnoticed. We therefore take this opportunity as it probably will be the last, to thank you with hearts full of gratitude for your wise, steady, benevolent and impartial conduct during your command over us. Accept of our sincere and best wishes for your health, happiness and prosperity.

We are, Sir, with respect,

Detroit, 7 August, 1766. Your most obedient humble servant.

[No name signed.]

To JOHN CAMPBELL, ESQ.,
Lieutenant Colonel and Commandant at Detroit and its dependencies.

[The original manuscript is in French.]

SIR:—In all times the citizens and farmers at Detroit have counted it a duty to conform, for the good of the service, to the orders and will of their commandants. You have proved it yourself in all that you have required, whether for the works or the different taxes that you have thought necessary for the weal of your government, permit us then, sir, if you please, to-day to make some representations on the impossibility of complying with your new orders of the sixth inst., signified to us by Mr. Chave, your quartermaster. You know, sir, that the sorrowful and deplorable situation we are reduced to, with the general want of money and the languishing condition our trade is in, takes from us the means of satisfying your demand. 'Tis true, this place was formerly but an assembly of merchants, each one furnished pickets for the inclosure of the stockades, but after the year 1750 the French King finding it too small for the lodgment &c., of the troops that were necessary for the defense of the place, and knowing the poverty and the mean abilities of the inhabitants in regard thereto, entirely discharged and acquitted them of any trouble or expenses therewith, both for that present time and the

time to come, and took it entirely upon himself, enlarged and built this new fort on a different plan at his own expense, such as his Brittanic Majesty's troops found it on their arrival when they took possession. If you doubt of the veracity of what we assert, the Mr. Carpts, who wrought under the direction of Mr. Bellestre, and Mr. Port Neuf, who acted as engineer, as also the undertaker, and furnishers of the pickets and other wood necessary, can witness it and may be the more depended on as they are no ways interested in the present affair.

Captain Campbell, the first English commandant at Detroit, on his arrival, levied a tax on the proprietors in the fort for the lodgment of the troops which amounted to a very considerable sum, and each of the farmers had to pay a cord of wood per acre in front, the second year he caused the proprietors to pay again for said lodgment of said troops, and each farmer two cords of wood per acre in front. The third year Col. Gladwin continued the same taxes. And in the year 1763 the taxes for the fort alone amounted to 2770, equal to 184.13.4 pounds and in the year 1764 to 2370 or a 158 pounds. In the year 1765 Colonel Campbell caused to be published by Messrs. Baby & Chapoton that the taxes were at an end, that the people should pay for the future as in the time of the French King, which is two sous per foot in front for the inhabitants in said fort, 2-8 and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a bushel of wheat per acre in front by the farmers ; and for this effect the said Mr. Chapoton was appointed to receive the said quit rents, and were paid accordingly at his demand. In 1766 Colonel Campbell laid on a tax of one shilling per foot in front for each lot within the fort, and ten shillings per acre in front for the farmers in said country. Great part of which has been already paid to Mr. Chave, said quartermaster whose receipts we have to produce for the same.

PR. LEGRAND.

Be it known by these presents, that the subscribers, proprietors within the town of Detroit, sensible of the absolute necessity there is at present for repairing the pickets around the town, as well for the public good as our own particular and common safety, We do hereby fully authorize and empower Messrs. Baby, St. Casm, Sterling and Thomas Williams commissioners for us, and in our behalf and stead, to buy pickets and cause them to be planted, and to make such repairs as to them shall be expedient, and to appoint a person they may approve of to superintend the carrying on of the work, who is to be paid as they may agree. We hereby ratify, confirm and agree to whatsoever they shall do, or cause to be done, in and about the

premises, and engage to pay on demand our respective proportions of the expenses arising therefrom, according to our possessions, as we have been lately taxed for the repairs already made. Detroit, February 24, 1768.

John Robinson.	Cobrone.	Ben James.
Hugh Boyl.	Augustine LaSoy.	For Farrell & Abbott,
Jacob Lanfingin, comn.	Redume.	John McGill.
D. Gladhe.	Laferte.	Peters Savoy.
Marle Mocant	John Hay.	D. Brehin.
Teofille.	P. Dejeaned, for Stead-	St. Martin.
Fenchagrin	Rinker & Edgar. [man.	For Edward Pollard,
T. S. Cosmett.	D. Baby.	Alex. Macomb.
Guilbeau.	W. Schaach & Co.	B. Chapiton.
Cabasie.	Lequand.	Checial.

ORDERS, ETC.

[Translated.]

All traders are ordered to embark two or three Indians in their canoes, in case of Messrs. Langlade and Gaultier not having sufficient canoes to fetch them to this post for the service of the King. Mr. Langlade to furnish them with provisions.

Given at Fort Michilimaquenac, May 10, 1778.

L. S.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER,
Major Commanding.

[Translated.]

GENTLEMEN,—By the power given me by his Excellency, General Haldimand, Commander-in-Chief of the armies of his majesty the King of Great Britain in Canada, etc., etc., etc.

To do all in my power to assist Lieutenant Governor Hamilton in all his enterprises against the rebels, and since I have been apprised by a letter of the Lieutenant Governor that he has gone to dislodge the rebels of the Illinois, asking me to give him assistance, you are ordered by these presents to go and try to raise the nations.

M. Langlade will go from the Grand River to St. Joseph, where the Short-Ears and the Sauteaux are, and make them assemble at St. Joseph without loss of time.

Mr. Gautier will go directly to St. Joseph, there addressing himself to Mr. Louison Chevallier to request him to assist Mr. Anise in assembling the Poutuatomies (Pottawattomies), while he, Gautier, shall do his best to have information of the situation of Mr. Hamilton, making report of the same to Mr. Langlade. They will do their best to join him by the shortest route, or to descend the Illinois river if it is possible and more likely to assist the operations of Mr. Hamilton.

Since events cannot be foreseen, in case Mr. Hamilton have yielded and returned to Detroit, then, if you do not believe yourself strong enough in men to attack the Caskakies or the Cahokias, you will send the Indians home to their winter quarters and will by the shortest route gain your different posts, Mr. Langlade at the Bay and Mr. Gautier at the Mississippi, there to try to keep the nations well disposed for the service until new orders.

In this enterprise it is recommended to you to say to the warriors to use humanity towards the prisoners and others who may be found without arms, because there are several English traders retained by force amongst them. The prisoners will be paid for.

Since the nations in general have had many presents from his majesty before, it is recommended to you to make as little expense as the nature of the service will allow, not giving them anything but what is absolutely necessary.

Given at the Fort Michilimaquenac this 26th of October, 1778.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER,

{L. S.} *Major of the King's regiment and Commander of the said post and dependencies.*

To Capt. Langlade and Lieut. Gautier.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. LANGLADE.

[Translated.]

SIR,—It is required of you, for the good of the service of his majesty, to start from here, do your best, raise the people of the forks, Milwakie, the Puants (Stinkards), and others bordering upon Lake Michigan, and with them hurry to join Mr. Binnett at Chicagon, and in case Mr. Binnett have passed forward to follow him in forced marches, overtake him before his arrival, and to travel with him for the good of the service, in accordance with the orders which he holds from me.

Given at the Fort Michilimakinac, this 1st of July, 1779.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

{L. S.}

GEN. GAGE'S LETTER TO CAPT. MACPHERSON.

NEW YORK, April 8, 1778.

SIR:—Your letters of the 14th and 18th December are very full on the subjects of Grants and Lands, at the Detroit. I am to explain to you that the King has not invested any persons whatever with the power of granting lands in America, except to his governors, within the limits of their respective provinces and under certain forms and restrictions, and where any purchase is made of the Indians, within the limits of the province, they are not valid, unless permission is given so to do, and the purchase made in presence of the governor, and his majesty's superintendent of Indian affairs. From hence you will know that the power of granting lands at the Detroit remains solely in the King, and that no purchase can be made of Indians, but with the King's permission and authority. It may be needless after the above explanation, to inform you that all grants made by Lieutenant Colonel Gladwin, Major Bruce, or any other British commander, are nul and void, and of no value.

As for the French grants in general, unless approved by the Governor General of Canada, and registered accordingly, they were not valid; but as for Monsieur Belestre's grants in the the year 1760, they cannot be deemed any other than fraudulent, and are by no means to be looked upon as valid, and as for the Indian purchase, they were not allowed by the French, nor are they allowed by the English Government but under the restrictions I have already mentioned.

Monsieur Navarre's declaration, or certificate, may be in part true, but it is not the whole truth; the first settlers, with Monsieur Sabrevois, were not, perhaps, enjoined to the conditions imposed afterwards respecting their titles; the Government was glad to get any people to begin the settlement. But Monsieur Navarre's conclusion is vague and ill-founded. I am well-informed in those matters, was three years in possession of the books wherein the titles were registered, and received information upon them the very time in which Monsieur Belestre's grants were made, sufficiently points out their being invalid, and that they could not be registered when the whole government of Canada was on the point of surrendering to the King, and the Capitol possessed by his troops so early as September, 1759: Monsieur Belestre was not ignorant of these circumstances, and his grants are fraudulent.

I am now to require of you, as soon as this is received, to annull and make voike void, by public Act, every concession made by Monsieur Belestre in

the year 1760, every grant made by any British commander, without exception, and all Indian purchases whatever, or Indian deeds, not obtained by the King's permission and authority, and that you do not suffer any settlement to be made, with the above titles, or any new settlements to be began on any pretence whatever, and that you pull down, as fast as any persons shall presume to build up, and that you do seize, and send down the country, all persons who shall be endeavoring to settle among the savages.

I imagine the Indians will be set upon, to talk to you on these subjects, you will answer them, that the King is tender of their property, and has made regulations to prevent their being cheated and defrauded; that his majesty has been induced to make these rules, upon the frequent complaints of the Indians against the white people, who have defrauded them of their lands, by making a few of them drunk, and getting them, in that condition, to give away their country, to the great disgust of the rest of the nations, and that by such means, the Indians have represented, that the white people have taken great part of their hunting grounds. This has happened to many Indian nations, and unless you stop it in the beginning at the Detroit, the same thing will happen there.

Mr. Grant has engaged to build two vessels for the King, in which business you will please assist him and give him such helps as your garrison affords whenever he shall demand it. As for the merchants, they may build what vessels they please, but you will not suffer either Mr. Grant's artificers or sailers to be taken from him, you have acted very properly in that respect already. I understand there is very good cedar to be had, which Mr. Grant will now use for the King's vessels, and if you find it necessary you will reserve the cedar and suffer no persons to cut it but when it is to be used in the King's service.

I hope that you have received the orders about fitting out the old vessels for this year's service.

You must continue to take every precaution against accidents from fire. If Mr. Babie's stable is so near the magazine as you represent, it must be deemed a nuisance and removed accordingly.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant.

THO. GAGE.

Capt. MacPherson, 60th Regiment, at Detroit.

P. S.—The merchants alledge that there is ceder to be had in the greatest plenty. If that is the real case, I can have no objection to their cutting as much as they shall want of it, and you will not obstruct them in that, or any other business not detrimental to the service. T. G.

(A true copy.) E. B. LITTLEHALES.

RULES FOR THE MILITIA OF DETROIT.*

BY HENRY HAMILTON, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND SUPERINTENDENT OF DETROIT AND DEPENDENCIES, ETC., ETC., ETC.

Subordination will in the first place be observed with punctuality.

He who (in the service of the King) shall believe himself wronged, shall make complaint to his captain, and if he is not satisfied with his decision, he shall apply to Major Hay and finally to the Lieutenant Governor.

The militia captains shall keep a correct roll of the militiamen composing their companies, and will observe with care to command them for service or fatigue duty each in their turn, which roll is to be shown to them, if the case requires it, that they may see (for themselves) that some are not burdened more than others.

Absence from reviews or drill will not be excused except for sickness, and those who feign sickness shall pay a severe penalty.

All residents of the settlement shall be obliged to have (all the time) a gun, a powder horn, a screw-driver, a worm-screw, two pounds of powder, extra flints, and balls in proportion, all on pain of fine.

Every militiaman who shall be drunk while on duty at reviews or drill shall pay two dollars fine. One officer, one sergeant, and one militiaman shall be sufficient for certifying to the offense, and the aforesaid fine shall be applied to the public weal.

It shall not be permitted to a militiaman to sell or exchange his arms or ammunition without notifying his captain, who shall take care that such sales or exchanges do not impair his equipment.

No militiaman shall exchange his turn of service without permission of his captain.

The militia captains shall report those who shall absent themselves from the settlement without permission, as soon as they shall have knowledge thereof, and they shall inform Major Hay of those who join their company from one Sunday to the other.

DEED OF SALE, TOWN LOT IN THE FORT OF DETROIT.

Edgar & McPherson grantors, Thomas Reynolds, commissary, grantee.

Know all men, by these presents, that we Edgar & McPherson, of Detroit

*Translated by Rudolph Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors of the *Michigan Volksfreund*, Jackson, Michigan.

in the province of Quebec merchants, for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred pounds, New Yourk Currency, to us in hand paid, by Thomas Reynolds, commissary of Detroit aforesaid, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, Have bargained, sold, alienated and confirmed and by these presents, do bargain, grant, sell, alien, and confirm unto the said Thomas Reynolds, his heirs and assigns forever. All that messuage or tenement and lot of ground, situated, and lying in the Fort of Detroit, aforesaid, containing fourty-two feet upon St. Louis St., ("French measure") more or less, bounded on the East, North-east, by the late Captain McDougal's lot, and on the West South-west, by a small street, without a name, and in the rear, by vacant ground, the whole as heretofore possessed by the said Edgar & McPherson, as also, all the appurtenances, whatsoever, to the said messuage or tenement, and premises, belonging or in anywise appurtaining; and all the estate, right, title, interest, or claim and demand whatsoever of them the said Edgar & McPherson, of, in and to said messuage, or tenement and premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances unto the said Thomas Reynolds his heirs, and assigns forever and the said Edgar & McPherson, for themselves, and their heirs, and against any other person or persons whatsoever, to the said Thomas Reynolds his heirs, and assigns shall and will warrant, and forever defend, by these presents;

IN WITNESS whereof, the said Edgar & McPherson, have hereunto, set their hand and seal, the 21st day of June, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty.

At Detroit, 21 June, 1780. (Signed)

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of EDGAR & MCPHERSON.

JOHN CASETY,

T. WILLIAMS, Notary.

Recorded in the land office at Detroit in Liber D., Folio 38.

teste:

GO. HOFFMAN, R.

I do hereby certify that the within writing, is a true copy, from the Detroit Register Folo 5.

RICHARD DOLLARD,

Register of Essex, Kent and Suffoth,

Upper Canada.

LETTER FROM JOHN WARREN.

FORT ERIE, 22 Nov., 1780.

DEAR SIR:—I received yours of the Felicity and have sent by Mr. McCaslan a list of the goods that will remain here all winter, but as for sending a recapitulation of the whole forwarded, it is out of my power, as I have often shipped goods from the Faith on board other vessels and as often received goods from Fort Schlosser without any bill of lading, and have found them when so sent so incorrect as not often to agree with the packages I shall therefore refer you to the different lists sent up by comparing the whole of which, with the list of those things remaining will I hope give you the satisfaction you require. Both my stores are quite full of provisions, I am about getting a Root house sufficient to store the goods in for the winter.

I am sir wishing you a pleasant winter,

Your humble servant,

JOHN WARREN.

Mr. Mabbet stays here until the goods are under cover, and then goes down to Niagara, as you mentioned.

BILLS, DRAFTS, AND RECEIPTS.

Government, Dr., to Geo. Meldrum, for sundries furnished Indian Department, omitted in June last.

		£.	s.	d.
June 10.	For 59 bags of Indian corn, 66£ 8d	196	13	4
	5 kegs of grease, 60 lbs., 300 lbs., 8£	120		
	10 canoes, 13£ 6s 8d	133	6	8
	20 rolls of bark, 8s	8		
	200 lbs. of gum, 2s 8d	26	13	4
	30 bunches watap, 2s	3		
	1 large canoe	40		
	25 lbs. of greece, 8s	10		
		537£	13s	4d

Received the above in full of Mr. John Macnamara, by Lieut. Gov. Sinclair's order, this 30th of Sept., 1781.—Michilimackinac.

Government, Dr., to Geo. Meldrum, for sundries furnished Engineer Department.

1781.		£.	s.
Aug. 11.	1 doz. brass knob locks, 8 in., 32s	19	4
15.	" " "	24	
	1 doz. brass cover plates, 9 in., 50s	30	
	4 doz. gouges, assd., 6s	14	8
	3 doz. chizels, 6s	10	16
	3 doz. mortised chizels, best assd., 8s	14	8
	800 sheets tin, 4s	160	
	1,200 lbs. sheet iron, 6s	360	
	515½ lbs. German steel, 6s	154	13
	3,125 lbs. bar iron, 4s	625	

New York Currency, 1,412£ 9s

Received the above in full of Mr. John Macnamara, by Lieut. Gov. Sinclair's order, this 30th of September, 1781.—Michilimakinac.

MICHILIMACKINAC, Nov. 10, 1781.

Government for Indian Department to Geo. Meldrum, Dr.

	£.	s.	d.
7 canoes, 13£ 6s 8d	93	6	8
200 bags of corn, 3£ 6s 8d	666	13	4
50 lbs. nett thread, 16s	40		
50 blankets, 2½pt., 33s 4d	83	6	8
50 fishing spears, 12s	30		
1 piece of scarlet cloth, 27¾ yds., 40s	55	10	
674 yds. linnen, 8s	269	12	
6 qts. jacks. 10s	3		
6 pts. jacks, 6s	1	16	
112 lbs. soap, 8s	44	16	
10 quires of paper, 8s	4		
2 pen-knives, 8s		16	
6 brass cocks with keys, 14s	4	4	
60 blankets, 2½ pt. fine, for chief's coat, 50s	150		
100 tomahawks, 16s	80		
100 spears, 16s	80		
40 cod lines, 16s	32		
17 mackarel lines, 8s	6	16	

 N. Y. C. 1,645£ 16s 8d

Government for Indian Department, to Geo. Meldrum, Dr.

1782.		£	s	d
May 10,	to 7 pieces of strouds, 333s 4d	116	13	4
	3 pieces of molton, 213s 4d	32		
	12 pair of blankets, 3pt, 58s 8d	35	4	
	24 pair do, 2½pt, 48s	57	12	
	12 pair do, 2pt, 37s 4d	22	8	
	12 pair do, 1½pt, 32s	19	4	
	12 pair do, 1pt, 21s 4d	12	10	
	12 men's molton capots, 42s 8d	25	12	
	20 callicoe shirts, 24s	24		
	30 linnen ruffled do, 20s	30		
	15 large callimancoe mantles, lined, 40s	30		
	20 pieces of gartering, 13s 4d	13	6	8
	20 lbs. of vermilion, 21s 4d	21	6	8
	12 guns, 133s 4d	80		
	100 lbs. of gun powder, 10s 8d	53	6	8
	150 lbs. of tobbacco, 13s 4d	100		
	200 lbs. of ball, 2s 8d	26	13	4
	200 lbs. of shot, 2s 8d	26	13	4
June 5.	25 lbs. of surgeon twine, 12s	15		
	30 lbs. of nett thread, 12s	18		
	16 cod lines, 20s	16		
	50 mackarel lines, 6s	15		
	20 pair of fish spears, 12s	12		
	15 ice cutters, 6s	4	10	
	24 tomahawks, 12s	14	8	
	30 half axes, 16s	24		
	20 hoes, 14s	14		
		N. Y. C. 859£	14s	

Received of Mr. George McBeath, a draft on Mr. Robert Allen & Co., by order of Lt. Governor Sinclair. When paid, will be full of the within account.—Michilimackinac.

MICHILIMACKINAC, Dec. 5, 1782.

Engineer's Department to Geo. Meldrum, Dr.

		£.	s.	d.
13 large carpenters hammers, 16s		10	8	
9 doz. gimblets, 16s		7	4	
6 doz. square and one-half round files, 72s		21	12	
4 m jacks, 30s		6		
1 doz. table hinges, 36s		1	16	
1 doz. twist padlocks with hooks and staples, 20s		12		
560 lbs. bar iron, 4s		112		
153 lbs. German steel, 6s		45	18	
2 large cased stock locks, 40s		4		
12 brass case knob, 60s		36		
2 casks 8 case nails, 403				
1 cask 6 case nails, 206	1788 lbs., 6s	536	8	
3 casks 20 and 10 plank, 1,179				
41 large axes, 26s, 8d		54	13	4
88 small axes, 16s		70	8	
12 large augurs, 16s		9	12	
		£927	19	4
	Indian,	1,645	16	8
	N. Y. C.,	£2,573	16	

Received the above in a draft from W. Grant on Richard Dobie, when paid will be in full, by order of Lieut. Gov. Sinclair.

Michigan, 31 January, 1782.

£2,573. 16. NYC.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 31 January, 1782.

SIR:—As soon as you have received payment of Lieutenant Governor Sinclair's drafts on his Excellency, Gen. Haldimand, in my favor, and dated as above, please pay this my second bill of exchange (first of the same tenor and date not paid) to Mr. George Meldrum or order, the sum of two thousand five hundred and seventy-three pounds, sixteen shillings, New York currency, viz., one-third in cash, and the remaining two-thirds in bills of exchange on London, at par, or as you shall receive payment yourself from government, being for sundries furnished Indian and Engineer's Department at this post, and place the same to my account with or without further advice.

Sir, your very humble servant,

WILLIAM GRANT.

To Mr. RICHARD DOBIE, Merchant, Montreal.

£590, New York Currency.

MICHELIMACKINAC, 10 September, 1782.

GENTLEMEN:—On the tenth of October next, please pay this my second of exchange (first of same tenor and date not paid) to Mr. George Meldrum, or order, the sum of five hundred and ninety pounds, New York currency, value received, which please place to account of (with or without further advice). Gentlemen,

Your very humble servant,

GEO. MCBEATH.

To Messrs. Robert Allen & Co., Merchants, Montreal.

LETTERS OF C. W. BUTTERFIELD TO C. I. WALKER.

BUCYRUS, Crawford Co., Ohio, March 22, 1873.

DER SIR:— I am in receipt of a letter from Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, of your city, enclosing a note from you to him in reference to the question as to whether there were any British troops engaged on the side of the Indians against the volunteers under Colonel William Crawford, in his expedition to Sandusky, in 1782.

Although a stranger to you, nevertheless I take the liberty of dropping you this note, as I desire some information from you concerning the point hereinafter explained.

Since writing to Governor Baldwin the letter which was handed by him to Mr. Trowbridge and by the latter to you, I have discovered some additional authorities upon the subject of the white troops, or "rangers," being present on the occasion of Crawford's fight at Sandusky. I will give you all the authorities I have thus far, to present the case as strong as possible: "The Sandusky people collected the Shawanese and the Light Dragoons from the British posts between Sandusky and the post at Detroit." *Pentecast to President Moore, June 17, 1782.* (The writer also adds that he got the information from Major Rose, Aid of Col. Crawford.)

"Our intentions were frustrated by the arrival of a large body of mounted rangers." *Major Rose to Brig. Gen. Irvine, commandant at Fort Pitt, June 13, 1782.* (This Major *John Rose* was Aid to Crawford, but also Aid-de-camp of Gen. Irvine, whom the latter had spared to go with Crawford. "Rose" (*a nom-de-plume*) was a Russian, highly skilled in the art of war, and was afterwards Governor of Livonia.

His letter to Irvine was written at Mingo bottom while the troops were crossing the Ohio on the retreat.

"After traveling about three miles (from Upper Sandusky towards Lower Sandusky) I met Captain Elliott, a British officer, and about twelve miles further on I met the whole British army composed of Colonel Butler's Rangers." *Leith's Narrative, p. 15.*

"Nay, they (the Indians) were even so early in discovering the intentions of a force (Crawford's) collecting, that they urged the commandant at Detroit to assist them with troops, to join in fighting them on their arrival, and a body of the Rangers were in time enough at Sandusky to meet and join them, though they had to cross the lake and travel a great distance into the country." *Heckewelder's "Narrative of the Moravian Missions," p. 337.* (The account of Crawford's campaign given by Heckewelder concludes thus: "The before mentioned affair being concluded, the Indians and Rangers therein engaged, being again returned to their respective homes," &c., *p. 343.*)

The foregoing are the principal authorities that I have thus far discovered. I place great reliance on what "Rose" says, as the fighting was on the Sandusky *Plains*, and a skilled soldier like him would hardly be mistaken in so important a matter; nevertheless *it is possible.* Then again, Heckewelder undoubtedly got his information either from the Indians or at Detroit.

What say you? Is it not a case pretty strongly made out?

What I desire to get your opinion about is this: Will the case as it now stands, justify a search in the foreign office in London for a verification? If you think it would, what course in your judgment would be the best to pursue to bring the matter properly and understandingly before the foreign secretary? I shall be obliged to you for any suggestion you may be disposed to make upon that point.

Will you be kind enough to give me a list of the books you have, giving an account of Crawford's Expedition?

Very truly yours, etc.,

C. W. BUTTERFIELD.

Hon. C. I. Walker, Detroit, Mich.

BUCYRUS, Ohio, March 28, 1872.

DEAR SIR:—Your very kind letter of the 25th inst., is received, for which please accept my thanks. I have written to Mr. Draper as you suggested, and as soon as I hear from him I will inform you.

A good reason, I think, for Gen. Irvine not speaking of the subject of the British having been employed against Crawford, in his letter to Washington informing the Commander-in-chief of the failure etc., of the expedition—is to be found in the fact that in the first letter written by him he enclosed the one he had received from "Rose" giving all the particulars. I found Rose's letter among the Washington papers, and Irvine in transmitting it says: "The enclosed letters, one from Col. Williamson, second in command, and the other from Lieutenant Rose, my aid-de-camp, contains all the particulars of this transaction (Crawford's defeat) which have yet come to my knowledge." *Irvine to Washington, June 16, 1782.*

I am very much "at sea" about one thing: both Laskiel and Heckewelder speak of the presence of white troops; but where do they get their information? Laskiel's Preface is dated May 2, *1788.* Heckewelder published his narrative in *1820.* I should infer from what Laskiel says on p. X of his preface that his information came from *Zeisberger,* who was at Detroit (or just above) at the time of Crawford's defeat. And Heckewelder was there too. Would not the latter naturally draw from his own recollection of the matter? I would suggest, therefore, that we have the testimony of *Zeisberger* through Laskiel, and that of *Heckewelder* from his own remembrances of the facts,—both at Detroit when the rangers should have left there for Sandusky. What are your views upon this perplexing question?

Knight in his Narrative says: "The field officers then assembled and agreed, as the enemy were every moment increasing and we had already a number of wounded, to retreat that night."

(June 5) "Rose" explains who "the enemy" were, by saying they were "a large body of mounted rangers and 200 Shawnoes." There was no fighting done on the forenoon of the 5th of June. Dr. Knight was the only surgeon, and from what he says himself and from Rose's account—"We were so much incumbered with our wounded and sick that the whole day was spent in their care and in preparing for a general attack the next night"—It would seem that Knight must have been very busy during the afternoon when the rangers are said to have arrived from the plains; and it is quite possible he may not have had his attention called to the fact.

The next day's battle, *June 6,* of which all the current histories give no account, was fought on the retreat and several miles from the battle ground of the 4th of June. You will of course at once detect why Knight says nothing about it: he and Crawford had wandered away from the main body the *evening previous.* Of this battle "Rose" says: "On account of the enemy's superiority in *like cavalery* they" &c., &c. The battle of the 4th of June was with Indians alone and *on foot;* for Knight says: "A large

body of Indians *running* towards them," &c., &c. Before I had succeeded in getting "Rose's" report I had been informed by sons and grandsons of some of the volunteers that a battle was fought on the retreat—June 6th.

I cannot account for Doddridge's silence. All that part of his "Crawford's Campaign" which says anything about the *object of the expedition* he copied from Heckewelder. Except that he says *one* of the objects was *destroying the Wyandot terms.* And all reference to the Christian Indians he gets from the same source beyond any question. He seems to have got the rest of his information from Knight's Narrative and from parties *not in the battle of the sixth of June.*

Crawford left the battle field with Dr. Knight on the evening of the fifth and was detained by the Indians *over thirty miles away* for five days afterwards. That accounts for no Rangers being near when he had his interview with Girty on the morning of the eleventh and his being *entirely* in the hands of the Indians.

From who does Pritte, in his "Border life" draw his inspiration? The work I have not seen. Who is the author of the "Pioneer History" you have? To what extent do these two books treat of "Crawford"? I have not yet consulted Flint's Indian Wars; suppose I can find it in some of our libraries. Shall be pleased to hear from you.

Respectfully,

C. W. BUTTERFIELD.

To C. I. Walker, Esq., Detroit.

LEASE OF HOUSE AND LOT IN DETROIT.*

NOTE.—This document is written in a fluent hand, omitting nearly all accents, on very good linen paper, showing in the water-mark the British coat of arms and the name "T. French." It is neatly folded and indorsed (in French) as follows:

"Lease of a house and lot by Mr. Jacques Campau to the widow lady Thomas Williams, December 12, 1785."

Before me, William Montforton, Notary at Detroit, undersigned below was present, Mr. Jacques Campau, who has granted to the widow lady of Thomas Williams a lot and house for the term of one year, beginning at the date of these presents and ending on the same day, upon the conditions hereafter mentioned, the said lady to occupy the said lot and house, surroundings and outhouses, during this said space of a year for the price and

* Translated by Rud. Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors of the *Michigan Volksfreund*, Jackson, Michigan.

sum of forty pounds, New York currency, annual rent payable at the said period. Said lot and house is lying and situate north of the Detroit River, and bounded in the northeast by said Mr. Jacques Campau. and in the southeast by Ignace Boyer. The said Mr. Jacques Campau promises to deliver the said lot to the said widow lady of Thomas Williams as soon as he will be requested by her, and in good order, binding himself to cause to be made thereon the repairs necessary for the convenience of the said lady, who promises to take the said lot upon the above conditions, and to pay the said rents on the expiration of the said year; and if on the said period the said widow lady of Thomas Williams should be fit to keep the said place for another year or several years, the said Mr. Jacques Campau cannot hinder her, and he promises to let her have it as many years as she wants to on the same conditions and at the same annual rent of forty pounds, in the same currency.

For this purpose, and promising and binding and renouncing, and made and delivered at Detroit, at the house of the said lady, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five and the twelfth of the month of December, and the said parties have signed in presence of the undersigned witnesses.

(Signed,) JACQUES CAMPAU.
CECILE CAMPAU. THMS. WILLIAMS.
LOUIS CAMPAU.
GLLME. [WILLIAM] MONTFORTON,
Notary Public.

LETTER TO THOMAS WILLIAMS.

NEW YORK, 2 January, 1786.

MR. THOMAS WILLIAMS—Sir: Your favor of 15 Oct. came to hand yesterday under cover from our mutual friend Felix Graham and note the contents.

From the present appearance of things there seems but little prospect of the Posts with you being given up next spring, however we may be disappointed on that head, which would be very agreeable to us, and should the communication be open between you and us you may expect to receive the sundry articles you have wrote for to this place, and that every dispatch in our power shall be given to forward your good from our house in England should they come through this channel.

We would just observe what it is very probable you know much better than we do that for the first year or two after the Posts are given up it will be very precarious carrying on trade with you, owing to the great numbers of people who are preparing to enter into that business, which must unavoidably be over done, and the high prices that have been given for some kinds of furs, particularly beaver and raccoon, will induce people to give more for them than they can get when they come to market, for be assured that whenever it happens that large quantities of furrs and skins come to this place for sale they will not bear any higher prices than what they will answer to ship to England at, as we are of opinion that will at last be the best market. The prohibition of sending furrs out of Canada for this place has made them very scarse, of course dear, but should there come to this market two hundred packs of beaver in a year they would more than over-stock both this and Philadelphia market. The present price of what is called good Detroit and Meichlamacna beaver is from 15 to 18 per lot. Good raccoon from 5-6 to 6. Musquash 1-6. All other kinds of furrs are bought for the London market, and the prices are governed according to people's expectations of what they will bring there, of course you can judge better than we what they are worth.

Our Friend Mr. Felix Graham can inform you that we are esteemed tolorable good judges of furrs and skins, should you find it your interest to send any peltry this way, we shall be happy to render you our best services in disposing of it should you think proper to address it to us. Wampum at present is to be purchased for cash at 25 for black and 20 for white. Dear skins in very little demand, they must be very good shaved skins that will bring 3-6 per lot. We write this by way of Canada to our Friend Felix who will forward it to you, and be assured that we shall improve the earliest opportunity to send you the account sales of furrs and skins at London. At foot you have a price current and remain,

Sir,

Your obedient servants,

MURRY, SANSON & Co.

	s	*d*
Indian Corn	4	6
Pork	100	
S. fine flour	50	
common do	40	
Tobacco best	6	
Do pigtail		
Do Cut		

	s	*d*
Spermaccti candles	3	– 9
Guisang	2 @ 3*s* as in quantity.	
Barr Iron	£ 28 @ 36 per ton.	
Steel	8 @ 10	
American Rum common proof	2	– 4
West India do	3	– 6
Jamaica do	4	– 6
Coffee	15	
Chocolate		
Bohea tea	3	– 6
Hyson do	10	

MR. THOMAS WILLIAMS, Merchant,
Detroit.

RECEIPT OF T. WILLIAMS, RECEIVER.*

Received at Detroit, January 19th 1782 from Mr. Charles Moran the cruse and tax of his estates consisting of four arpents front by eighty deep and of two arpents and a quarter by forty due November eleventh of the past year.

(Signed) T. WILLIAMS, Receiver.

BILLS OF ACCOUNTS, ETC.

Thomas Williams, Esq., to Thomas McCrae, Dr.

1782.		£.	s.	d.
May	20. For making a coat and trimming for your brother-in-law	1	18	
	31. Making a coat and vest, 56s, trimmings, etc., 24s	4		
June	7. Making two pair corduroy breeches and tape for Mr. Campo	1	10	
	Making a vest and two pair of trowsars, thread and moulds	1	16	
	11. Making a silk coat, 40s; 4½ yds. silk surge at 18s; linnen, 11– 3	6	12	3
	Silk twist thread, buckram hooks and eyes		13	

*Translated by Rud. Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors of the *Michigan Volksfreund*, Jackson, Mich.

July 4.	Making a bamjan, 32s; threads and moulds, 4s	1	16	
August 5.	Making two pair liggon trowsars, 32s; linnen thread and tape, 10s	2	2	
	Making four pair breeches and two vests at 16s; four yds. of linnen at 5s	5	16	
	Thread and tape, 12s; making a coat and vest for Mr. Campo, 44s	2	16	
	Bodey lining pocketts, thread buckram hooks and eyes		11	
	Thirteen large all gilt buttons and 10 small do.	1	5	
	Making two pair sheeting trowsars, thread and moulds for cuffs		16	
Sept. 18.	Remaking one pair of jean breetches, 12s; one-quarter jane, 3– 6; four yds. linnen, 5– 3		16	3
	Mending one pair of black silk stocking breeches		4	
Oct. 31.	Four and one-half yds. striped couting at 28s, two yds. of green baze at 6s	6	18	
	One and a quarter yds. shalloon at 6s; silk twist thread and buttons, 10– 6		18	
	Making a green coat, 36s; 1½ yds. flannell at 6s, 1½ do. linnen at 5s	2	12	6
	Three quarter yds. shalloon, 4s 6d; 3 dozen small pairs enameled buttons at 8s, 3 large do. at 8s	1	10	6
	Silk twist thread and buckram, 11s 6d; making a vest and breeches, 40s	2	11	6
	Making a cappae for Mr. Campo, 8s; silk thread and binding, 6s		14	
	Making one pair velverat breeches, 18s; pock-etts and facing, 4s	1	2	
	Silk twist and silk tape, 6s; thread and but-tons, 3s		9	
Dec. 23.	Making two pair corderoy trowsars, 36s; two yds. linnen at 5s	2	6	
	Thread, moulds, and stay tape		6	
1783.				
Jan. 23.	Making a flannell vest and drawers, 16s; silk moulds and linnen, 7s	1	3	
28.	Making a coat and vest, 58s; 14 small buttons, 2s 6d, and 14 large do. at 3s 6d	3	5	

Jan.	28.	1½ yds. linning at 6s; buck thread, stay tape, silver hooks and eyes, 11s	1		
Feb.	13.	Making one pair ws. B. coating trowsers, 8s; linnen thread and buttons, 4s		12	
March	18.	Seating and buttoning your silk breeches		6	
	29.	Mending a coat, vest, and breeches for Mr. Campo		7	
		1½ doz. small hair buttons at 1s 6d; 1 doz. large do, 3s		5	3
April	4.	Making one pair B. coating trowsars, 8s; thread, buttons, and sheeting, 4s		8	
	12.	Making a black cloth suit, 72s; 1½ yds. sheeting at 6s	4	1	
		Body lining for your vest, 7s; hooks and eyes, 3s		10	
	22.	Making two pair of cordeuroy trowsars for Mr. Campo at 8s		16	
		1 yd. sheeting, 6s; silk twist thread, moulds, and tape, 9s		15	
May.		Making a capo and vest, 36s; one yd. of shalloon, 6s; 1½ yds. of flannell, 5s	2	9	6
		Binding, 7s; silk twist and thread, 5s 6d; ½ yd. sheeting, 3s; buttons for cuffs, 6s	1	1	6
	15.	Making a lead colored coat, 40s; buttons, 5s; S. tape hooks and eyes, 3s	2	8	
		Making a coat for Mr. Campo, 36s; buttons, 16s; S. tape, hooks, eyes, and thread, 5s 8d	2	17	8
June	26.	Making two silk vests, 40s; 1 yd. shalloon for back, 7s	2	7	
		2½ yds. cotton lining at 7s; linnen, 2s 6d; thread, moulds, and buckram, 5s	1	5	
July	2.	Making two pair of trowsars, 24s; lining, 7s 6d; silk twist, thread, and moulds, 7s	1	18	6
		Making one pair of trowsars and two vests, 34s; three and a half yards of linning at 2s 6d	2	11	6
		Silk twist, thread, and moulds for Mr. Campo		11	
Aug.	10.	Making two pair nankeen trowsars, 20s; trimmings for do., 17s 3d	1	17	3
Oct.	3.	Making a suit of velverat and trimmings	4	2	
		Your order in favor of F. Froy			

Nov.	7.	One cappoe vest and trowsars furnished Pierre Barbeau	3	8	9
	14.	Making one pair of breeches, 20s; three quarters yds. shalloon, 4s 6d; buttons and tape, 3s 6d	1	8	
		Making one pair of trowsars, and trimmings for cuffs		9	
Nov.	26.	Making one pair of black breeches, 20s; one yd. of linnen, 5s; one quarter yd. shalloon, 1s 6d	1	6	6
1784.		Silk twist thread, S. tape and buttons, 8s		8	
Jan.	10.	Making one pair of trowsars, 12s; sheeting, thread and buttons, 6s		18	
	28.	Making a coat, 40s; making two vests, 36s; two yds. shalloon, 12s	4	8	
		One yd. of silk, 22s; three yds. cotton lineing, 18s; two yds. of linnen, 10	2	10	
		Buttons, 38 shillings; trimmings, 23s	3	1	
Feb.	17.	Making a coat and trowsars, 56s; trimmings for do., 14s 6d	3	10	6
		Altering a suit for a Negro 22s; thread and silk, 3s	1	5	
		Making a cappoe and trowsars, 18s, for a negro; trimmings, 8s	1	6	
	25.	Making a pair of flannell trowsers, 8s; making 54 backs, 36s	2	4	
		½ pound of thread, 5s; mending cuffs and breeches, 3s		8	
	28.	Making one pair of short gatters, 8s; buttons, straps, and linnen, 7s		15	
May	17.	Making a cappoe and vest for cuff and trimmings	3	11	
June	26.	Making two silk vests, 40s; one yd. of shalloon, 7s	2	7	
		2½ yds. of cotton lineing, 17s 6d; trimmings, 6s 6d	1	5	
		New York Currency	125	16	11
Errors excepted, Detroit 7th of April, 1784.					
		Deduct overcharge error	7	3	
			118	13	11
		Deduct for cuffs, baggs, Troy & Barribeau	15	19	9
		Charge me	102	14	2

Thomas Williams Esq., To Henry McClalen & Henry, Dr.

1785.	£.	s.	d.
May 25. For one piece of linen, 26 yds., at 5s	6	10	
one piece do 25 yds, at 5s 4d	6	18	4
five yds. fine cambrick, 22s	5	10	
Buttons and thread		3	
Cash paid for making 13 shirts, 8s	5	4	
	£24	5	4

Madam Williams To Thomas McCrae Dr.

1787.	£	s.	d.
Sept. 17. To silk and twist pr Mrs. Joseph Campo, 4s 6d		4	6
Oct. 20. To silk, 1s 6, making your riding dress, 52s	2	13	6
Dec. 4. To two and one half yds. of linnen, at 5s, white silk, 3s, brown twist, 3s		18	6
To buck thread stay tape, 4s, two pair of silver hooks and eyes, 3s		7	
Dec. 17. To one and a quarter blue bath coating, at 20s	1	5	
1788. 21. To one yard of fine white buckram, 5s		5	
Mar. 3. To silk, 1s 6d; 6 ells bath coating, at 24s	7	5	6
April 21. Two cords of wood, 24s	2	8	
May 5. To silk	1	6	
New York Currency.	£15	8	6

Errors excepted.

Detroit, 20 May, 1788.

Mr. Tacko Campo To Thomas McCrae Dr.

1783.	£	s.
June 16. To making a coat, vest and trowsars and trimmings	1	19

New York Currency.

We promise to pay or cause to be paid unto Messrs. Felix Graham and Thomas Williams or order the sum of two hundred and sixty three pounds seventeen shillings and ten pence N. Y. Current Money of the Province of New York on or before the twentieth day of June next with the lawfull interest of said Province from thence untill paid being for value received. Misilimacknac Aug. 15, 1774.

Witnesses present. J. LEVY AND RICHARD MCCARTY.

Deduct twenty five shillings and eight pence New York Currency on the within note, Mackina, 15 August 1774.

Recd fortier note for one hundred and thirty-three pounds July 4, 1776.

Received fifty-one pounds eighteen shillings and three pence of the within.

T. W.

Thomas Williams, Esq., & Company, to Thomas McCrae, Dr.

1782.		£.	s.	d.
May 6.	To cash	3	15	
Sept. 23.	To 17½ lbs pork, at 2s, 9 lbs. do. at 2s	2	13	
" 31.	25 lbs. pork for Mr. Dawson at 2s 6d, 4 lbs. do per self at 2s	13	10	6
Nov. 16.	To cash	94	7	
1783.				
Aug. 2.	To Capt. Wright's account rendered	10	8	
Nov. 17.	Thomas Williams, Esq., acct. rendered	125	16	11
	Mr. John Casety's, " " } Mr. Thomas Casety's " " }	87	4	1
	Mr. Frank's account rendered	11	16	
Mar. 7.	Cash	63	4	
	Mr. William Arrindell's ac. rendered	7	2	6
	N. Y. C.,	409£	7s	
	Errors excepted Detroit 7 April, 1784.			
	Mr. Campeau's account	1	19	
	N. Y. C.,	411£	6s	

Messrs. Thomas Williams & Company, to Montague Trimble, Dr.

1785.		£.	s.	d.
Aug. 2.	To their assumption for Sharp & Wallace,	13	6	8
	One pair of white thread hose, Pr, T. W,		8	8
19.	To two fowlls		8	
Oct. 12.	One piece red ticking 37 yds. with advance	5	13	9
Nov. 1.	To 96 deerskins at 6s each	28	16	
Dec. 10.	To 8 yds. black seedstring, Pr. J. Campeau for Mrs. Williams	7	16	
	New York Currency,	56£	8	5

DETROIT.

Messrs. Thomas Williams & Company, to John Macpherson.

1782.		£.	s.	d.
2 Oct.	Six whitefish one shilling each		6	
6 Nov.	One yd fine flowered gauze, Pr. Mr. Campeau		10	
1783.				
13 Jan.	150 tacks pr. Capt. Wright, 2d		3	
	50 tacks pr. Casety		1	
22 Jan.	One piece spotted swans skin	10		
	One large packing needle		1	
13 Feb.	One and a half yards fine wd coating pr McCrae, 26s each	1	10	
	3 doz. [cannot make out], pr W. Campeau, 5s 4d		16	
8 Apr.	One W. ruffled shirt pr Mr. Casety to pay ducks,		14	
17 Apr.	One pair of large chest hinges and spring		8	
17 Apr.	Cash on amount vendee account		40	
29 Apr.	One hind quarter veal, 16½ lbs., 3s	2	9	6
	N. Y. C.,	56£	18s	6d
28 June.	Amount goods sold at vendee	23	3	9
	3 pieces of nankeen 30s each	4	10	
1 July.	Assumed for G. Godfrey, per note	264	5	2
	N. Y. C.,	348£	17s	5d
4 July.	2 doz eggs, four shillings		8	
	Mr. John Casety, note	3	17	8
	N. Y. C.,	353	3	1
16 July.	One doz. eggs		4	
20 July.	One doz. eggs		4	
22 "	One quarter of venison		8	
		353£	19s	1d

Credit.

By account	293	00	1
	60£	19s	

DETROIT, 1 Sept., 1783.

Mrs. Crofton To Thomas Williams & Company.

		£	s.	d.
	15 lbs. cheese, at 3s	2	5	
17.	16¼ lbs. do at 3s	2	8	9
Nov. 8.	½ lb. black lead		2	
1784.				
	To an ivory comb		4	
Aug. 9.	to one lb. hyson tea	1	8	
	To two pair lasting shoes, 14s	1	8	
Oct. 12.	one lb. hyson tea	1	8	
Nov. 3.	to one half lb. black lead		2	
Nov. 24.	to two yds. black sattin binding		2	
1785.				
Jan. 26.	to 25 yds. linnen, 4s	5		
Feb. 19.	One pr lasting shoes		14	
Mar. 16.	13 lbs. 10 ounces loaf sugar, 3s 6d	2	7	7¼
May 6.	16 three-quarters lbs. veal	1	13	6
		19£	2	10¼
	To schooling Miss Catist Campo 18 months, at 20 shillings	18		

J. Campeau, Bought at auction:

		£	s.	d.
Jan. 8.	4 Doz Teaspoons		11	
	six pair womens silk gloovs, 7s 2d	2	3	
	To six gauz handkfs, 3s 8d	1	2	
	10 yds. persian, 2s	1		
	two pieces of ribbon, 7s		14	
Jan. 9.	24 yds linnen, 4s 6d	5	8	
	One silver watch	2	3	
	48 lbs. sugar, ¼	3	4	
	72 lbs. do ¼	4	16	
	5 verges de bason, 10s 1d	2	10	5
		£23	11	5

LANDS FOR SETTLEMENT IN CANADA.

QUEBEC, 2nd September 1789.

GENTLEMEN:—You will be pleased to consider of the proper limits and

extent of a tract of land, beginning at the western boundary of the last purchase made by the Crown from the Indians west of Niagara, and extending along the whole or such part of the borders of Lake Erie, and the Streights of Detroit, up to such distance towards Lake Huron, and to such depth from the shore, as you may see expedient, to be surveyed and parcelled out for the accommodation of emigrant loyalists and others, desirous of forming settlements in those parts, as occasion may require.

You will take care that all lands possessed or claimed by individuals under pretence of private purchases or grants from Indians, on the side opposite to the Port of Detroit, be comprehended within the limits of the general Tract.

But before any part thereof can be granted to individuals the whole must be ceded to the Crown by the Indians. You will therefore call Mr. McKee the officer of the Indian Department to your assistance in deliberating upon this subject, that you may have the advantage of his knowledge of the temper and disposition of the Indians, in ascertaining what extent of Country it may be proper to treat for with them for the present, consistently with their comfort.

As soon as you have determined upon this point Mr. McKee, who is to receive instructions for that purpose from the Superintendent General of Indian affairs will take the necessary steps to obtain from the Indians their clear and complete cession to the Crown.

To Major Murray Col Regt. or Officer commanding at Detroit:
" William Dummer Porrell
" Duperon Baby
" Alexander McKee
" William Robertson
" Alexander Grant
" Lt. Martin Adhemar
} Esquires
} or any three of them
} Board for the District of Hesse

PART OF A LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS.

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* * * This obtained, your first object will be choice of a proper scite for a country town for the district on the East side of the Streight.

A situation opposite to the Island of Bois-blanc, which better than any other commands the navagation of the Streight has preferable accomadition

for the security of vessels, and must for these reasons become a post of defence, has been represented to me as a proper place for a town, and will for the circumstances afore mentioned, and its position in the vicinity of many water communications from the South shore, in process of time, naturally attract a number of inhabitants. You will therefore consider whether this is not the most proper spot for the country town. But unless the unhealthyness or impracticabilty of the surrounding country or any other circumstance, only to be ascertained upon the spot should render the situation of Bois-Blanc ineligible. You are to call all the magistrates, the officers of the militia and such other intelligent inhabitants and planters, as you may see fit to assist in your diliberations upon this particular object, as directed by the additional rules and regulations for the conduct of the land office department of the 25 of August 1789. And if the majority present of the Board so formed should be of the opinion that Bois-Blanc is not the most eligible situation, you will jointly with them fix upon on the same side of the Streight, that may appear to unite superior advantages in respect to the present condition of the district stating the reasons in a special report.

The scite of the country town agreed upon, you will direct the surveyor of the district to lay out the township, and proceed to receive applications and issue certificates for town and farm lots therein according to your general instructions as soon as may be.

But as several settlements are reported to be made, and actually occupied, by individuals without authority, under the pretext of purchases or cessions from the indians within the tract above directed to be purchased from them on behalf of the Crown, the Board are to receive applications for grants from the claimants or occupants of said settlements stating the nature, extent and value of the tracts and improvements prayed for, and the grounds of their claims, filing at the same time copies of the writings or papers on which they may conceive the same to be founded.

To the actual bona fide occupants of such improved farms the Board are to give certificates including the improvements to the extent of their general instructions, and their are not to issue any certificates for any part of such tracts, as are claimd under the pretext of indian purchases or grants to any persons other than the actual claimant or occupant thereof, but their are to report on all such petitions and claims, transmitting the same with copies of the writings or paper filed, and stating their opinion as to the nature, extent and value, of the tracts and improvements, and the merits and pretentions of the claimants, and any other petitioners for parcels of such tracts, that the Government being duly inform thereof order may be taken respecting the same.

In regard to all other vacant lands of the Crown not claimed by individuals as afore-mentioned, and in all points, which are not specially directed herein, the Board are to proceed according to their general instructions.

I am with regard,

(Signed) DORCHESTER.

A true copy, by order of Patrick Murray, Esq., Major in the sixtieth Regiment commanding Detroit, and first member of the land Board, &c., &c.

T. SMITH.

A CHATTEL MORTGAGE.

BEFORE the underwritten witnesses residing at Detroit, in the province of Quebec, PERSONALLY appeared William Thorn, of the River Sinclair yeoman, who acknowledged himself to be justly and truly indebted to Messrs. Meldrum & Park, of Detroit aforesaid, merchants for divers goods wares, and merchandizes, sold and delivered to him by the said Meldrum & Park in the sum of 79 pounds 12 shillings and 7 pence, currency of New York, which said sum with the interest to accrue thereon from this date, the said William Thorn hereby promises and obliges himself to pay to the said Meldrum & Park, or their order, in one month to be computed from the date of these presents for surity of which payment well truly to be made, the said William Thorn by these presents specially mortgages and hypothicates unto the said Meldrum & Park all and every the goods and chattels as are particularly described and set forth in the Schedule A, hereto annexed, GIVING and GRANTING unto the said Meldrum and Park (in case default should be made of payment at the term aforesaid) full power to dispose thereof at public sale or otherwise, for the most money that can be procured for the same, and the proceeds arising therefrom to retain until perfect satisfaction of the aforesaid sum, with the interest then due thereon. IN TESTMONY whereof the said William Thorn has hereunto set his hand and seal, at Detroit, this 19' day of September in the year of our Lord, one, thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

WILLIAM THORN.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

HENRY HAY,

CHARLES SMYTH.

SCHEDULE A referred to on the foregoing deed:

One black cow, aged four years.
One black and white do., aged five do.
Two black and white yearlings.
One cream colored horse, aged five years.
One bay do., aged nine years.
Detroit, 19 Sept., 1789.

Received, Detroit, 10th of September, 1793, from W. Thorn, in part of this obligation, 50 punds by a pair oxen, 4 pounds by a trip to Macka, 3 pounds for butter, and 4 pounds for corn, in all 61 pounds, New York currency.

10th September, '93, balance, 37, 14, 7d., including interest.

WILLIAM THORN.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST PAUL BELLAIR FOR DEBT.

PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA, }
Western District, to-wit: } George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c.

[L. S.]

To the sheriff of the Western District: Greeting—

We command you, that you take Paul Belair, of Detroit, carpenter, if he may be found in your district, and him safely keep, so that you have his body before us, at Detroit, on the first day of September term next ensuing, to satisfy George Meldrum and William Park, of Detroit, merchants and co-partners, a sum of 12 pounds, 10 shillings, and 7 pence half penny, lawful money of this province, which the said Meldrum and Park lately in our district court before us recovered against him, the said Paul Belair, as also six pounds, nine shillings, and six pence, which were adjudged to the said Meldrum & Park, in our said court before us, for their costs and charges, by them about their suit, in that behalf expended as also the interest of 12 pounds, 10 shillings, and 7 pence half penny from the 16th day of July last, until actual payment:—whereof the said Paul Belair is convicted as appears to us of record, and have you there then this writ. Witness, Wm. Harffy, Esq., first judge of our said court at Detroit aforesaid, this 29th day of January, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign.

(Signed) JOHN DONOVAN,
Clk. Wn. Dt. Ct.

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original writ issued from the Western District Court, Sandwich, 6th June, 1797.

W. ROE.

PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA }
Western District, to-wit: }

Western District Court held in the Town of Detroit the thirtieth day of September, 1795. *Present*, William Harffy Esquire first judge &c. Meldrum & Park of Detroit, Merchants, Plaintiffs, and Paul Bellair, of Detroit, Carpenter, Defendant.

On motion of Mr. Roe the Plaintiffs attorney judgment is entered on the inquisition returned by the sheriff in this cause for the sum of 12 pounds 10 shillings and 7 pence lawful of this provice with interest from the day the said inquisition was took, and made (being the 16 of July 1795) untill actual payment—together with costs of suit amounting to 4 pounds 19 shillings and 6 pence currency.

A true copy from the records.

J. DONOVAN, *Clk. W.D.C.*

Territory of the United States, Northwest of the River Ohio Wayne County—ss.

The United States to the Sheriff of the said County of Wayne, Greeting.

We command you to take into your custody the body of Paul Bellair of said county carpenter if he may be found in your Bailiwick and him safely keep so that you have him before our judges of our county court of common pleas next to be holden at Detroit, within and for our said county, on the first Tuesday of December next then and there in our said court to answer unto Meldrum and Park of Detroit Merchants in a plea of debt to the damage of the said Meldrum and Park as he saith the sum of seventy six dollars and two cents, which shall then and there be made to appear with other damages, and of this writ make due return. Witness Louis Benfait, Esq., Judge of our said Court at Detroit the 21st day of October in the year of our Lord seventeen ninety six.

PETER AUDRAIN, Prothy.

December term 1796.

Meldrum & Park, }
vs. } debt $76.02.
Paul Bellair }

Served the 21st Oct. 1795 Jean Rivard bail for the defendant Herman Ebarts Cornor and acting sheriff of the County of Wayne. cost paid sheriffs fee satisfied.

DEED TO LAND.

THIS INDENTURE made at Detroit this thirteenth day of January in the

year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, by and between Alexander Harron of the River Sinclair, Esquire, of the one part, and James Cartwright, of the same place Yoeman of the other part. WITNESSETH.—

THAT the said Alexander Harrons for and in consideration of the sum of two hundred pounds, New York Currency, to him in hand paid by the said James Cartwright at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, HATH granted bargained and sold, and by these presents, DOTH grant, bargain, and sell unto the said James Cartwright, his heirs and assigns, ALL that messuage and Tenement, situate, lying, and being on the West side of the River Sinclair aforesaid, containing six acres, or thereabouts, in front, by forty acres, in depth, bounded in front by the said River, and in the rear by the lands of the said Alexander Harrone, on the North side by the farm at present occupied by James O'Brien, and on the South by Toussaint Chauvin, together with all buildings and fence, thereon erected or to the same in anywise appertaining. AND the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, and profits of all and singular the said premises and every part thereof.— AND all the estate, right, title, claim, interest and demand whatsoever, of him the said Alexander Harrone of, in, to, or out of the said premises, or any part thereof.—TO HAVE and TO HOLD the said hereby bargained Messuage and premises unto the said James Cartwright, his heirs and assigns forever, without the let, suit trouble, molestation or interruption of him the said Alexander Harrone, his heir or assign, or of any other person or persons lawfully claiming or to claim, by, from or under him, them, or any of them—IN TESTIMONY whereof, the said parties, have to these presents set their hands and affixed their seals, at Detroit aforesaid, the day, month, and year first above written.

SIGNED, sealed and delivered in the presence of
John Laughton, Jr.
W. Roe.

ALEX. HARRONE.
JAMES CARTWRIGHT.

MEMOM. On the————day of————in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-six, full, quiet and peaceable possession and seisin was made of the herein before bargained premises, by the said Alexander Harrone, delivering to the said James Cartwright, a piece of the soil on the said premises in the name of the whole thereof, in the presence of———

TESTE:

Recorded in the Land Office at Detroit in Liber D., folio 21.

GO. HOFFMAN, R.

FORMATION AND BOUNDARIES OF WAYNE COUNTY.

The Seal of the Territory of the U. S.
[L. S.]
Northwest of the River Ohio.

Proclamation by Winthrop Sargent, acting as Governour of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio.

To all persons to whom these presents shall come—Greeting.

WHEREAS, By an ordinance of Congress of the thirteenth of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, for the settlement of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio, it is directed that for the due execution of process, civil and criminal, the Governours shall make proper divisions of the said territory and proceed from time to time as circumstances may require, to lay out the same into counties and townships—and whereas it appearing to me expedient that a new county should immediately be erected to include the settlement of Detroit, &c., I do hereby ordain and order that all and singular the lands lying and being within the following boundaries, viz.: beginning

At the mouth of the Cayahoga River upon Lake Erie, and with the said river to the portage between it and the Tuscarawa branch of the Muskingum—thence down the said branch to the forks at the carrying place above Fort Lawrance—thence by a West line to the Eastern boundary of Hamilton county (which is a due North line from the lower Shawonese Town upon the Sciota River)—thence by a line West-northerly to the southern part of the portage between the Miamis of the Ohio and the St. Mary's River—thence by a line also west-northerly to the southwestern part of the portage between the Wabash and the Miamis of Lake Erie, where Fort Wayne now stands—thence by a line west-northerly to the most southern part of Lake Michigan—thence along the western shores of the same to the northwest part thereof (including the lands upon the streams emptying into the said Lake)—thence by a due north line to the territorial boundary in Lake Superior, and with the said boundery through lakes Huron, St. Clair, and Erie, to the mouth of the Cayahoga River, the place of beginning—Shall be a county, named and henceforth to be styled the County of Wayne—which said County shall have and enjoy all and singular the jurisdiction, rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities whatsoever to a county appertaining and which any other county that now is or hereafter may be erected and laid out shall or ought to enjoy conformable to the ordinance of Congress before mentioned.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the territory this fifteenth day of August, in the twenty-first year of the

Independence of the United States, A. D. one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

WINTHROP SARGENT.

GENERAL MILITIA ORDER FOR WAYNE COUNTY.

DETROIT, SEPT. 26, 1796.

The following appointments and promotions are to take place in the county of Wayne, viz.:

Anthony Beaubien Capt. vice Charles Morand, declined. James Compau a Lieutenant vice Baptiste Compau do. Joseph Campau Ensign vice Nicholas Gouin do. Francis Marsacre Capt. vice Baptiste Campau do. Jean Baptiste Beaugrand Lieut. vice Baptist Delille do. Peter Rivard Lieut. vice Francis Marsacre promoted to a captaincy. James Navarre ensign vice Francis Gobbey declined. Joseph Jaubin a Captain. Roman La Chambre Lieut. Hyacinthe Lajoye ensign. John Dodomead Lieut. & Adjutant, and they are to be respected and obeyed accordingly.

WINTHROP SARGENT.

September the 28th George Cotterell Esq., to be a captain Jean Marie Beaubien a Lieut. and Anthony Mijny an ensign they will receive their commissions from the Lieut. Col commandant.

W. SARGENT.

LETTER FROM THE Q. M. GENERAL.

PITTSBURGH, 5 Dec., 1796.

SIR,—The Secretary of War has directed me to raise an amount against the contractor for all the transports of provisions done by the public for him. As a great deal of his business has been from your post I wish you would state as particularly as possible all the transport that has been done by the publick for the contractor, being as particular as possible as to the quantity transported, the distance, and the teams and horses employed in doing it—one copy of which you will send to Mr. Haragan, and another you will transmit to me at this place.

I am, sir, your humble servant.

JOHN WILKINS,
Q. Mast. Gen.

Capt. Sam Honley, A. Q. Mast., Greenville.

Enclosed to be forwarded without delay by Mr. Haragan.

RELEASE—CHIPPEWA CHIEFS TO JAMES MAY AND OTHERS.

THIS INDENTURE made at River St. Clair, this 4th day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, by and between us the chiefs and principal leaders of the Chippewa Nations of indians, of the one part and James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, of or near Detroit, of the other part, WITNESSETH, that we the said chiefs and principal leaders of said Nations, for and in consideration of the sum of six thousand dollars or bucks to us, the said chiefs and principal leaders of said Nation, by the said James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof we the said chiefs do hereby acknowledge and thereof and of every part and parcel thereof, do hereby requit, exonerate and discharge them, the said James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, and each of them, their and each of their heirs and assigns forever, HAVE granted, bargained, sold, released, and confirmed, and by these presents DO grant, bargain, sell, release, and confirm unto the said James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, their and each of their heirs and assigns forever, ALL that certain tract or parcel of land situate, lying, and being on the Northwest side of Lake St. Clair, in the county of Wayne, butted and bounded as follows, to-wit: commencing at a stake and stones on the bank of the Lake 70 gunters chains easterly from the enterance of Swan Creek or River, and running thence a Northwest course by a line of marked trees the distance of twenty-five miles; thence West by a line of marked trees until six miles West of all the forks of the North branch of the River Huron that empties itself into Lake St. Clair; thence Southeasterly by a line of marked trees keeping in all places the distance of six miles from said North branch of said River Huron until it intersects a line run due West from said North branch, which line is the Northerly boundry of a tract of land granted to John Askin and others; thence East on said line to the North branch of said River Huron, thence Easterly by line of marked trees, to the Southwest corner of a tract of land granted to J. Porlier Benack, thence Northeasterly by a line of marked [trees] in the rear of said tract and in the rear of a small tract granted to Henry Tucker, thence easterly to Lake St. Clair; thence North and Easterly along the edge of the Lake to place of commencement, be the distance, number of miles, or quantity of acres it may contain more or less, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders (yearly and other rents and profits thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof). And all others, the appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any ways apper-

taining or with the same used, enjoyed, accepted, reputed, taken, or known as part, parcel, or member thereof, ALL which said premises are now in the actual possession of them, the said James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, by virtue of a bargain and sale to them thereof made for the term of nine hundred and ninety years, by us the said chiefs and principal leaders of said Nations, in consideration of the sum of fifty dollars and other valuble things and clothing to us paid by them the said James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, in and by one indenture bearing date the day next before the day of the date hereof: And the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, yearly and other rents, issues and profits thereof, and every part and parcel thereof; and all the estate, right, title, interest, property. claim and demand whatsover both at law and equity of us the said chiefs or of any of our whole Nation, of, in, and to the same, or any part thereof, TO HAVE and TO HOLD; the said certain tract or parcel of land and all other the premises hereinbefore mentioned to be hereby granted and released with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, their and each of their heirs and assigns forever; AND WE the said chiefs DO hereby for ourselves, our heirs, and the whole of our said nation, covenant and promise, grant, and agree to and with the said James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, in manner and form following, that is to say that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said James May, Patrick McNiff, and Jacob Harson, their and each of their heirs and assigns, at all time and times forever hereafter, peaceably and quietly to have, hold, and enjoy, the hereinbefore mentioned premises and every part thereof, without the let suit, trouble, molestation, or interruption of us the said chiefs, or any of us or our heirs or of any of our said Nation or of any other person or persons whatsover; IN WITNESS whereof, WE, the said Chiefs, to these presents have set our hands and seals and made our respective marks the day and year first above written.

NONGUE, Totem.
KEASK, Totem.
PECHEEKEE, Totem.
WETANEY, Totem.
MESSKIASS, Totem.
CHACHAWENEPISH, Totem.

Signed sealed and delivered, the same being first read & fully explained to the chiefs, who were perfectly sober, in the presence of

JOSEPH MAY.
JACOB BOGART.
BERNARBUS HARSON.

Registered in my office in Book No. 1 Pages 15 & 16.

PETER AUDRAIN,
Recorder.

Received the 17th of March 1797.

P. A.

Personally appeared before me Nathan Williams, Esq., one of the Judges of the court of common pleas for the county of Wayne, Barnarbus Harsen, one of the witnesses and interpreter to the within release, who being duly sworn on the holy Evangilist, saith that the within release and every part thereof was by him fully and truly interpreted and explained to the subscribing chiefs parties thereto, and that the said chiefs in his presence did duly truly freely and voluntarily execute the same as their act and deed. Also appeared before me Nongue and Kiask, two of the chiefs, parties to the within release and by sworn interpreter, say the within release is the act and deed of themselves and the other subscribing chiefs; given under my hand at Detroit this fourth day of February in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven.

BARNARBUS HARSEN,
NATHAN WILLIAMS,
J. P. C. W.

This was done to the best of the knowledge of the deponent.

AGREEMENT OF JAMES MAY AND OTHERS WITH CHIPPEWA CHIEFS.

For and in consideration of the lease and sale to US made by Nongue Kiask, Wetaney Messkiass and Pechekee chiefs of the Chippewa Nation of indians, as by their deeds of lease and re-lease to US made and bearing date the third and fourth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven of a certain tract of land situated on the North-west side of Lake St. Clair in the county of Wayne as by said deeds will more fully appear; WE for ourselves, our heirs and assigns agree and promise to pay or deliver unto the aforesaid chiefs or any three of them, or their heirs for use of themselves and respective families or tribes; the sum of one hundred dollars or butts in clothing and other necessaries, independent and clear of what WE have already given or advanced to them yearly and every year for the term of ten years commencing on the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred provided the said tract and every part thereof conformable to said lease and release be

confirmed to US by and under the Government of the United States of America, but no payment to be made before such a conformation takes place. WE also agree and promise to deliver unto the said chiefs and their heirs every year for the term of thirty years one half bushel of indian corn, for every farm of two hundred acres that may be improved on said tract, and every year from thenceforward to the full end a term of nine hundred and sixty years to be fully completed and ended, one quart of corn for every such farm that may be on said tract should the same be lawfully demanded. And secure to the said chiefs their heirs and respective tribes the privilege of hunting, fishing, fowling, planting corn, building huts and making sugar on such part of said tract, as may not be within the inclosures of such settlers as WE may place thereon in as full, free perfect and ample a manner as they ever have been accustomed to enjoy heretofore.

IN WITNESS whereof WE have unto these presents set our hands and seals this fourth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven.

Signed sealed and delivered in presence of
JOSEPH MAY
JACOB BOGART
BERNARDUS HARSEN.

JAMES MAY.
PATRICK MCNIFF.
JACOB HARSEN.

SHERIFFS DEED TO LAND IN WAYNE COUNTY.

This indenture made the first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, between, Hermann Eberts, Esq., acting as high sheriff for the county of Wayne of the one part, and James May, Esq., of Detroit of the other part WITNESSETH that whereas by virtue of a writ of Levari facias issued out of the Honorable Court of Common Pleas for the county of Wayne at the suit of James May, Esq., of Detroit, against the plantation and tenements of Pierre Michel Campau yeoman of River Ecorce to the said sheriff directed. The said Hermann Eberts seized and taken in excution on the sixteenth day of January 1797 as belonging to the said Pierre Michel Campau a lot of land situated in Sargent Township, in the aforesaid county of Wayne, on river Ecorce, containing four acres in front by one hundred acres or arpants in depth more or less. Bounded in front by the River Detroit and behind by unlocated lands. Joining north-east the lands of Alexis Labadi and south-west the lands of Charles Michel Campau, with a dwelling house, barn and stable thereon

erected, which said premises were adjudged to the said James May, Esq., the last and highest bidder at the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars lawful money of the United States of America, after the usual advertisements as required by law. Now this indenture WITNESSETH that the said Hermann Eberts, for and in consideration of the said sum of two hundred and fifty dollars lawful money aforesaid to me in hand paid by the said James May, Esq., have bargained, sold, granted, aliened, and confirmed, and by these presents, as sheriff for the said county, do bargain, sell, grant, alien, and confirm to the said James May, Esq., his HEIRS and ASSIGNS forever all the before mentioned messuage and premises butted and bounded as afore mentioned, together with all and every buildings and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining and all the right, title, claim, interest, and demand of him the said Pierre Michel Campau, yeoman of River Ecorce, in or to the same or any part thereof. To have and to hold the said premises and every part and parcel thereof unto the said James May, Esq., his heirs and assigns forever, without any let, suit, trouble, molestation or interruption from the said Pierre Michel Campau, his heirs, executors, administrators, assigns or from any other person or persons whatever. In witness whereof the said parties have to these presents interchangably set their hands and seals at Detroit aforesaid the day, month and year first above written.

HERMANN EBERTS,
Acting as high sheriff for the county of Wayne.
JAMES MAY.

Signed sealed and delivered in the presence of
A. HUNN,
NATHAN WILLIAMS.

Received the within sum of two hundred and fifty dollars lawful money this 1st day of March, 1797.

HERMANN EBERTS,
Acting as high sheriff for the county of Wayne.

DEED TO LAND IN MAIDSTONE, CANADA.

George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, to all whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

Know ye, that we of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion have given and granted and by these presents Do Give and Grant

unto Joseph Voyer and his heirs and asssigns forever, a certain parcel or tract of land situate in the Township of Maidstone, containing by admeasurement 200 acres, be the same more or less, being composed of lot number Four in the first Concession and situate, lying, and being in the Township of Maidstone aforesaid, in the County of Kent and Essex, and Western District of our Province aforesaid, together with all the Woods and Waters thereon lying, and being under the reservations, limitations, and conditions hereinafter expressed: which said Two Hundred Acres of Land are butted and bounded, or may be otherwise known, as follows (that is to say) Beginning at a post on the West side of the River au Peîce marked ¾, and extending back from the said River in a due West direction by the Magnet to within one chain of a cross lot one, 92 chains more or less, thence S. 19 chains and an half, thence East to the River au Peîce, and thence along the banks with the stream to the place of beginning.

AND WHEREAS, By an act of parliament of Great Britain, passed in the thirty-first year of his Majesty's reign, entitled "An act to repeal certain parts of an act passed in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, entitled 'An act for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, in North America, and to make further provision for the government of said Province,' it is declared that 'no grant of land hereafter shall be valid or effectual unless the same shall contain a specification of the lands to be allotted and appropriated solely to the maintenance of a Protestant clergy within the said Province, in respect of the lands to be hereby granted;'" *Now Know Ye,* That we have caused an allotment or appropriation of Twenty-eight Acres and four-sevenths to be made in lot number six in the said Concession, being in the proportion of one to seven of the lands so hereby granted, as and for a reserve, and to and for the sole use, benefit, and support of a Protestant clergy, being as nearly adjacent thereto as circumstances will admit, and being as nearly as circumstances and the nature of the case will admit, of the like quality as the lands in respect of which the same is allotted and appropriated, and as nearly as the same can be estimated equal in value to the seventh part of the lands so hereby granted as aforesaid.

To Have and To Hold the said parcel or tract of land to him the said Joseph Voyer and his heirs and assigns forever, *Saving* nevertheless to Us, our heirs and successors, all mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron and coal that shall or may now, or hereafter be found on any part of the said parcel or tract of land hereby given and granted as aforesaid; *and saving* and reserving to Us, our heirs and successors, all white pine trees that shall,

or may now, or hereafter grow, or be growing on any part of the said parcel or tract of land hereby granted as aforesaid.

Provided always that no part of the said parcel or tract of land hereby granted to the said Joseph Voyer and his heirs be within any of the reservations before this grant made and marked for Us, our Heirs and Successors, by our Surveyor-General of Woods, or his lawful deputy, in which case this Our grant for such part of the land hereby given and to the said———— ———— and his heirs as aforesaid, and which upon a survey thereof being made, be found within any such reservation, shall be null aud void and of none effect, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding. *Provided* also that the said Joseph Voyer, his heirs or assigns, shall and do within three years erect and build, or cause to be erected and built in and upon some part of the said parcel or tract of land a good and sufficient dwelling house (he the said Joseph Voyer or his assigns not having built, or not being in his or their own right lawfully possessed of an house in Our said Province) and be herein, or cause some person to be herein resident for and during the space of one year thence next ensuing the building of the same. *Provided,* also, that if at any time or times hereafter the land so hereby given and granted to the said Joseph Voyer and his heirs shall come into the possession and tenure of any person or persons whomsoever, either by virtue of any deed of sale, conveyance, enfeoffment or exchange, or by gift, inheritance, descent, devise or marriage, such person or persons shall, within twelve month next after his, her or their entry into, and possession of the same, take the oath prescribed by law, before some one of the magistrates of Our said Province; and a certificate of such oaths having been so taken shall cause to be recorded in the Secretary's office of the said Province: In Default of all or any of which said conditions, limitations and restrictions, this said grant, and everything herein contained, Shall be, and We do hereby declare the same to be null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and the land hereby granted, and every part and parcel thereof, shall revert to, and become vested in Us, our Heirs and Successors, in like manner as if the same had never been granted; anything herein contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Given under the great Seal of Our Province of Upper Canada: Witness the Honorable Peter Russell, Our Administrator of the Government in Our said Province, this Tenth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven and thirty seventh of our reign. By Command of his Honor in Council.

WM. JARVIS, *Secy.*

Entered in the Auditor's Office, 17th March, 1797.

PETER RUSSELL, *Auditor Genl.*

CAPIAS.

Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio Wayne county, ss.

The United States to the Sheriff of the said County of Wayne, Greeting.

We command you to take into your custody the body of Louis Vail, carpenter, of said county if he may be found in your balliwick and him safely keep so that you have him before our judges of our county court of common pleas, next to be holden at Detroit, within and for our said county, on the first Tuesday of March next, then and there in our said court, to answer unto Edward Richardson of Detroit in a plea of trespass on the case to the damage of the said Edward Richardson as he saith the sum of twenty-five dollars and———cents, which shall then and there be made to appear with other damages; and of this writ make due return. Witness Louis Benfait, Esq., Judge of our said court at Detroit, the fifteenth day of December in the year of our Lord seventeen ninety-seven.

PETER AUDRAIN, *Prothy.*

To March term, 1798.

Edward Richardson
vs. } Trespass on the case. Damages $25.00.
Louis Vail.

Note filed f. 9 v. 15, C. C. 17th of January, 1798 matter paid: H. Eberts.

Warhan Arony bail for defendant: H. Eberts.

ORDER FOR RENT OF COURT ROOM.

(Translated.)

Mr. Audrain, please pay to Chas. Cabassier One Dollar and Fifty Cents, in as much as the said Cabassier had paid for the court room in the house of Cox the 29th of January last.

Detroit, June 4th, 1798.

ANT. DEQUINDRE.
S. D. BELLUOUR, Crs. W. C.

Copy of English receipt attached to said draft:

Received June 4th, 1798, of Peter Audrain the above sum of one Dollar and half.

his
CHS. X CABASSIER.
mark.

Witness:

T. EBERTS, *Shf.*

ADDRESS OF THE CHIEFS OF THE CHIPPEWA NATION.

(Found among Major May's papers, April.—A. D. FRASER.)

Father, We the chiefs of the Chippewa Nation of Indians, inhabiting and owning the lands on the West and North of the Great Water, called Lake St. Clair, now waite on you, to assure, of our sincere and friendly attachment to the people with whom but very lately we were at war, but that war not brought on by us but instigated by bad council.

We sometimes since met a great war-chief of your people at Greenville for the purpose of putting a happy end to the war subsisting between us, which chief we are told is now gone to the great and good spirit therefore cannot now talk with us; in our great council with him he gave us assurance that all our lands should remain to us and remain to our youths and at our disposal, what passed there, we consider as done before the Great and Good Spirit that punishes people for doing bad things or telling things that are not true.

In full belief of what had been agreed upon between us and the great war chief, we returned home contented to our little houses to see our children and aged parents.

Father, We have been long sufferers by the hunt (on which our support depended) having left our country and we unable to cultivate the land as white people do, to obtain a support; we found no other alterations to gain a subsistence but to rent our lands to white people to labour; out of the whites we made choiee of three of our brethren with whom we have for a long time been on the most friendly footing, and who for many years past have often relieved us from distress, to these three we have rented part of our lands, for which we are to receive an annual payment in the necessaries of life, as will appear by their agreement with us which we now shew you, besides our enjoying every use of said land that we ever before have done.

Father, We have already received a considerable amount in advance from our brothers for said land we are now in want of necessaries for the approaching cold weather, which they are ready to give us; as soon as you are good father will say that our conveyance of the land to them is just and for our advantage, this we hope you will do in order that we may get the wished for supply and enable us to do justice to our friends by our fulfilling the agreement made with them.

And request you would communicate this our desire and agreement to our great and good father at the great village of Philadelphia, hoping that he will say that we have done right and allow us to do our friend justice.

Detroit, 8 of September, 1797.

DRAFT OF AN ACT OF INCORPORATION OF THE OLD TOWN OF DETROIT.

(Found among Major May's papers, with a French translation.)

NOTE.—These documents bear no date; but I am enabled to fix the year by reference to the law under which the act was to take effect. This document reacts a law of the Northwest Territory, which was passed on first of July, 1798: which act was repealed on 19th of December, 1799. Consequently this act of the inhabitants of Detroit must have been adopted either in 1798 or 1799. *Vide* Chase's Law of Ohio, 204, 287. Accompanying this document is the following letter:

DEAR SIR:—The enclosed is sent you for what it is worth—it was found among Judge May's papers. It was new to me that there was such an act of incorporation. but I think it more than likely that this measure was carried out, and that the act itself perished in the fire of 1805.

Yours truly,

A. D. FRASER.

C. I. WALKER, ESQ., Secretary Historical Society.

To the Honorable the Justices of the General Court of the Territory of the United States North-west of the River Ohio:

The Petition of the inhabitants of the Town of Detroit in said Territory humbly sheweth That in conformity to a certain statute law of this Territory, wherein among other things it is and stands enacted, "that if any number of inhabitants, citizens of said Territory, shall be desirous of associating together for any civil or religious purposes, for the promotion of social happiness and good order, and shall be desirous to acquire and enjoy the powers and immunities of a corporation or body politic in law, it shall and may be lawful for them so to do, first having preferred to your Honors their petition for that purpose, therein specifying the objects, articles, conditions and name style or title under which they have or mean to associate, and obtain the eonsent of your Honors with the like approbation of the Governor of said Territory for that purpose" We therefore the inhabitants of said town of Detroit, living not only remote from any of the sister states under the General Government of America, to which Government we now owe protection, and have become ameanable for our conduct, in the like manner as citizens of other states are; but likewise remote from the seat of Government and the general population of this Territory, and placed in the situation to enjoy few of the rights and privileges incident to the members of society, living under the immediate auspices of a well regulated Government, merely on account of our local situation—and the inability of the infant legislature of this Territory to foresee at once and provide for the several necessities we stand in need of—From which situation we view ourseives and property to be very insecure, and in a hazardous situation; for the security of our persons therefor, the protection of our property, and

the advancement and regulation of our own internal Government and police; we deem it our indispensable duty to ask of you those privileges and immunities which are tended to us by the municipal laws of this territory; and when we fondly anticipate your compliance to the above request, you may rest assured that no abuse shall be made of your power by virtue of any authorities vested in us under the following article.

Article 1.—That the said corporation when formed, shall be known and denominated by the name of, The Corporation of Detroit, and shall be invested with full power and authority to elect by balot or otherwise their own officers for the government of said corporation as often as shall be adjudged necessary.

Article 2.—That it shall have perpetual succession.

Article 3.—That it shall be capacitated to sue or be sued; plead or be impleaded; grant or receive, by its corporate name, to purchase lands and hold them to the benefit of themselves and successors, and do all other acts which natural persons may.

Article 4.—That it shall have one common seal, which shall be affixed to all acts and laws passed by said corporation, and to all instruments in writing entered into by said corporation, and no instrument obligitory shall be deemed binding on said corporation unless the seal be thereto annexed.

Article 5.—That it shall be invested with full power and authority, to make such by-laws and statutes for the bettered government of said town as shall be deemed necessary, which said laws shall be as binding to all intents and purposes upon the inhabitants thereof as the laws of the Territory are: *Provided always,* that said laws are not found repugnant to the laws of the United States or to any existing law of this Territory.

Article 6.—That it shall have sufficient power and authority to levy and collect such taxes to be applied to the use of said town as to them shall be deemed necessary, *provided always,* that no taxes shall be levied by virtue of this article in any one year that shall exceed the value of ——— per centum on all real and personal property, and ——— cents on single men not having visible property to the amount of ——— dollars.

Article 7.—That said corporation shall extend to and include all the inhabitants to the distance of one mile on each of the town.

ROLL OF THE ELECTION HELD AT DETROIT, COUNTY OF WAYNE, COMMENCED THE FOURTEENTH AND ENDED THE FIFTEENTH JANUARY, 1799.

Electors' Names.	Chabert Joncaire, Esq.	Electors' Names.	Chabert Joncaire, Esq.	Electors' Names.	Chabert Joncaire, Esq.
Francois Dx Bellcour, Esq.	1	Jaques Chovin	1	Louis Barasa	1
David Powers, Esq.	1	Charles Revarre	1	Dominic Bondi	1
Antoine ONeal	1	Baptiste Tramble	1	Joseph Bondi	1
Jean Bpt. Cicot, Esq.	1	Louis Bernard	1	Antoine Baron	1
Tzivose Peltier	1	Louis Perô	1	Edward McCarty	1
Baptiste Delisle	1	Baptiste Peltier	1	Charles Peltier	1
Joseph Delisle	1	Michel Rivarre	1	Louis Bourdignon	1
Tousaint Reopel	1	Francis Marsack	1	Francis Gamelin	1
Robert Lavarre, Sr., Esq.	1	Benjamin Huntington	1	Antoine Moras	1
James Henry, Esq.	1	Noil Chauvin	1	Gashetan Marack	1
Elexis Peltier, Esq.	1	J. Bpt. Revarre	1	Robert Marsack	1
Elias Wallen	1	Louis V. Laferte	1	Joseph Bernard	1
Joseph Thibault	1	Gabriel St. Obin	1	James Powers	1
Louis Beaufait, Esq.	1	Louis Chapaton	1	Jaque Girardin	1
Joseph Voyez, Esq.	1	Jean B. Campeau	1	Abraham Cook	1
Simon Campeau	1	Pierre Revarre	1	Oliver Wiswell	1
Jaques Peltier	1	Rênê Méte	1	Matthew Donnovan	1
C. F. Gerardin, Esq.	1	Francois Durochê	1	Charles Gouin	1
Louis Desolier	1	Joseph Lorain	1	John Dodemead, Esq.	1
Pierre Navarre	1	Louis Laferte, Jr.	1	Elijeh Brush, Esq.	1
Francois Gobal, Sr.	1	Jean B. Depléne	1	Alexis Labadi	1
Jaques Lasell	1	Antoine Vermet	1	Herman Eberts	1
Charles Roulo	1	Andre Barthiomê	1		68

ROLL.—CONTINUED.

Electors' Names.	Jacob Visger, Esq.	Electors' Names.	Jacob Visger, Esq.	Electors' Names.	Jacob Visger, Esq.
Francois dx Bellcour, Esq.	1	Jean B. Campau	1	John Jones	1
David Powers, Esq.	1	David McCarty	1	Joseph Hurt	1
Antoine ONeal	1	Francis Jones	1	Moses Powers	1
Jean Bpt. Cicot	1	Rênê Métté	1	James Henry	1
Robert Miller	1	Francois Duroche	1	William Hurt	1
Doctor Deodah Allen	1	Joseph Lorain	1	Francis Gamelin	1

ROLL.—CONTINUED.

Electors' Names.	Jacob Visger, Esq.	Electors' Names.	Jacob Visger, Esq.	Electors' Names.	Jacob Visger, Esq.
Baptist Delisle	1	Jacob Dicks	1	Antoine Moras	1
Joseph Delisle	1	Louis Laférte, Jr.	1	Jacob Clemens	1
Tousaint Reopel	1	William Cisney	1	William Tucker	1
Robert Navare, Sr., Esq.	1	Jean B. Depléne	1	John Quimby	1
James Henry, Esq.	1	Antoine Vermet	1	Jacob Young	1
Elias Wallen	1	Andre Barthiome	1	Oliver Wiswell	1
Pierre Navarre	1	Louis Bourasa	1	Christian Clemens	1
Jaques Lasell	1	Dominic Bondi	1	Ezra F. Freeman	1
Francois Chovin	1	Joseph Bondi	1	Charles Gouin	1
Jacques Chovin	1	Antoine Baron	1	John Dodemead, Esq.	1
Pierre Dumet	1	Daniel Pursley	1	Elijeh Brush	1
Benjamin Huntington	1	Joseph Cisney	1	Matthew Ernest, Esq.	1
Noel Chauvin	1	Benjamin Jones	1	John Burrell	1
Louis V. Laferte	1	John Shaw	1	Patrick McNiff	1
Richard Jones	1	Tisse Burbank	1	Louis Bond, Esq.	1
					63

ROLL.—CONTINUED.

Electors' Names.	Louis Beaufait, Jr.	Electors' Names.	Louis Beaufait, Jr.	Electors' Names.	Louis Beaufait, Jr.
Louis Beaufait, Esq., Sr.	1	Francois Gobeil, Sr.	1	Louis Chapaton	1
Izidore Peltier	1	Charles Revarre	1	Pierre Revarre	1
David Hartley	1	Baptist Tramblê	1	Charles Peltier	1
James Obrien	1	Louis Bernard	1	Louis Bourdignon	1
Alexis Peltier	1	Louis Pêro	1	Gashetan Marsack	1
Joseph Voyez Esq.	1	Baptist Peltier	1	Robert Marsack	1
Simon Campeau	1	Michel Revarre	1	Joseph Bernard	1
Jaques Peltier	1	Francis Marsack	1	Jaques Girardin	1
C. F. Girardin	1	J. B. Revarre	1	Alexis Labadi	1
Louis Desolier	1	Gabriel St. Obin	1	Herman Eberts	1
					30

ROLL.—CONTINUED.

Electors' Names.	Oliver Wiswell.	Electors' Names.	Olivrr Wiswell.	Electors' Names.	Oliver Wiswell.
Robert Miller	1	Daniel Pursley	1	William Tucker	1
Doctor Deodat Allen	1	Joseph Cisney	1	John Quimby	1
David Hartley	1	Benjamin Jones	1	James Powers	1
James Obrien	1	John Shaw	1	Abraham Cook	1
Joseph Phibault	1	Tisse Burbank	1	Jacob Young	1
Charles Roulo	1	John Jones	1	Christian Clemens	1
Francois Chovin	1	Joseph Hurt	1	Matthew Donnovan	1
Pierre Dumêt	1	Moses Powers	1	Ezra F. Freeman	1
Richard Jones	1	Edward McCarty	1	Matthew Ernest, Esq.	1
David McCarty	1	James Henry	1	John Burrell	1
Francis Jones	1	William Hurt	1	Patrick McNiff, Esq.	1
Jacob Dicks	1	Jacob Clemens	1	Louis Bond, Esq.	1
William Cisney	1				37

For Chabert Joncaire, Esq. ..... 68 votes
For Jacob Visger, Esq. ..... 63 votes
For Louis Beaufait, Jr. ..... 30 votes
For Oliver Wiswell ..... 37 votes

Before the Poll closed Chabert Joncaire declaired his intention to decline serving, being informed it was the opinion of the Judges that he was not eligible.

LEWIS BOND,
Sheriff of Wayne County.

Detroit, 15th January, 1799.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS FOR A GENERAL COURT AT DETROIT.

To the Honorable, the Congress of the United States:

As citizens of the United States, we, the inhabitants of Wayne county, in the territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, conceive it to be our duty to lay before Government such information as we think conducive to good order and to promote the prosperity of any point in the Union, however distant it may be from the seat of the General Government. The importance of the County of Wayne with respect to its local and political

situation and the revenue which it produces to the United States, is not perhaps sufficiently known to attract from Government that degree of attention which it may be entitled to, and for that reason we humbly offer to Congress the following observations.

The town of Detroit, which is the seat of justice for the County, is principally inhabited by merchants and few mechanicks, its commerce consists in every species of dry and wet goods, imported chiefly from Montreal, some from New York, Albany, Schenectady, and few from Pittsburg. It is supposed that the annual consumption both in town and amongst the Indians amounts at least at $150,000 dollars, which are paid in peltry, cash, country produce, or in bills on Montreal, New York, Philadelphia, etc., it is a known fact that the United States received duties on all those goods since Detroit and Michillimackinack have been made ports on entry, and to no inconsiderable amount, of course, so far, is this County entitled to the particular attention and protection of Government; whereas, all the counties on the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi yield very little or no revenue to the Public, another motive which in our humble opinion claims the attention of Congress is our Frontier situation, separated by a small river only from a powerful, wealthy, and ambitious Nation, accustomed for many years to engross the commerce of peltry, and which sees with a jealous eye the growing prosperity of the United States.

The surest way to promote the prosperity and strength of this Country is by encouraging population and that desirable object will never be attained unless Congress should pass a Law establishing the Town of Detroit lieu of Residence of the governor and of the General Court indeed the British always had a governor at Detroit with the strong garrison, already the administration of justice in this county had materially suffered during the period of the Government of the North-western Territory altho' the distance from Cincinnati to this place does not exceed three hundred miles still the badness of the road, which often intercepts all communication, has never permitted Gov. StClair to visit this part of his Government and in the space of better than six years we have had but twice the advantages of a Circuit Court for near three years past we have number causes appealed from the court of common pleas to the circuit court; which remain pending and undetermined, what will be our situation if we are obliged to go to Post Vincennes at a distance of better than 700 miles for every cause which may be appealed or removed &c. It may be said that the granting of our request will subject the other counties especially those on the banks of the Mississipi under the same inconvenience under which we now labor we grant that it would be the case but we beg leave to observe that those counties bear no

competition in point of commercial transactions which generally breed lawsuits of a serious nature and that we have five appeals when they have one. Should, Congress approve of this new arrangement then we might cherish the hope of seeing our population increase rapidly and the county of Wayne becoming strong by the number of its inhabitants would very soon be able to oppose a sufficient barrier against the ferocity and depredations of savages by whom we are almost surrounded and command respect from our foreing neighbors.

But should Congress judge the new order of things impracticable we pray that this county may be erected into a distinct and separate government, comprehending from the junction of the Miamis with Lake Erie to Michillimackinack and its dependances inclusively and even Grand Portage if a military post should be established there. We know that it will occasion Government an additional expense, but we beg leave to observe that the duties at the custom houses of Detroit and Michillimackinack would be the better secured and would increase in proportion of the augmentation of population which thereby would be encouraged of course the expenses of Government would hardly be felt another important advantage would result that is that the presence of a Governor and of a General Court would effectually repress and silence all domestic and foreign cabals which but too frequently have disturbed the peace and good order of this desolute country a regular administration of justice would be insured and the inhabitants of the county of Wayne would be truly protected in their person and property.

Whatever may our lot be we will obey the laws of the United States and pray for the prosperity and security of the General Government.

A SPEECH FROM JNO. ASKIN, JR., TO HIS INDIAN BRETHREN AT THE CAHAYAGAI RIVER.

This accompanies a few strings of wampum which some of you most certainly know on sight came from you at the River Au Huron the spring before last. There were two then given to me, and the intent was this. That as I was your true friend and a brother and that I had behaved myself as such, had traded with you all in a fair and honest way, you all begged of me to return and winter with you another year or send another in my stead.

Now Brothers according to your wish and request I send you one named the Fox, this spring I went to see how you were all and how you liked the

fox. You seemed to think he was old and as a Fox rather too cunning for you, and you told me to send you another friend.

Now Brothers I am happy to let you know that I send you another agreeable to your desire its true he is named likewise the Fox but as he is young I'm in hopes he will please you better than the old Fox, he being young and perhaps not so trickey as old foxes are in general.

Brothers This young fox you'll consider as you considered me which was as a brother and that you will trade with him and no other he will give you a little of my milk in giving you my message recollect that I'm getting old and that I'm rather dry of milk which is evident by the quantity I send you.

DEED TO LAND IN DETROIT.

THIS INDENTURE made at Detroit this twenty-third day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between the Reverend Jean Caliste Marchand of the parish of Lassomption, in the province of Upper Canada of the one part: and James May, of Detroit, Esq., of the other part: WHEREAS, the said James May, by his bond, or obligation, bearing date at the said Detroit the twenty-third day of December instant, stands bound to the said Jean Caliste Marchand attorney in fact of Mrs. Susan Baby widow of the late Dueperon Baby Esq., or to his certain attorney, his executors, administrators or assigns, in the personal sum of eight hundred and forty three pounds four shillings, New York Currency, equal in value to two thousand one hundred and eight dollars lawfull money of the United States, with a condition thereunder written, for the payment of four hundred and twenty-one pounds, twelve shillings, New York Currency, equal in value to one thousand and fifty-four dollars lawfull money of the United States, on or before the twelfth day of June next following, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, as per the said bond and condition thereof may more fully appear (due reference being had thereto) NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that the said James May, in consideration of the said debt, or sum of one thousand and fifty-four dollars, and also in consideration of one dollar to him in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents by the said Jean Caliste Marchand, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged HATH granted, bargained, sold, aliened, conveyed and confirmed, and by these presents DOTH grant, bargain, sell, alien and convey and confirm unto the said Jean Caliste

Marchand (in his aforesaid capacity) his executors, administrators, and assings, all that messuage and tenement situate, lying and being in the town of Detroit aforesaid, together with the dwelling house and all other the buildings thereon erected; the said premisses containing seventy-five feet, three inches in front and rear, and one hundred and thirty feet in depth, be the same more or less, (French measure) bounded on the north-east by the lot of Angus Mackintosh, and on the south-west by a lot now in possession of the commanding officer of the garrison with all and singular the appurtenances to the said messuage tenement and premisses belonging or in anywise appertaining: and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues and profits of the said premisses, and every part and parcell thereof; and all the estate, right, title, interest, claim and demands whatsoever of him the said James May of, in and to the said messuage lot and premisses and every part and parcell thereof; TO HAVE and TO HOLD the said messuage tenement and premisses with the appurtenances, and every part and parcell thereof under the said Jean Caliste Marchand (in his aforesaid capacity) his executors, administrators and assings forever; PROVIDED always nevertheless, and it is the true intent and meaning of these presents, and of the said parties, that, if the said James May, his heirs, executors and administrators or assigns shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Jean Caliste Marchand (in his aforesaid capacity) his executors, administrators, or assigns the said full sum of one thousand and fifty-four dollars on or before the twelfth day of June next which shall be in the year one thousand eight hundred and one with lawfull interest, according the condition of the above in part recited bond or obligation, without any deduction, defalcacation, or abatement, whatsoever, then and from thenceforth these presents and every matter and thing therein contained shall cease and be utterly void, to all intents and purposes, and the said premises be from thence clear and exonerated from all incumbrances on account of this present deed, as though the same had never been executed, anything herein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

AND the said James May, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators does covenant to and with the said Jean Caliste Marchand (in his aforesaid capacity) his executors, administrators, and assigns that the said granted and released premisses now are and be at all times from and after default shall happen to be made in the payment of the said sum of one thousand and fifty-four dollars or any part thereof, shall forever be, remain and continue free and clear, acquitted and discharged of and from all manner of gifts, grants, mortgages, or other incumbrances to be or suffer by him the said James May, and that the said Jean Caliste Marchand (in his afore-

said capacity), his executors, administrators and assigns shall and may from time to time, and at all times, after such default shall happen to be made in payment of the said sum one thousand and fifty-four dollars or any part thereof peaceably and quietly have hold, occupy, possess and enjoy all and singular the said premises with the appurtenances, and every part and parcell thereof without the let suit, trouble, molestation, or interruption, or disturbance of him the said James May, his heirs, and assigns, or any other person or persons whatsoever lawfully claiming, or to claim by, from, or under him, them, or any of them.

AND lastly it is covenanted and agreed upon by and between the parties to these presents, and it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning hereof, and of the said parties to these presents that until default shall be made in payment of the said sum of one thousand and fifty-four dollars, as aforesaid, according to the time limited for the payment thereof as particularly set forth in the part recited bond, or obligation aforesaid in the premises it shall and may be lawfull for the said James May his heirs and assigns peaceable and quietly to have, hold, occupy, possess and enjoy all and singular the said premisses above granted, conveyed and cenfirmed and every part and parcell thereof with the appurtenances, and to have receive and take the rents, issues, and profits thereof to his, or their proper and particular use and profit anything therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

IN TESTIMONY whereof the said parties have to these presents set their hands and affixed their seals, at Detroit aforesaid, the day, month, and year first above written.

JAMES MAY,
J. C. MARCHAND,
For SUSAN BABY.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of
WILLIAM HANDS.
PETER AUDRAIN.

Wayne County, ss.: personally came before the undersigned one of the justices assigned to keep the peace, within and for the said County of Wayne, the above named James May, Esq., and the Reverend Jean Cali[illegible] Marchand, and both acknowledged the above instrument of writing to b[illegible] their act and deed for the purposes therein contained, and as such it [illegible] recorded; IN TESTIMONY whereof I have hereunto subscribed my [illegible] Detroit this tenth day of January 1801.

JOSEPH [illegible]

NOTICE OF CONTEST OF ELECTION OF JONATHAN SCHEIFFELIN.

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES, Northwest of the River Ohio, } Wayne county, ss.

SIR:—You will please to take notice that at the opening of the first meeting of the second Legislature in this Territory, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, I shall dispute your right to a seat in that Legislature, in which, no doubt you will be returned by the returning officers of this County, as a member duly elected at an election held at Detroit, in said County of Wayne, on the 14th, 15th, and 16th days of instant October, as being one amongst the number of three having the greatest number of VOTES and the points which I shall rely upon to defeat your obtaining a seat in the house are, first. That you are not a citizen of the United States, but a subject of his Britanic Majesty. I cannot conseive, sir, that you can arrogate yourself the right of remaining here a citizen of the United States and of filling a seat in our Legislature under (what you call) the taut implications of our Treaty with the British Government, which says that the evacuation of this post shall take place on or before the first day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand and seven hundred and ninety-six, and that the subjects of his Britanic Majesty who shall reside here twelve months after the evacuation without making any election of remaining British subjects, shall be considered as having made an election to become citizens of the United States, when in fact you acknowledge you were born a British subject, that you have ever remained under the faithful allegiance to his Britanic Majesty, that you have taken a very active part against the United States and this Government of late years in conjunction with his majesties and the indian savages, and finally when you have actually recorded your election of remaining a British subject within one year from the evacuation aforesaid. And altho your election was not made within twelve months from the said first day of June, yet inasmuch as it was made within twelve months from the actual evacuation, which said evacuation was prolonged from the said first day of June until the eleventh day of July ensuing, by the mutual consent and arrangement of both Governments, I consider you will remain a British subject agreeable to your own election, within the spirit and reason of the said TREATY; and by the law of Nations, the common law and constitution and Laws of the United States, ineligible to a seat in our Legislature, and your offering yourself as a candidate at the late election an intrusion on the domestic affairs of this Government, and an illegal attempt to influence its deliberations. And, secondly, inasmuch as you are an alien

born and have never been citizenized agreeable to the laws of the United States, you are incapable both by the law of Nations, the common law, and the particular laws of the United States, of holding lands here by purchase, desent or otherwise, and therefor ineligible as not being a freeholder within the statute of this Territory in such case made and provided.

With sentiments of due consideration, I am, sir,

Your humble servant,

BEN. HUNTINGTON.

To Mr. Jonathan Scheiffelin, Detroit, 18th of October, 1800.

WAYNE COUNTY, SS.

Be it remembered that on the 23d day of instant October came before us James May and Jacob Visger, Esqs., Benjamin Huntington, and made oath that he delivered a true copy of the within reasons assigned against the eligibility of Jonathan Scheiffelin as a representative in the second Legislature of this Territory, on the 20th of instant October, and also on the same day delivered a true copy to John Dodemead, Esq., Coroner of said County of Wayne.

BEN. HUNTINGTON.

Detroit, 23d of October, 1800.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONTESTED ELECTION CASE OF GEO. MCDOUGALL.

THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES Northwest of the River Ohio. } Wayne County, ss.:

SIR:—You will please take notice that at the opening of the first meeting of the second Legislature in this Territory in the year 1801 I shall dispute your right to a seat in that Legislature, in which no doubt you will be returned by the returning officer of this County as a member duly elected, at an election held at Detroit in said County of Wayne on the 14th, 15th and 16th days of instant October as being one among the number of three having the greatest number of votes. And the points which I shall rely upon to dispute your obtaining a seat in that House are, first—that you are ineligible to that office in as much as you do not hold in your own right within this Territory two hundred acres of land in fee simple agreeable to the ordinance of Congress, in such case made and provided.

And secondly, for as much as you are a person of a pernicious disposition, disquiet mind and conversation, & contriving practicing and falsely tur-

bulently and seditiously intending the peace and common tranquility of the Government of the United States and of this Territory to disquiet molest and disturb, and to bring the same into great hatred, contempt and scandal with all the good interests of this Government and County, and your most unlawful contrivances, practices and intentions aforesaid to complete and render effectual did on the fourteenth day of instant October at Detroit in County of Wayne aforesaid, when the Poll of election was open, having discourse then and there with divers good citizens of this County and in their presence and hearing falsely unlawfully and seditiously with an apperant intention to promote your own election, by poisoning the minds of a number of good citizens and electors then in hearing. Did say assist affirm and pronounce and with a loud voice declare then false ficticious and approbious words following that is to say that law concerning a sertain part of this Territory regulating county levies was unjust and oppressive and if the collector of the taxes should put it in force you would hire a party to oppose him to the evil and pernicious example of every good citizen of this County and against the peace and happiness and administration of our Government and therefore for the above reasons under due consideration I shall dispute your right to a seat in this Legislature.

JOSEPH CISSNE.

To George McDougall, Esq.,

Detroit Oct., 1800.

Mr. Joseph Cissne sworn, and declares that the within is a true copy delivered to Geo. McDougall, Esq., and John Dodemead, Esq., Coroner.

No. 1 filed in Court—James May.

Copy of the proceedings of a Court of Enquiry held at Detroit, before Justices May and Visger on the 23d of October 1800, respecting the contested election of Geo. McDougall, Esq., by Joseph Cissne, Esq.,

Summons to Justices May & Visger, page

Subpoena to witnesses.

Notice produced by Joseph Cissne Esq.,

Protest of Geo. McDougall, Esq.

Bill of exceptions of same.

Copy of a letter of Geo. McDougall to Jacob Visger, Esq.

Interrogatories and answers.

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES } Wayne County ss.:
North-west of the River Ohio. }

[L. S.] To James May, Esq., Greeting:

In the name of the United States you are hereby requested, (being one of the judges of common pleas) to attend the contested election of Geo. McDongall, Esq., on Thursday the 23d day of this present October, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the same day at the house of John Dodemead, in the town of Detroit, hereof fail not as this is your lawful summons. Given under my hand and seal, at Detroit, this 21st day of October 1800.

JOHN DODEMEAD,
Coroner, W. C.

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES, } Wayne County--ss.:
Northwest of the River Ohio }

To JACOB VISGER, ESQ., Greeting:

In the name of the United States you are hereby requested (being one of the judges of common pleas) to attend the contested election of George McDougall, on Thursday the 23d day of this present October, at 10 o'clock in the fore-noon of the same day at the house of John Dodemead, in the town of Detroit hereof fail not as this is your lawfull summons.

Given under my hand and seal at Detroit, this 21 day of October 1800.

JOHN DODEMEAD,
Coroner, W. C.

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES } Wayne County, ss.:
Northwest of the River Ohio }

The United States to Francois Pepin, Benjamin Huntington, Henry Tucker, Peter Audrian, Esq., Patrick McNiff, Esq., John Askin, Esq., and James Henry, Esq., Greeting.—

We command you and each of you, that all and singular your business and excuses whatsoever ceasing, you and each of you be in your proper persons before James May & Jacob Visger, Esqs., Justices of the common pleas in said county of Wayne, on Thursday the 23 day of instant October, at the hour of 10 o'clock in the fore-noon at the house of Mr. John Dodemead, Inn-Keeper, then and there to testify all and singular those things which you and each of you shall know in a contested election of Geo. McDougall, Esq., and this do not you or any of you omit under the penalty of fifty dollars agreeable to the law in such case made and provided.

WITNESS James May Esq., presiding justice of our said court of common pleas at Detroit this 22 day of October A. D. 1800.

JAMES MAY,
J. C. C. pleas.

To John Dodemead, Esq.,
Coroner for the County of Wayne at Detroit.

[On the back is written:] "Served and returned.

JOHN DODEMEAD, *Coroner.*"

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES
Northwest of the River Ohio } Wayne County, ss.

To the Coroner of the County of Wayne and to the Justices of common pleas, his assistants who are concerned to try the contest and validity of my election by taking affidavits at the suit of Joseph Cissne urged on by E. Brush Benjamin Huntington and other designing characters who dispute my right to a seat in the second Legislature of this Territory as being among the number of three having the greatest number of votes at an election held at Detroit 14, 15 & 16 instant October, you'll please to take notice that I now come and protest particular against James May and Jacob Visger as Justices to take depositions on the said examination, &c., suggesting the following reasons of interest in the said two justices, viz., as they stood as candidates for said representations and received but the small minority of 22 votes, each, in the said election, whereas I had a 110 and if affidavits are taken ex parte and the subscribing candidate ousted said May and Visger by their interference may either of them get his seat therefore being interested ought not be permitted to take affidavits as above; in consequence I adjourn this investigation to the full extent of the time allowed by law which is twenty days in hopes that other justices, not interested, may be called upon in their stead. The next objection after the interest of May & Visger is determined on is the impropriety of May's setting as a member of any court of justice until his suspension for his misdemeanor as a magistrate is determined upon. In other respects I mean to call on the recorder of the county to prove the falacy of that poor wretch Cissne's objections (who has been made a tool of on this occasion) "that I do not hold in my own right two hundred acres of land in fee simple." If I do not hold my lands on this footing, I do not know of any other person in this county that has any lands on a better footing than myself.

And in as much as all the other assertions in said *libel* against me by said Cissne are absolutely false and set on foot purposely by E. Brush (who has

always been in the habit of promoting misunderstanding and quarrels between the citizens and military, for the purpose of promoting his private interest) with an intent I believe endanger to take my life, agreeable to his open declaration the other day that *he would fix me in the most miserable situation that I ever was in my life.* I can bring all the first characters in the County to prove that I have always recommended a due subordination to the laws and to look for a remedy to the evils complained of to the courts of justice and the Legislature of the Territory.

GEO. MCDOUGALL.

Detroit 23 October 1800.

Bill of Exceptions.

On a contested election of Geo. McDougall wherein Joseph Cissne as an election comes forward to contest, does not prove to the coroner and assistant justices of the common pleas that he is entitled to contest the said election he not having a sufficient free-hold in absolute fee simple according to the ordinance of Congress in such case made and provided.

2. The said Geo. McDougall has a right to file his farther bill of exceptions to the opinion of this court of enquiry until the full extent of twenty days after the adjournment of the poll of the said election.

3. The judges of the election as to the qualifications of an elector is no guide, when a contest before the coroner as to the validity of the candidates election.

4. The quallifications of the elected member as to his free-hold property is not a matter of contest or investigation before this court of enquiry, but only before the Legislative body when the member takes his seat.

5. As the present member prayed an adjournment of the taken of the testimony on the scale of interest in the two assistant justices of the pleas on the scale of interest he files this Bill of Exceptions on his protest being overruled; (filed in court).

GEO. MCDOUGALL.

Detroit 23 October 1801.

The court overrule the above exceptions Mr. Cissne having been admitted to give his vote by the judges of election he occupying a farm on River Rouge for 14 years past and he having made improvements for $500.00 exclusive of his stock.

Copy of a Letter from Geo. McDougall to Joseph Visger, Esq.

ROCKY RIVER, 17 Sept. 1800.

DEAR SIR:—I have just been favored with your estemed letter by Mr. Condon and feel myself obligated by the friendly advice you offer me regarding the stills and money paid over to Robb. I am so situated at present, as to be necessarily detained here for some time. I have however wrote a letter to Robert advising him to call in Mr. Brush to his assistance and push on if necessary to R la tranche in my behalf: I returned an hour ago from River Raisins find the whole settlement in an extraordinary ferment at the report of the sheriff soon coming to collect the taxes in cash a commodity they have not the means of coming at seeing none can be obtained for produce; there is no money in this settlement they are willing to give flour or wheat but I dread the consequence should the sheriff not have authority to take the like and insist on seizing their cattle, or property. I expect Mr. Navarre here to-morrow—we may perhaps go into Detroit and call a special meeting of the justices at this *alarming crisis* and take such arrangements as the occasion requires—something decisive must be adopted soon. Pray write me your sentiments at all events and inform me how the inhabitants in your township are likely to make good their taxes on this occasion, let me have your sentiments freely. I know you are the friend of the poor and helpless canadians adieu God bless and preserve your life for this good purpose remaining in haste.

Your sincere friend and humble servant,

GEO. MCDOUGALL.

P. S.—My respectfull compliments to Mrs. Visger if you please excuse haste.

Filed in court at the request of Mr. Benjamin Huntington. JAMES MAY.

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES Northwest of the River Ohio } Wayne County, ss.

Be it remembered that on the 23d day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred at Detroit in said county of Wayne before James May and Jacob Visger Esqs., judges of the common pleas in and for the said county of Wayne the following evidence was heard in a contested election, produced by James Cissne Esq., and elector in said county against Geo McDougall Esq., elected at an election held at Detroit on the 14, 15, and 16 of instant October as a member of the second Legislature.

Peter Audrian Proth. sworn

Question by Mr. Cissne—Do you know of any deed in your office belonging to Geo. McDougall Esq.,

Answer—I have not any.

Q.—Do you know if Geo. McDougall Esq., has any right to any lands in this County, or Territory.

A.—As Clerk of the Court, I recollect that Mr. Francois Pepin being confined in the jail at the suit of Geo. McDougall gave said Geo. McDougall a certain quantity of land.

Mr. Geo. McDougall—As Recorder have you not recorded a deed for four acres of land on Rocky River to Geo. Meldrum and myself, in fee simple whereof upwards of one-third was deeded to me by Francois Pepin?

A. When I recorded this I recorded three deeds which were handed to me at the same time the first was a deed of the Powtowatomis Nation to Francois Pepin of forty arpents in front by 100 arpents in depth from River aux Roches to River aux Sables dated the fourth November 1786. The second deed was a renewal of the first by the Powtowatomis, dated the 7th May 1796. The third deed was the deed of sale of the above described tract of land executed by Francois Pepin to Geo. Meldrum and Geo. McDougall dated the 8th of September 1797. The consideration mentioned in the deed is twelve hundred and eighty-six pounds nine shillings and three-pence by George Meldrum, and four hundred and sixty-five pounds, nine shillings and three-pence by Geo. McDougall and farther there is an additional clause to the said deed in the following words. I agree to lessen my demand to seven hundred and fifty-seven pounds eight shillings, and two pence it being by particular arrangement with Geo. McDougall signed Geo. Meldrum 19th September, 1797.

Gabriel Godfroy sworn.

Mr. McDougall.—I wish you to inform the justices what improvement I have made on the above described land to what value and the rents and profits I now receive for the same.

A.—Mr. McDougall has entered into a partnership with Geo. Meldrum and me and we have expended between four and five thousand pounds in building two mills one of which is not yet finished. Mr. McDougall share is one-third Mr. McDougall has built two houses on River aux Roches and two more on River aux Sables.

Mr. Cissne—What may be the value of those houses ?

A. The two houses on River Aux Roches could not be built for two or three hundred pounds, at least.

Mr. McDougall—How long has that land been settled on which those houses are built on Rocky River?

A. Ten or twelve years at least.

Q. How long has that land been settled, on Sandy Creek, now in possession of my farmers?

A. Much about the same time that Rocky River was settled.

Mr. Godfroy continued:

Mr. Cissne—How long since you began to build the mills on Rocky River?

A. About 18 months.

Mr. McDougall—What improvement do, you think has been made upon the farms containing twelve acres in front, on Sandy Creek, now occupied by my farmer Proux, which were in possession formerly of the two fontaines, Berkiaume and Beauchamp?

A. To the best of my estimation I do not think that the fences, houses, and land that is tilled, could be done for less than three or four hundred dollars.

Mr. Benjamin Huntington sworn:

The Court—Will you relate what passed between Mr. McDougal and yourself on the 14th instant when the Poll of Election was open?

A. On the 14 instant, when the Poll of Election was open at the Council House, Mr. Henry Tuckar and myself happened to meet a few steps from the Council House door when Mr. Henry Tuckar handed me the road tax warrant and told me it was not in his power to carry it into effect. I returned it to him immediately and told him he must execute the duties required of him, and look to the law for his instructions and that the consequences of his not fulfilling the duties of supervisor he would be liable to a fine as I thought of one hundred dollars; about this time Judge McDougall came up, and addressed himself to Mr. Tuckar and told him he was about calling a special court and if he would attend and lay the papers before them they the court would give him the necessary instructions after this conversation was through Mr. McDougall turned to me and said the county collector would probably get instructions to receive produce for taxes. I then told Judge McDougall that the commissioners were the persons to settle with the collector and that they would not agree to any such order and that the court had no right to pass any, he then told me that the people of the River aux Raisins had several meetings on the subjects of taxes that he perceived there was a combination of persons to ruin the county or country and the people had no money and must be accommodated by some such regulation he then went on to say that if the sheriff went out to the River Raisins and offered to take any of their property he would head a party and oppose him; he also said that the law was unjust and oppressive; he afterwards said we

will come forward and pay them ourselves for the good of the inhabitants.

The Court—at the request of Mr. McDougall—did not Mr. McDougall tell you that he believed that you and some few designing characters in town like yourself, had entered into a combination to drive the poor inhabitants to some act of desperation in hope of getting them outlawed and tyrannizing over them ?

A. I did not hear Mr. McDougall say the above words in the order they are stated, but many harsh words of as high a nature as above stated.

Mr. James Henry sworn.

The Court—At the request of Mr. Cissne—Do you know of Mr. McDougall being of a disquiet mind and evil conversation?

A. No I know nothing of my own knowledge.

Mr. Henry Tucker sworn.

The Court—Will you relate what passed at the court house door between Mr. McDougall and Mr. Huntington on the 14th instant.

A. I went down to the Court House and met Mr. Huntington pulled out of my pocket a road tax warrant and handed it to him and told him that the overseer of the road on River Huron had nothing to do with the River St. Clair that I did not like to collect the road taxes as there was not half of the persons set down on this list and that I would not do it I should have to pay a fine of $100.00 then Mr. McDougall came up.

The Court—Did you hear Mr. McDougall say that the law was oppressive and unjust?

A. I did not hear him say it.

The Court—Did you not hear Mr. McDougall say that he would head a party to oppose the collector.

A. He might have say it for what I know I was in a passion and did not mind what was said, and I did not hear it.

The Court—At request of McDougall—Did you tell Mr. Huntington that the amount of the Roll would not pay you for collecting whereupon Mr. Huntington told you to collect it and put it in your pocket?

A. Yes and to keep it.

The Court—At request of McDougall—When I requested you to apply to the session for redress did not Mr. Huntington damn that court?

A. Yes I did hear Mr. Huntington damn that court.

Mr. McDougall—Did you not hear Mr. Huntington say with a loud voice that I had robbed the county of four hundred dollars?

A. Yes.

Joseph Cissne, Esq., sworn.

Mr. E. Brush—Did I ever seek or procure you to come forward to contest this election of Mr. McDougall?

A. No.

Mr. McDougall—Who wrote the reasons assigned against having a seat in the Legislature?

A. Mr. Brush did not.

Mr. Wisewell—Did I ever seek or procure to come forward to contest Mr. McDougall's election?

A. No.

Mr. Audrian—Mr. McDougall, I request you as recorder to inform the justices if you have recorded three deeds for three different farms on the River aux Raisins in my favor one from John Askin, Sr., of three acres in front another from Meldrum & partner to me of four acres in front and another from Amable Bellair of three acres in front by one hundred and twenty in depth all in fee simple ?

A. I recollect one and no more, as I have not searched the records for them.

Mr. Cissne—I file a protest against the free-hold produced by George McDougall as insufficient in law to entitle him to a seat in the Legislature in as much as it is all derived from indian titles of very recent date.

(Signed) JOSEPH CISSNE.

We the subscribers justices of the court of common pleas in and for the county of Wayne certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original remaining in our hands Detroit this 20 day of October 1801.

(Signed) JAMES MAY,

JACOB VISGER.

I do hereby certify the above to be a true copy of the original Detroit October 29 1801.

JAMES MAY.

LEASE TO HOUSE IN DETROIT.

THIS INDENTURE made at Detroit this twenty-ninth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two, between John McGregor, of Sandwich, in the Province of Upper Canada, Merchant, of the one part, and Daniel Ransom of Detroit Millwright, of the other part, WITNESSETH, that the said John McGregor, for and in consideration of the rent, covenants and agreements hereafter in and by these presents mentioned, reserved, and contained on the part and behalf of the said Daniel Ransom,

his executors, administrators, and assigns to be paid, observed done and performed HATH granted, demised, leased let and to farm letten, and by these presents DOTH lease, let and to farm let unto the said Daniel Ransom, his executors administrators and assigns all that framed house messuage or tenement, with all and singular its appurtenances situate, standing, and being in a certain street called Market street in the town of Detroit and county of Wayne: TO HAVE and TO HOLD the said frame house, messuage or tenement, with all and singular the appurtenances unto the said Daniel Ransom his executors administrators and assigns, for and during the term of one year to commence from the 5 day of April next ensuing the day of the date of these presents and to end on the 5 day of April following which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three yielding and paying therefore the yearly rent of forty-eight pounds New York Currency payable quarterly, that is twelve pounds at the end of every three months, and the said John McGregor is to deliver the premisses in tenantable repairs to said Daniel Ransom.

And the said Daniel Ransom for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth covenant, grant, and agree to and with the said John McGregor his heirs, and assigns that the said Daniel Ransom, his executors, administrators and assigns shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said John McGregor, his heirs and assigns the aforesaid yearly rent of forty-eight pounds New York Currency in four equal payments, to wit twelve pounds at the end of every quarter, according to the intent and meaning of these presents, and that he shall and will at the expiration of this present lease, deliver up to the said John McGregor his heirs or assigns the said premises in the like good order as he received them, common wear and tare excepted.

IN WITNESS whereof the parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and affixed their seals, at Detroit aforesaid the day, month and year first above written. The words interlined "the said John McGregor is" approved before signing.

Signed sealed and delivered in presence of

JAMES MAY. JOHN MCGREGOR.

D. RANSOM.

I do certify the day of delivery of Mr. McGregor's House was on the twenty-six day of April 1802 in presence of Dr. Scott.

JAMES MA

N. B. This lease executed and delivered this fifteenth day of April and to take effect from said delivery and the rent to be calculated and p from said day and delivery quarterly accordingly notwithstanding the words in the body of said lease to the contrary.

LETTER OF WILLIAM BURNETT TO JAMES MAY.

MICHILIMACKINAC, July 31, 1801.

DEAR SIR:—This day I received your letter of the 14th inst., wherein I am sorry to learn, that there is some misunderstanding existing between you and Mr. Bacon, and what vexes me most is that this misunderstanding should be the cause of a coolness between you and Col. Hamtremeek's family. I hope that this business may be clearly made up to your satisfaction, in order that you and Col. Hamtremeek may be friends again. A day or two after my arrival here, I paid a visit to Mr. Bacon. He told me that he was sorry to relate that there had been some little altercation passed betwe[illegible] you and him upon settling some small accounts for which it appeared to m[illegible] at he was now heartily sorry for. However, as this piece of information was not pleasing to me, I therefore did not wish to enter into the particulars and reasons of his quarrel with you. I saw him but once since I have been here. He left this sometime ago, to go and reside amongst the Indians at L'arbre Croche, but left his wife at Mr. Addimars. The mission that he is upon at this place will meet with little or no success, if some regulations is not adopted to prevent spirituous liquors from coming amongst the indians.

Some part of your letter supprises me very much, respecting what McGrigor told you lately that I had paid my old debts with his property, and this through some late information that has been given to him. But I am led to believe what he has advanced to be very false, and that he has made this out of his own head, otherwise I should think, he would have told you the author of his information. In my letter to him of the 29th inst., I informed him I had sold my peltries here for twenty thousand five hundred livres to Mr. Pothier. That out of this sum, that I had remitted him fifteen thousand livres, to Mr. Rankin twelve hundred livres, for goods which I got from him the same year I had goods from McGrigor, and as these goods I had from Mr. Rankin were converted into skins as well as those I had from McGrigor, it is nothing but right that Mr. Rankin should have his share of the returns, as his goods in part contributed to make the returns. And out of the proceeds of the above peltries, I have given, or at least sent fifteen hundred [illegible] to Mr. Askins, for the freight of his vessel which brought the goods I [illegible] of Mr. McGrigor to St. Josephs. This, I think, is nothing but very [illegible] that expenses attending the transportation of goods should be paid out of the returns of the said goods; and that what has remained I paid it for clerks and men's wages, partly of which you can attest as a fact by the

draft I have sent you in my letter of the 29th inst. In fact, I have paid for last year's expenses money that never had anything to do with Mr. McGrigor's property, and as a proof of this I will here name the people that owed me by note of hand which has paid me money. One Roulht owed me fifteen hundred livres, for which he has paid me partly in money and sugar. One John Griffing, which is now actually in the employ of McKenzie, which owes me very considerable, paid me nine hundred livres, which was assured by McKenzie. I have sold a blacksmith shop for five hundred livres to a man in McKenzie's employ, for which McKenzie is to pay me for, and for which you are to receive the payment. I have made a purchase of one Pant's wages for nine hundred livres, for which I am to give him cattle. The wages that is due to this man is by McKenzie, for which you are likewise to receive the payment. All I have advanced him above, McKenzie can vouch as a fact, if Mr. McGrigor wishes to have any right information to what I think he has formed out of his own head. I was well aware of all this before I received your letter, and consequently I was very particular in my last letter to Mr. McGrigor in giving him an account of the sales of my peltries and the money paid and for what. You would oblige me much by showing him this letter. I mean to leave this shortly for St. Josephs, and hope in the fall to have the pleasure of seeing you. My compliments to Mrs. May and family. In the meantime believe me to be

Yours most sincerely,

WILLIAM BURNETT.

To James May, Esq.

RETURN OF THE TAXABLE PROPERTY OF THE HAMTRAMCK DISTRICT, MADE BY THE LISTER OF TAXABLE PROPERTY OF SAID DISTRICT.

Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River, Wayne County. (District Hamtrameck.) 1802, July 19.

Names.	Front Arpents of Lots.	Houses.	Cattle.	Horses.
Louis Chapoton	3 arpents in front by 40 in depth; 36 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	2 horses.
Antoine Boyez	4 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 48 arpents in cultivation	house	4 pieces	2 horses.
Marxherre	5 in front, 80 in depth, 20 arpents valuable; 100 arpents in cultivation	house	3 pieces	1 horse.
Jsidore Maurin	1 lot, one square arpent	house	1 piece	----------
Antoine Maurasse	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 3 arpents in cultivation	----------	3 pieces	1 horse.
Corronelle Entremaique	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth	house	----------	----------

RETURN OF TAXABLE PROPERTY.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Front Arpents of Lots.	Houses.	Cattle.	Horses.
François Rivarre	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation	house		
Jacques Laintaubin	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth, 11 arpents valuable, 33 arpents valuable		4 pieces 1 ditto	2 horses.
Gabrielle Laintaubin	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 24 arpents valuable	house		1 horse.
Baptist Laderoute	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 11 arpents valuable		1 cow	2 horses.
Pierre Rivarre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	1 horse.
Julien Campau	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house		
Mrs. Baptist Campau	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house	4 pieces	2 horses.
Charle Chauvin	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house	5 pieces	1 horse.
Benjamin Marsaque	5 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation	2 houses	10 pieces	3 horses.
Michelle Jaxe	4 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation	house	6 pieces	1 horse.
Josephe Ladéroutte	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation	house	3 pieces	1 horse.
Jean Baptist Dupras	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 20 arpents in cultivation	house	7 pieces	1 horse.
Baptist Chauvine	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house	2 pieces	1 horse.
Baptist Chauvine, son	1 arpent in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house	2 pieces	
Lambioux Marsaque	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house	3 pieces	1 horse.
Roubaisne Marsaque	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house	2 pieces	
François Marsaque	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 7 arpents in cultivation	house	4 pieces	1 horse.
Leonarre Tranblay	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	house	8 pieces	1 horse.
Mr. Louis Tranblay, 1 slave	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 10 arpents in cultivation	1 house, 1 water-mill, 1 saw-mill, 1 horse-power-mill	18 cows, 2 oxen	2 horses.
Gazette Tranblay	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 14 arpents in cultivation; and 3 arpents in front, 40 in depth, 12 arpents in cultivation	house	3 cows	1 horse.
Nicolles Campau	6 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation	house	4 oxen	1 horse.
Louis Grifarre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 72 arpents in cultivation		1 piece	
François Bloys	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 3 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	
Bazille Bellanger	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 3 arpents in cultivation	house	3 cows	1 horse.
Louis Grifarre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 2½ arpents in cultivation	house	4 pieces	1 horse.
Louis Thibaux	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	2 horses.
Mr. Louis Tranblay, father	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 18 arpents in cultivation	house		
Thomas Larblay	4 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 7 arpents in cultivation		1 piece	1 horse.
Josephe Tranblay	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth: 24 arpents in cultivation	house	4 cows	1 horse.
Réné Marsaque	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation			
Ambroise Tranblay	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 15 arpents in cultivation	house	3 cows	1 horse.
Josephe Saussier	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 45 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	
Jean Baptist Rivarre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth: 36 arpents in cultivation	house	2 cows	2 horses.
Jean Baptist Jaxque	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 24 arpents in cultivation	house		1 horse.
Simon Jaxe	1 arpent in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation	house		1 horse.
Pierre Jaxe	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 24 arpents in cultivation	house		

RETURN OF TAXABLE PROPERTY.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Front Arpents of Lots.	Houses.	Cattle.	Horses.
Nicollas Rivarre	1¾ arpent in front, 40 in depth; 18 arpents in cultivation	house		
Charle Rivarre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 33 arpents in cultivation	house	4 cows	2 horses.
Michelle Rivarre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 33 arpents in cultivation	house	2 cows	2 horses.
Louis H. Beurnarre	6 arpents in front, 3 of them 40 arpents deep, 3 only 8 arpents deep; 26 arpents in cultivation	house	7 pieces	2 horses.
Nicollas Patnotte	3 arpents in front, 8 arpents in depth	house	6 pieces	
Madam Allesandre	1 arpent in front, 40 in depth: 9 arpents in cultivation		1 cow	
Igniasse Ambroise	2 arpents in front, 8 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation	house		1 horse.
Aidege	6 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 95 arpents in cultivation	house	4 cows, 4 oxen	2 horses.
Mr. Grande	9 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 100 arpents in cultivation; 3 slaves	house	35 pieces	6 horses.
Mr. Forsaille	23 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 120 arpents valuable	house	4 oxen, 3 cows	2 horses.
Jean Carbé	6 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 25 arpents in cultivation	house	4 oxen, 3 cows	
Jacobe Bequierre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 1 arpent in cultivation		1 cow	
Pierre Mayllete	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 2 arpents in cultivation		2 cows, 1 ox	
Antoine Lesperransse	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 21 arpents in cultivation	house	4 cows	1 horse.
François Tivton	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 15 arpents in cultivation	house	2 cows	1 horse.
Madame François Ambroise	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation		1 cow	1 horse.
Baptiste Couchier	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 12 arpents in cultivation			1 horse.
Lauraut Grifare	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 24 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	1 horse.
Flamene	6 arpents in front, 40 in depth	house		
Baptiste Varmjé	6 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 30 arpents in cultivation	house	5 pieces	3 horses.
François Bonhomme	4 arpents in front, 40 in depth			
Louis Renot	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth			
Jacques Alarre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 9 arpents in cultivation	house	2 cows	1 horse.
Baptist Selorout	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 9 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	1 horse.
Josephe Ellerre	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth			
Jullyen Forton	4 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 20 arpents in cultivation	house	9 pieces	1 horse.
Ijniasse Thibaux	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 3 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	1 horse.
J. Etieune Duchenne	1 arpent in front, 40 in depth; 1½ arpent in cultivation			
Pierre Duchenne	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth			
M. St. Jean	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 33 arpents valuable	house		
Charle Nicolette Gouin	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 22 arpents in cultivation	house		
Mister Lailte	9 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 80 arpents in cultivation	house	19 pieces	3 horses.
Larebétte	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 6 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	1 horse.
Mr. St. Jean á Marrai	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 36 arpents in cultivation; 1 slave	house	18 pieces	4 horses.

RETURN OF TAXABLE PROPERTY.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Front Arpents of Lots.	Houses.	Cattle.	Horses.
Louis Dézonyer	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 30 arpents in cultivation	house	2 oxen, 4 cows	1 horse.
Mrs. Macomb	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 33 arpents in cultivation	house	6 pieces	3 horses.
Simon Rivarre				2 horses.
Tousin Gasmin				1 horse.
Mister Bufette, father	4 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 60 arpents valuable; 2 slaves		4 oxen, 6 cows	2 horses.
Louis Bufette, son	12 arpents in front, 36 arpents valuable	1 mill before house		3 horses.
Mr. Meltrame, a lot at Gros-point	2 arpents in front, 18 arpents at all cultivated	house	2 cows	1 horse.
Mr. Meltrame	4 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 60 arpents in cultivation; 4 slaves	house	12 cows, 4 beefs, 1 bull	5 horses.
Jean Baptiste Chapoton	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 30 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	1 horse.
Felix Peltjer	4 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 72 arpents in cultivation	house	5 cows, 4 oxen	4 horses.
Mauriche Mouran, 3 slaves	5 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 108 arpents in cultivation	1 house, 1 water-mill 1 horse-power-mill	6 cows, 4 oxen	2 horses.
Etienne Ballarre	1 lot, ¼ arpent in front, 1½ arpents in depth	house		
Bénoit Chapoton	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 21 arpents valuable		2 cows, 1 ox	1 horse.
Mr. Magdougalle	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 47 arpents in cultivation; 2 slaves	house	2 oxen, 3 cows	2 horses.
Simon Campaux	3 arpents in front, 30 in depth; 90 arpents in cultivation	house	1 ox, 1 cow	2 horses.
Gabrielle Chaine	3 arpents in front, 80 in depth; 75 arpents in cultivation	house	2 oxen, 3 cows	2 horses.
Jacques Campaux	4 arpents in front, 80 in depth; 96 arpents in cultivation	house	3 oxen, 3 cows	6 horses.
Josephe Cadais			1 cow	1 horse.
François Fournies	1 lot, 1 arpent in front, 1½ arpents in depth	house	1 cow	
François Gouin	1½ arpents in front, 60 in depth; 27 arpents in cultivation	house	1 cow	1 horse.
Antoine Dequindre	1½ arpents in front, 60 in depth; 31 arpents in cultivation	house	2 oxen, 2 cows	1 horse.
Nicolas Gouin	1¾ arpents in front, 80 in depth; 35 arpents in cultivation	house	2 oxen, 3 cows	2 horses.
Charlle Gouin	1¾ arpents in front, 80 in depth; 35 arpents in cultivation; 2 slaves	house	4 oxen, 2 cows	1 horse.
Labés Campaux	1 lot, ½ arpent in front, 1 arpent in depth	house		1 horse.
MD. Roucourre	1 lot, ½ arpent in front, ¼ arpent in depth	house		
Jean Baptist Rivarre, father	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 40 arpents in cultivation; 1 slave	house	3 oxen, 3 cows	3 horses.
Mauriss Mauran	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 36 arpents in cultivation			
Louis Mauraut	2 arpents in front, 40 in depth; 25 arpents in cultivation	house	6 cows, 4 oxen	8 horses.
Basille Forge			1 cow	1 horse.

RETURN OF TAXABLE PROPERTY.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Front Arpents of Lots.	Houses.	Cattle.	Horses.
Antoine Sisille				1 horse.
Charlle Mauraut	2 arpents in front, 80 in depth; 36 arpents in cultivation	1 house, 3 houses	2 cows, 2 oxen	3 horses.
Baptist Dauncis	1 lot, ¼ arpent in front, ½ arpent in depth	house	1 cow	1 horse.
Henry Barthellette	1 lot, ¼ arpent in front, ½ arpent in depth	1 house, 1 water-mill		1 horse.
Henry Barthéllette	½ arpent in front, ½ arpent in depth	1 house		
Baptist Peltjer	1 lot, 40 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house		
Mr. May Esquillé	1 lot on the commons, 60 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house		
Jean Symarre	1 lot on the commons, 30 feet in front, 97 feet in depth	1 house		
Mr. Richarre, curate	1 lot on the commons, 56 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth			
Mr. Gasparre	1 lot on ths commons, ½ arpent in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house	2 cows	
Mr. Meldrume	1 lot on the commons, ¼ arpent in front, ½ arpent in depth	1 house		
Mr. Farrsonne	1 lot on the commons, ½ arpent in front, 1½ arpents in depth	1 house	2 cows	1 horse.
Jacques Ganjés	1 lot, 85 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house	2 cows	1 horse.
Mr. Voyes	1 lot, 50 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house		
Alexis Cauquilliarre	1 lot on the commons, 50 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house	3 cows	1 horse.
Simon Drouliarre	1 lot, 63 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house	3 cows	1 horse.
Baptist Lapiérre	1 lot, 55 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house	2 cows	1 horse.
William Allene	1 lot, 50 feet in front, 1 arpent in depth	1 house		
Mr. Broche	1 arpent in front, low land, 4 by 8 arpents higher, equal to 2 arpents in front by 40 in depth	9 houses	4 cows	1 horse.
Antoine Baubien	5 arpents in front, 80 in depth; 100 arpents valuable	1 house	3 oxen, 2 cows	2 mares.
Lanberre Baubine			3 oxen, 5 cows	2 horses.
Josephe Leduque			1 cow	1 horse.
François Leduque, father			1 cow	1 horse.
Charlle Peltjés	3 arpents in front, 60 in depth; 72 arpents in cultivation	house	2 oxen, 3 cows	2 horses.
Mr. Jean Marie Baubien	2 arpents in front, 75 in depth; 40 arpents in cultivation	house	5 cows	1 horse.
Mr. Broche Laraucas	1 lot, next to Pierre Rivarre, 1 arpent in front, 1 arpent in depth	house		
Mr. Broche Laraucas	1 lot between Dequindre and François Gouin, ¼ arpent in front, 2 arpents in depth	1 house		
Mrs. Pomminville	3 arpents in front, 40 in depth			

TAX ON FOREGOING PROPERTY.

Names.	Piaster.	Names.	Piaster.	Names.	Piaster.
Louis Chapoton	375	Louis St. Bernard	600	Robert Magdougal	500
Antoine Boyez	500	Nicollas Patnoude	110	Simon Campau	450
Marshaire	666	Madame Alexandre	60	Gabrelle Chainne	550
Izidore Maurins	60	Inniasse Ambroize	85	Jacques Campau	950
Antoine Maurass	500	Aidégé	550	Joseph Cadet	25
Colonelle Hamtrameck	350	Comandrure Grant	1500	Francois Fourniez	150
Francois Rivard	400	Belley Fosith	1150	Francois Gouins	180
Jacques St. Obien	360	John Carby	600	Antoine Dequindre	360
Gabrielle St. Obien	280	Jacob Bake	35	Nicolas Gouins	460
Jean Baptise Ladéroutte	460	Pierre Malliet	55	Charle Gouins	760
Pierre Rivard	350	Etoine Lespérance	230	Barnabé Campau	160
Julien Campau	300	Francois Fiertons	220	Madame Racours	50
Widow Baptiste Campau	375	Mme Francois Ambroize	150	Jean Baptiste Rivard	700
Charles Chauvin	260	Baptiste Couchoir	165	Maurisse Maurant	100
Benjamin Marsaque	700	Laurant Grifare	200	Louis Maurans	860
Michelle Zaxe	500	Captaine Flamenne	145	Bazille Laforje	15
Josephe Ladéroutte	330	Jean Baptiste Varniez	170	Antoine Secille	30
Jean Baptiste Dupras	360	Francois Bonhomme	150	Charle Maurans	872
Baptiste Chauvin	260	Louis Renauld	140	Baptiste Daunois	250
Baptiste Chauvins son	110	Jacques Allard	150	Henry Barthelette	240
L'hombious Marsaque	280	Jean Baptiste St. Lauront	145	Henry Barthelette	440
Robaire Marsaque	289	Josephe Ellare	75	Jean Baptiste Peltier	150
Francois Marsaque	200	Julliens Fierton	250	James May, Esq	200
Lénore Tramblé	550	Jgnasse Thibaux	92	Jean Simarre	100
Louis Tramblé	1500	Etienne Duchainne	40	Mr. Richard, curate	50
Gajétan Tramblé	560	Pierre Duchainne	75	Mr. Gasparre	125
Nicolas Campau	700	St. Jean	340	George Maldrum	200
Louis Grifarre	200	Challe Nicolas Gouien	200	Madame Farsonne	460
Francois Blois	200	Mr. Litel	650	Jzaque Gagué	250
Bazille Bélangé	200	Lanébelle	100	Mr. Toyez	125
Louis Thibau	210	Mr. St. Jean	700	Coquilliarre	300
Louis Tramblé	300	Louis Dezonier	400	Simon Droulliarre	300
Thomes Larblay	250	Madame Macomme	550	Batiste Lapier	325
Josephe Tramblé	360	Simon Rivard	50	William Allen	100
Rhéné Marsaque	250	Toussins Jasmins	20	Laroca Broche	1600
Ambroize Tramblé	225	Louis Beufait, father	600	Antoine Baubiens	1400
Josephe Saucier	350	Louis Beufait, son	500	Lambert Baubien	100
Jean Baptiste Rivard	360	Mr. Meldrame	75	Josephe Leduque	37
Jean Jaxe	350	Mr. Meldram,	1150	Francois Leduque, father	35

TAX ON FOREGOING PROPERTY.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Piaster.	Names.	Piaster.	Names.	Piaster.
Simon Jax	125	Jean Baptiste Chapoton	350	Charle Peltiez	600
Pierre Jax	225	Felix Petier	450	Jean Marie Baubien	500
Nicolas Rivard	160	Mauriche Maurans	1000	Laroca Broche	80
Charle Rivard	125	Etienne Ballard	100	Laroca Broche	100
Michelle Rivard	376	Benois Chapoton	300	Mme. Pominville	150

JOSEPH SIRÉ
LOUIS ST. BERNARD his × mark } Appraisers of Houses.

Detroit, August 20th, 1802.

COUNTY TAX LIST.—LISTER'S RETURNS, SARGENT TOWNSHIP TAX, 1802.

Names.	Employés.	Horses.	Cattle.	Stallions.	Price of Mounting.
A.					
Aine, L. Augustin	0	1	0	0	0
B.					
Banan, Joseph	0	1	6	0	0
Brise, Joseph	0	1	0	0	0
Berthiaume, Joseph	0	1	0	0	0
Bond, Louis	0	0	1	0	0
Bouchard, Ignare	0	1	3	0	0
Boismier, Francois	0	1	6	0	0
Bearn, Gilles	0	0	5	0	0
Bourdeau, Joseph	0	0	6	0	0
Belaire, Amable	1	2	4	0	0
Boneau, Louis	0	0	2	0	0
Bernard, Joseph	0	0	2	0	0
Belaire, Jean Louis	0	0	1	0	0
Blanchard, Joseph	0	1	0	0	0
Bedient, Zalmon	1	2	3	0	0
Belaire, Joseph	0	0	8	0	0
Beaugrand, J. Bte.	0	3	9	0	0
Biponette, Joseph	0	2	5	0	0
Biponette, Paschal	0	0	2	0	0
Baron, Michel	0	0	1	0	0
Baron, Pierre	0	0	1	0	0
Beauxhommes, J. Bte.	0	0	0	0	0
Beaudin, Louis	0	0	0	0	0
Brancheau, Pierre father	0	2	0	0	0
Brancheau, Pierre, son	0	0	0	0	0
Beauregard, Antoine	0	0	2	0	0
Bastonnois, Joseph	0	1	5	0	0
Bipon, Joseph	0	1	0	0	0
Blein, Joseph	0	1	4	0	0
C.					
Charist, Jean	0	1	1	0	0
Couzineau, Bazil, father	2	1	5	0	0
Cooly, Calvin	0	0	4	0	0
Cooly, Dedienne	0	0	2	0	0
Coutare, J. Bte.	0	1	1	0	0

COUNTY TAX LIST.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Employés.	Horses.	Cattle.	Stallions.	Price of Mounting
C.					
Chatellrain, Joseph	0	0	3	0	0
Campeau, Antoine	1	1	11	0	0
Cloutier, Zacharie	0	1	2	0	0
Carignan, J. Bte.	1	1	6	0	0
Medard, Couture	0	0	2	0	0
Couture, Claude	0	1	0	0	0
Corneau, Pierre	0	1	0	0	0
Crawford, James	0	0	1	0	0
D.					
Douceth, Pierre	0	1	4	0	0
Delair, Francois	0	0	2	0	0
Demers, Pierre	0	0	3	0	0
Drouillard, Nicolas	0	1	4	0	0
Drouillard, Dominique	0	1	5	0	0
Dassault, Jean	0	1	4	0	0
Dubreuil, J. Bte., father	0	1	5	0	0
Dubreuil, J. Bte., son	0	1	4	0	0
Duval, Jgnace, son	1	1	3	0	0
Duval, Jgnace, father	0	2	6	0	0
Drouillard, Pierre	0	0	0	0	0
Duplessis, Joseph	0	0	2	0	0
Drouillard, Joseph	0	0	0	0	0
E.					
Egneus, Samuel	0	0	0	0	0
F.					
Frontaine, J. Bte.	0	0	0	0	0
Fontaine, Gabriel	0	1	1	0	0
Fontaine, Charle	0	0	0	0	0
G.					
Gagner, Jacques	0	1	4	0	0
Godfroy, Gabriel	0	1	2	0	0
Guy, Alexis	0	0	0	0	0
Gaillard, Louis	0	0	1	0	0
Griffith, William, father	1	1	14	0	0
Grenon, Louis	0	0	1	0	0
Griffith, William, son	0	0	0	0	0
H.					
Hyvon, Joseph	0	1	5	0	0
J.					
Jobin, Joseph	0	1	7	0	0
Jouvin, Alexandre	0	0	4	0	0
Jwing, Alexandre, father	1	0	9	0	0
Jacob, Jean	0	1	1	0	0
Jacob, Simon	0	0	2	0	0
Jérome, J. Bte.	0	2	10	0	0
Jacob, Jacques	0	1	0	0	0
Jourdain, André	0	1	0	0	0
Jacob, Etienne, son	0	0	1	0	0
Jacob, Joseph	0	0	0	0	0
Jwing, John, son	0	0	0	0	0
Jacson, John	0	1	4	0	0
John, Thomas	0	1	6	0	0
Jlear, Jacob	1	2	8	0	0
K.					
Knaggs, George	0	1	1	0	0
Knaggs, Ratchel	1	2	4	0	0
L.					
Lebeau, René	0	1	10	0	0
Labady, Alexis	0	2	1	0	0
Lasalle, J. Bte.	1	1	4	0	0
Loulesse, John	0	0	6	0	0
Lisle-Ronde, J. Bte.	1	1	4	0	0
Lacroix, Hubert	2	2	8	0	0
Lajoye, Louis	0	0	3	0	0
Langloise, AmCroise	0	0	6	0	0
Labady, Medard	1	1	6	0	0
Lenfant, Dominique	0	1	5	0	0
Lenfant, Benjamin	0	0	0	0	0
Lafleure, André	0	0	1	0	0
Lenfant, Josinne	0	1	4	0	0
Lenfant, Louis, son	0	1	4	0	0
Leonard, Francois	0	0	4	0	0
Laviolette, Etienne, son	1	1	3	0	0
Laplante, Francois	0	1	5	0	0
Lajoye, Hyacinthe	0	0	2	0	0
Lauranger, Alexis	0	0	0	0	0
LeDuc, J. Bte.	0	1	2	0	0
Lapointe, Guillaume	0	1	0	0	0

COUNTY TAX LIST.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Employés	Horses.	Cattle.	Stallions.	Price of Mounting
L.					
Lapointe, Jean, Bte., son	0	0	0	0	0
Larjoye, Charle	0	1	0	0	0
Larjoye, Bazil	0	0	0	0	0
Lafleure, Augustin	0	0	0	0	0
M.					
Moor, Samuel	0	2	3	0	0
Macon, Charle	0	0	0	0	0
Monmini, Jean, Bte.	0	0	1	0	0
Monmini, Louis	0	1	1	0	0
Missee, Pierre	0	1	3	0	0
Menard, Joseph	0	2	7	0	0
Menard, Francois	0	0	0	0	0
Mahen, Vincent	0	1	2	0	0
Moor, James	0	0	5	0	0
Martin, Jacques	0	0	1	0	0
Monmini, Francois	0	0	1	0	0
McDougall, George	0	2	9	0	0
Miron, Antoine	0	0	0	0	0
N.					
Navare, Robert	0	2	7	0	0
Navare, Francois, father	0	0	0	0	0
Navare, Jean, married	0	1	0	0	0
Navare, Jacques	0	1	5	0	0
Navare, Francois, son	1	2	6	0	0
Navare, Isadore	0	1	4	0	0
Nadault, Antoine	0	2	4	0	0
P.					
Pouget, Joseph	1	1	3	0	0
Parnier, Paul	0	0	0	0	0
Pepin, Michel	0	0	0	0	0
Pepin, Bazil	0	1	1	0	0
Prudhomme, Jacques	0	1	0	0	0
Proulx, Charle	0	1	17	0	0
R.					
Robb, David	0	0	9	0	0
Reaume, J. Bte., father	0	1	8	0	0
Ruring, Robert	0	1	2	0	0
R.					
Robidon, Etienne	0	0	3	0	0
Robidon, Louis	1	2	11	0	0
Robert, Joseph	0	1	4	0	0
Robert, Isidore	0	1	3	0	0
Reaume, J. Bte., son	0	0	3	0	0
Reaume, Joseph	0	1	3	0	0
Riopelle, Antoine	0	1	2	0	0
Robert, Antoine	0	0	2	0	0
Robidon, Joseph	0	0	5	0	0
Rean, Jean Bte.	0	0	4	0	0
Robidon, Bonaventure	0	0	0	0	0
Robidon, Louis, son	0	0	0	0	0
Rivard, Antoine	0	0	2	0	0
Rivard, Antoine, son	0	0	0	0	0
Robert, Francois	0	1	0	0	0
Robidon, Joseph, son	0	0	0	0	0
S.					
Saint, Come, Amable	0	0	1	0	0
Solo, Pierre	0	1	3	0	0
Solo, Jean Bte.	0	1	0	0	0
Samons, David	0	0	5	0	0
Shau, Caleb	0	0	4	0	0
Shau, Fremen	0	1	3	0	0
Suzor, Louis	0	1	2	0	0
Suzor, T. Bte., widow	0	0	3	0	0
Soudrist, Joseph	0	0	0	0	0
Soudrist, Charle	0	0	0	0	0
T.					
Thybett, Benjamin	0	0	7	0	0
Taillon, J. Bte.	0	1	2	0	0
Thybault, Prosper	0	0	4	0	0
Traversy, Pierre	0	0	1	0	0
V.					
Villen, Crisosthome	0	1	3	0	0
W.					
Wilcox, Elias	0	0	6	0	0

ASSESSMENT OF THE HOUSES, MILLS, AND DISTILLERIES OF THE SARGENT DISTRICT.

Names.	Houses.	Distilleries.	Vacant Lots.	Mills.	Valuation—Dollars.	Names.	Houses.	Distilleries.	Vacant Lots.	Mills.	Valuation—Dollars.
Gabriel Godfroy	0	0	0	2	1200	Antoine Campeau	1	0	0	0	200
Francois Navare, Esq	1	0	0	1	800	J. Bte. Conture	1	0	0	0	200
John Asking, father	0	0	0	1	300	George McDougall	0	1	0	0	250
Bazil Couzineau	0	0	0	1	200	Mldvom Park	0	1	0	0	300
Jacques Lasselle	0	0	0	1	200	Jean Bte. Jérome	2	0	0	0	200
Jacques Gagner	0	0	0	0	200	Ratchel Knaygs	1	0	0	0	200
Zalmon Bedient	1	1	0	0	400	Jacques Lasselle	1	0	0	0	200
Hutro Navare	1	0	0	0	200						
											5050

Made Before Me at the River Raizin, August 28, 1802.

ETIENNE DUBOIS,
signed by order, JOSEPH TOBIN.

LIST OF TAXABLE PROPERTY IN THE ST. CLAIR TOWNSHIP.

Names.	Hired Men.	Horses.	Cows.	Names.	Hired Men.	Horses.	Cows.
Christ Clemns	1	3	9	Baptiste Duhan	----	1	3
Baptiste Comtaret	----	1	2	Nicolas Cadorette	----	1	----
Henry Tucker	----	----	2	Joseph Lariviere	----	1	3
Louis Campau	1	----	10	Francsois Leveque	----	----	----
Louis Mor	1	2	5	Jgnoce Caslet	----	----	1
Antoine Jubinvil	----	1	5	Henry le Negre	----	1	1
Jacque Loson	----	2	7	Pierre May	----	1	1
Jan Claire	----	----	----	Jasainte Dubois	----	1	1
Antoine Petit	----	----	4	Antoine le Beuf	----	1	----
Louis Petit	----	----	2	Joseph Jeare	----	1	1
Baptiste Petit	----	1	1	Baptiste Crequi	----	----	1
Joseph Bonvouloine	----	----	3	Baptiste Rapitale	----	1	----
Antoine Prévun	----	----	----	Baptiste Montreule	----	----	----
Baptiste Létournau	----	1	1	Baptiste Michel	----	1	1
Pierre Fenix	----	1	3	Toussins Choven	----	2	3
Williams Tucker	2	4	16	Jean Bouquet	----	----	----

LIST OF TAXABLE PROPERTY.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Hired Men.	Horses.	Cows.	Names.	Hired Men.	Horses.	Cows.
Louis StAubin	1	4	4	Baptiste Perine			
Michel Trumble	1	3	6	Nicholas Bonhon			
Robiche Robert		2	7	Nicolas Putnode a lance creuse			
Joseph Robert		2	9	Fransois Trumble			1
Alenci Peltier				Baptiste Trumble		1	1
Sarafin Loson				Josephe Trumble			1
Richar Connor	1	2	8	Louis Renau			
Josephe Basinet, a la Rivers St. Claire		3	2	Michel Duchen		1	1
Jgnace Champane		2	4	Fransois Duchene		1	2
Pierre Mini		2	2	Louis Goulet		1	1
Francois Chartier		2	2	Joseph Garran		1	2
Jacque Toulouse		1	1	Louis Parci		1	1
Pierre Champay		1	2	Baptiste Marsaque			2
Jacob Jlle		3	5	Charles Chovin		1	1
Alix Harris	2	3	6	Toussin Chovin			
Jhim Carterete			5	Michel Comparet			4
William Thorne	1	2	6	Louis Laforge			2
Jhon Rede		2	5	Charles Dulac		2	4
Jhimis Robisons		3	3	Nicholas Vayne		1	1
George Cottrelle	2	4	16	Pierre Lannous			2
Meldrum and Park	2	3	1	Thom Thommesse		1	
Francsois Bonhon	1	3	6	Augusten Labana	1	2	5
Antoine Rode		1		Frances Gray			
——— Brindamoer				Laban Bogard			
Janmari Robien		1					

I certify this to be a true return of the taxable property in St. Clair Township. September 11, 1802.

LOUIS CAMPAU.

PROCLAMATION BY GOVERNOR HARRISON.

By William Henry Harrison Esq., Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Indiana Territory.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, by an act of Congress passed the 30 of April 1802 entitled

"An act to enable the people of the Eastern Division of the Territory North West of the River Ohio," to form the constitution and State Government and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states and for other purposes." It is declared that from and after the formation of the said states, all that part of that part of the Northwestern territory which is not included within the boundaries prescribed for the said state shall be attached to, and made part of the Indiana Territory—and whereas the inhabitants of the said Eastern division have formed themselves into an independent state by the name of the State of Ohio it has become necessary for the convenience of the citizens in the newly acquired territory and the due administration of justice that a new county should be laid off and alterations made in the boundaries of those formerly established.—Wherefore I William Henry Harrison Governor of the Indiana Territory by the authority vested in me by the ordinance for the Government of the Territory, do ordain and declare that a county shall be formed in the North-eastern part of the Territory to be known and designated by the name and style of the County of Wayne.—And the boundaries of the said county shall be as follows to wit Beginning at a point where the East and West line passing through the Southerly extreme of Lake Michigan would intersect a North and South line passing through the most Westerly extreme of the said Lake, and thence north along the last mentioned line to the Territorial boundery of the United States, thence along the said boundry line to a point where an East and West line passing through the Southerly extreme of Lake Michigan would intersect the same, thence West along the last mentioned line to the place of beginning.—And all the aforesaid lands lying within the above described lines and boundaries are hereby erected into the county of Wayne. And the inhabitants of the said county of Wayne shall have and enjoy (from the date hereof) all the rights, privileges and immunities whatsoever which to a county and the inhabitants thereof in anywise appertain.—And each and every person within the bounds of the said county of Wayne who held commissions civil or military under the government of the North-western territory at the time of the formation of the State of Ohio, shall still continue to exercise and enjoy their respective offices—And the justices of the Court of common pleas; of the general quarter sessions of the peace, and of the orphans court shall (until otherwise directed) continue to hold their respective courts at the place and times at which they were accustomed to be held under the Government of the Northwestern Territory.

And whereas I have not received sufficient information respecting the settlements, below the great Miami, to enable me to form in that quarter a

county establishment, for the present, that tract of country included between a North line drawn from the mouth of the big Miami River; the Ohio, and the indian boundery line running from a point opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky River shall be attached to and form part of the county of Clark.—And such persons within the said bounds as may have held civil or military commissions under the Government of the North-western Territory, at the time when the said described tract was attached to this territory, are hereby appointed to the same offices respectively in the County of Clark which they held under the Government of the North-western Territory.

Done at St. Vincennes the 14 day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three and of the Independence of the United States the 27.

JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary.*

By the Governor.

Proclamation of Gov. Harrison for forming the county of Wayne signed tenth of January and received eleventh of February, 1803.

PETER AUDRAIN, *proth.*

GENERAL ORDER FOR THE MILITIA OF THE INDIANA TERRITORY.

DETROIT, 10 May, 1803.

The Commander-in-Chief having received instructions from the President of the United States to organize and discipline the militia of the territory, he flatters himself with the expectation of receiving from the several grades which compose the militia of his government all the assistance which is necessary to enable him to carry those instructions into effect, It is expected from the officers that they will take every opportunity which the law allows, to train and instruct their men in the duties of a soldier, and to infuse into them principles of order and subordination, and of love and veneration for their country and its government.

From the privates a prompt and cheerful obedience to all the legal orders of their officers is looked for with confidence; and from every grade and rank that ardent patriotism which is the parent of every noble action.

At a time when a general emulation pervades the militia of every State in the Union, and when some of the regiments of that corps have already assumed the appearance and discipline of regular troops, the Commander-in-Chief would blush to think that in his government alone no effectual

exertions had been made to rescue the militia from that disgraceful apathy which has been suffered so long to prevail; he therefore calls upon every officer and soldier under his command for a punctual and exact discharge of all the duties annexed to their respective stations.

The following appointments are made in the general staff, viz.: Charles Janett, Esq., to be aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, with rank of Major. Mathew Ernest, Esq., to be Quartermaster General to the militia of the territory, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Robert Monroe, Esq., to be Deputy Quartermaster General, with the rank of Major. The gentlemen thus appointed are to be respected accordingly. Capt. Richmond of the First United States Regiment having politely offered to attend the Commander-in-Chief to the review which is to take place to-morrow, as a volunteer aid-de-camp, he is also to be respected and obeyed as such.

The following officers are appointed for the First Regiment of Wayne County Militia, viz.:

Lieut. Col. Chebart Joncaire. Major Jean Batiste Cicatt.
Adjutant Christopher Tuttle.

Captains.

George McDougall.	Gabriel Godfroy.
James May.	Joseph Tobin.
Antoine Bobien.	George Catterall.
Jacob Visger.	Louis Campau.
Francis Navarre.	Louis St. Bernard.

Lieutenants.

Batiste Jerome.	Jean Batiste Beaugrand.
James Aabbatt.	Romain Lachambre.
Jacques Campau.	Jean Marie Bobien.
Jacques Lassell.	Jacques Loson.
Joseph Menard.	Joseph Socier.

Ensigns.

Joseph Reaume,	John Cissne.
Joseph Compeau,	Hiacine Lajoye.
Barnabe Compeau,	Pierre Mini.
Gabriel Godfroy, Jr.	William Tucker.
Jacques Navarre.	Batiste Revard.

(A true copy.—C. TUTTLE.)

Presented to the Historical Society by M. H. Miles.

MATHEW DONOVAN VS. RICHARD SMYTH.

INDIANA TERRITORY }
WAYNE COUNTY. } ss.

Mathew Donovan, of Detroit, in said County of Wayne, upon his complaint to James May and James Henry, Esq's., two of the justices assigned to keep the peace in said county, humbly showeth to your honors:—

That your complainant on the first day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, purchased of Eligah Brush, of said Detroit, a certain messuage and tenement situated in the town of Detroit, aforesaid with a yard in lot adjoining in front, containing twenty-two feet English measure in front on St. Louis Street, then with the same width in rear bounded in front by said St. Louis Street, on the East-North-east by a cross street leading from said St. Louis Street down to what was formerly called the Kings bake. So rise on the West-South-west by a messuage and tenement owned by Peter Audrian, Esq., and in rear by the Chimen de Roy or path that leads around the town within the pickets, all of which said premises was by agreement between your complainant and the said Eligah Brush conveyed to your complainant by one James McDonnell, then of Detroit aforesaid, and who until the aforesaid first day of June in the year aforesaid was the absolute owner and posser of the foregoing premises. And your complainant further in fact saith that one Richard Smyth of the same Detroit on or about the first day of June, in the year aforesaid, did unlawfully and forceable enter into the foregoing premises, and the same ever since hath and still doth unlawfully detain from your complainant without any colour of authority of so doing. Wherefore your complainant prays thut a summons may issue against the said Richard Smyth, and that he be brought to answer and show cause why and wherefore he entered into and still doth detain the aforesaid premises in manner as aforesaid agreeable to a statute of this Territory in such cases made and provided.

E. BRUSH, *Attorney for the said Mathew Donovan.*

COUNTY ORDERS.

[No. 173.] DETROIT, July 16 1803.

SIR:— I am ordered by the Board of Commissioners of Wayne County to draw on you in favor of Peter Audrain, Esq., for thirteen dollars and ninety-six and one-half cents, which you will pay and charge to the county.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES HENRY,
Secretary.

To the Treasurer of Wayne County.
13d—96½c.

[No. 174.] DETROIT, July 16 1803.

SIR:— I am ordered by the Board of Commissioners of Wayne County to draw on you in favor of Peter Audrain, Esq., for fourteen dollars and eighty-nine cents, which you will pay and charge to the county.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES HENRY,

To the Treasurer of Wayne County. *Secretary.*

14d—89c.

SUPPLIES FOR WAYNE COUNTY COURT HOUSE AND JAIL.

The County of Wayne Dr.

To Thomas McCrae, Jr. for the following articles furnished for the Court House and Jail, viz.:—

DETROIT 22 of September, 1803.

	£.	s.	d.
To 1 Felling ax, 24s	1	4	0
" 1 Wood saw and horse	1	12	
" 2 Tubbs with covers, 10s	1		
" 3 Water pails or buckets, 6s		18	
" 2 Ladders for the chimneys, 8s		16	
" 6 Brooms for the year, 1s		6	
	£5	16	

equal to fourteen and a half dollars,

THOMAS MCCRAE, JR.

1 Scythe stone bought of Mr. Scheeffel	16	
	21	16

We do certify that the above articles amounting to twenty-one pounds sixteen shillings New York currency have been furnished for the use of the Court House and Jail by order of the Court and that Thomas McCrae Jr. Sheriff is entitled to receive from the Treasury the above sum— done in Court Sept. Term 1803.

JAMES MAY,
JOHN DODEMEAD.
WILLIAM M. SCOTT.

Received the above sum of twenty-one pounds sixteen shillings New York Currency in full Detroit 27 September 1803.

THOMAS MCCRAE JR.

 Sheriff Wayne County,

LETTER OF WM. BURNETT TO JAMES MAY.

ST. JOSEPHS, JANUARY 20, 1804.

DEAR SIR:—I am happy of having this early opportunity of accknowledging yours of the twelth inst., which I received a few days ago by Mr. Kenzie, by which I was extremely happy to find, that the contents and merits of my last letter had so agreeably supprised you, by discovering the real cause and discontent of those gentlemen, formerly taken notice of, which had taken the liberty of observing to you, that I had not altogether acted as I ought to have done, or rather, I presume that I had not acted according to their wishes. However, be this as it will, I will agree with you in what you have said that now you have the key to the business. And should they make any mention to you upon the former subject, I hope—you will as a friend, lock their jaws.

I was sorry to hear, that poor John has been so ill, however it is a pleasure to me at the same time to hear, that he is recovering very fast. Inclosed I send you the indenture upon John for three years, which I believe, will be a sufficient engagement between all parties.

Recurring to your letter—you say—that Mr. Pattison should have said, that he was at loss to know, what he had done to me, that I should riddicule his Government. And that I called his house a hog-sty; for which expression, he told you, that he would not forget me in a hurry; that is, not forgive me in a hurry. In answer to this first article of inpeachment, I must equally agree with what Mr. Pattinson has said,—that in the course of my acquaintance with him, that he never gave me any reason to entertain any personal enmity against him; and so far he is very right. As speaking Disrespectfully of his government, I do not rightly comprehend what he means. If mere words, in asserting facts, held upon a subject which passed here between his brother and me, be construed by them as an insult to their government, I am sorry for it, as I did not expect, that what might have been said by me, should have hurted their tender feelings to such a degree as it has done.

What passed between his brother and me, was relative to the unparalleled greatness of the British Empire,—which Pattinson said, enjoyed much greater happiness in laws and liberty, than any other nation on the Globe. Than their armies by land and sea, conquered in every part of the world;—than their manufacturies furnish clothing to all the nations on the Continent of Europe.—That England exported, every year, to the amount of fifty millions stirling. And as far as the continent of America, they would be in

a miserable situation, if it was not for the London merchants, and a great deal of such stuff. I told Mr. Pattinson, that there was some exceptions to the greatest part to what he had advanced; and what I knew to, I very freely took upon me to contradict this high flies, which, I supposed, settled him pretty much. And telling all what had passed to his brother, this little great gentleman thought what I had said must certainly amount to blarny. As to the second article of high misdemeanor, that of calling his house a hog-sty, it is very true I made use of the expression. The circumstance relating to this, is as follows. Ducharme, who was formerly in my service, and now in that of Mr. Pattinson, was building a house next door to mine. Going one day past the house, Ducharme asked me, how I liked his building, I answered him, that it appeared to me more like a hog-sty than a house. This I said without ever thinking of offending Mr. Pattinson. However, their displeasure is of very little importance to me, and I care but very little what construction they put on what words that might have fallen from me.

Mr. Pattinson arrived here a few days after Mr. Kenzies departure from this, for Detroit. Pattinson remained here eight days; and in all that time he did not come to see me, consequently I did not go near him. He left a letter for Mr. Kenzie: It was a very lengthy one, containing two sheets of paper fully wrote. I saw the contents; and I assure you, it is dictated in such terms of impertenancy, that he pointly brings in question Kenzies character, relative to their concerns. In a word, he calls him everything but a gentleman. Kenzie on his part, is vexed very much against Pattinson for endeavoring to accuse him of crimes, which there is not the least foundations for. All this must end in a law-suit. Kenzie has sent by this opportunity, to his brother, at Sandwich, a copy of Pattinson's letter; which I suppose will raise a hubbub amongst the gentry upon the other side. You was ill informed when you told that I had a hand in this misunderstanding, between Kenzie and Pattinson. No such thing I am clear of them all. I have been told, that that there is a loss of eight thousand pounds sustained by the company at this place.

The letters and newspapers, which you directed to my care for the doctor at Chicagon, is likewise safely come to hand, and will send them forward by the next opportunity.

Please present my compliments to Mrs. May, Mrs. Betsy and the whole family in general. Accept my best wishes for your welfare and happiness, and believe me to be, with utmost regard and esteem, dear sir,

Your very humble servant,

WILLIAM BURNETT.

To James May, Esq., Detroit.

CERTIFICATE OF CLEARANCE OF THE SLOOP "CONTRACTOR."

DISTRICT OF MICHILIMACKINAC. } ss.
Port of Michilimackinac. }

These are to Certify all whom it may or doth Concern that Wm. Lee, Master of the Sloop Contractor, American Bottom, Burthen Sixty three 50-95 tons, Navigated by five men, and Bound for Detroit, having on Board the following Cargo, viz:—

Twenty-six Empty Barrels.
One Bundle Bufflow Robes.
One Barrel Sugar (M. Dequandre).
Two Mocucks Sugar & One Feather Bed, (W. Wilmot),

Together with Nine Passengers, their baggage, and the necessary Sea Stores for the Voyage.—Hath here entered and Cleared out his said Vessel as the Law Directs.

Given under my hand & Seal of Office at the Custom House this 27th day of Sept., A. D. 1805 & In the thirtieth Year of the Independence of the United States of America.

For DAVID DUNCAN, *Collector.*

DAN DALY, *Dept. of Coll'r.*

By E. N. Labroix of Detroit, Mich.

CONTRACT TO USE BLOCK HOUSE AT DETROIT AS A JAIL.

NOTE.—This paper is labeled: "Contract for the Block-House with the Board, viz.: Gov'r Hull, Judge Woodward, Judge Bates."

On Saturday, the Sixth day of October, one thousand eight hundred five, the following contract was entered into; to wit:

It is understood between the board and the Marshall, that the block-house is to be used for a Jail untill the end of the year one thousand eight hundred Sixth, unless Sooner relinquished by the public; that then it is to become the property of the Marshall at the price of two hundred and fifty dollars, of which one hundred Seventy-five is considered as already paid, and the balance due; if the public use the block-house for a jail during the year one thousand eight hundred Seven, the whole is considered to be paid, and nothing to be charged for any repairs; if the public use the block-house any

further they are to pay Mr. May Seventy-five dollars a year rent and he is to charge nothing for repairs, and at that rate for any fractional part of a year.

A true Copy.

PETER AUDRAIN, *Sec.*

MEMORIAL OF ELIJAH BRUSH, JAMES MAY AND JOHN ANDERSON TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

NOTE.—The following is from among Judge May's papers. The original appears in the handwriting of the late E. Brush, Esq. The punctuation is directly copied from the original. The date was partially erased and may have been either 1805 or 1806.

To the President of the United States:

SIR—In compliance with certain Resolutions that were had at a Meeting of the Officers of Militia at Detroit in the Territory of Michigan, representing the Inhabitants in general of said Territory, and at their special Request, the following Address, with the several Matters and Things therein contained, is most humbly submitted and particularly commended to your consideration and Patronage.

To speak without Dissimulation the prevailing Sentiments and Principles of the Inhabitants of this Territory as they relate to Matters of a political Nature, would be, it is presumed, to contradict in a great Measure that Information which has heretofore been given of them; by saying, that they have ever borne for you the highest Consideration and Respect, as weel as a sincere and unfeigned Attachment at all Times for the general Government under your wise and providential Administration.

We recognize with Pleasure, that Degree of Perfectability to which Republican America has approached beyond all former Example, since wielded by your Talents, and governed by your Councils. And in the Pursuance of that Administration, so congenial to our Feelings, so sacred to our Rights and Privileges had we it in our Power, or should an Occasion ever offer, we humbly trust that the Territory of Michigan will not be wanting, to aid and strengthen you in that System of Administration, so sacred to our dearest Rights.

Our Obligations call us also in the Second Place to acknowledge with becoming Respect, the many advantages it is hoped will redound to this Country, on having been erected into a separate Territory, and to pay that Tribute of Respect to our worthy Executive which is so justly due him, for

the Care and Diligence, he has taken in digesting (with his Colleagues) a System of Territorial Government as much to our perfect Satisfaction, as could be expected or even looked for in our present Situation, and in adopting such laws as cannot fail to secure our Rights, promote our Happiness and increase the general Prosperity of the Country. Next unto this Sir, we desire to be heard in our own Behalf; There is nothing that has so thoroughly awakened the Attention of the Inhabitants in this Country and excited them in such a general Disquietude and Uneasiness, as the Principles on which the United States Government, seem to be threatening their Possessions and Claims to Land; rendering void all other Claims, than those only, which have been legally and fully granted by either the French or British Governments, and here as the Words 'legally' and 'fully', seem to be emphatically relied upon, it would seem that Claims of a mixed Rank, however equitable and just they may otherwise be, were to be entirely excluded; if this is to be so adjudged, our Ruin is completely sealed, and it were better for us a thousand Times, that this Government "the Worlds best Hope" had never reached these western shores. We are penetrated however with a belief that it will never take place, but hope through your Goodness, the well known Liberality and Goodness of the Congress of the United States, united with you, we shall have, united with those Advantages, we fondly anticipate from our newly acquired Government, those Possessions and Improvements which have been obtained by the fairest Means, and the highest Consideration — the Hand of Industry.

We have heretofore memorialed the Congress of the United States of this important Subject, important to us, because on the ultimate Determination thereof depends our all. As yet no satisfaction has been given, if at this Period of Time, after having toiled for so many years, and rendered valuable our Possessions only by our Industry and Disbursements, we are to be stripped of them, our misery will be insurmountable, and we are placed in a much worse Situation than we otherwise should have been, had we remained under the British Government. In this we speak from certain Knowledge, having seen all descriptions of Grants by the French Government, and all fair and Bona Fide Possessions and Improvements to a reasonable extent confirmed to the Grantee and Possessor by that Government without any Consideration having been required therefor. But if on the Contrary we are literally dealt with by our Government, a Government of our own free Choice, under which a major Part of the Inhabitants of this Territory have elected to become Citizens, it will most unquestionably insure Happiness and Prosperity to the Territory and give additional Listre to the Dawn of Freedom which is now unfolding her genial influence over this Western

Hemisphere. Our Claims to Land are something dissimilar; in the earliest settlement of this Country by the French, conditional Grants of small Tracts of Land were made, by the Governor and Intendant General, to actual Settlers subject to be approved or dissapproved of by the King of France; of this Number, in all, there is but Fifty Six, Sixteen of which were granted in the Year 1734 other Sixteen were also granted in the Year 1736 and one in 1743; of these Grants it appears that the Kings Brevet of Confirmation has been given, but the Rest that follow after and which have been resisted by the Commissioners, to Wit One in 1745 Three in 1747 Eighteen in 1750 and One in 1753 it is not known whether or not the Brevet of Confirmation was ever given, and it is a Thing that at this late Day, cannot be enquired into, as the Archives of the French Government are not to be found in either of the Provinces of Canada, but it is well known that a peaceable and uninterupted Possessions has always followed these Grants from their several Dates up to the Dates hereof, and also that the English Government did always recognize them as good and available in Law not only from the Nature of the Grant itself, but also from the Articles of Capitulation between those Governments, had and entered into at the City of Montreal on the 8th day of September 1760 by which it is expressly stipulated in the 37th Sect that "The Lords of Manors, the Military, and Civil officers, the Canadians as well as the Town, as in the Country the French settled or trading in the whole Extent of the Colony of Canada, and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the entire peaceable Property and Possessions of their Goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, Merchandise and Furrs, and other Effects even their ships, they shall not be touched nor the least Damage done to them on any Pretense whatsoever."

It need hardly be observed, that these Articles of Capitulation having been written originally in the French Language the Word "Immoveable" has a clear and distinct Relation to real Property only, and it has always been so considered, so spoken of and so adjudged in the Courts of Kings-Bench both in upper and lower Canada. Our anxiety however is not so great about the latter Claims, as it is about those where the first Occupancy had been and without any legal authority, or if any, that only which has been given by British Commanding Officers, but which nevertheless from a long and peaceable Possession, urged on us by imperious Necessity, and improvement in many cases made to Five Times the Value of the Land itself, as also by the Second Article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, entered into between the United States, and his Britannic Majesty, wherein express Provision is made, in favor of the Inhabitants then residing within the Limits, and District of Detroit, by which the full and

absolute Possession of their Rights, Privileges, and Property of every Description, is secured to them. From these Reasons we consider we have, if not a legal Right, an equitable Claim to, beyond all contradiction. We have uniformly paid Taxes upon these Lands while we were a component Part of the old North Western Territory; We state it also as an uncontrovertable Fact that, at the Time General Wayne approached this Country with his Army, and when it was seen that, these Posts (from the Ratification of the Treaty) could no longer be withheld, the Settlers upon the River Raisin were offered by the British Government, that if they would withdraw from the Country into the Upper Province of Canada, and burn down and destroy their Houses, Barns, Mills and other Fixtures, they should receive as the Bounty of his Majesty, an equal Quantity of Land there, and that the Destruction of their Property here, and Losses of every Description, should be faithfully re-munerated. We further state that in Opposition to all these Overtures, the Indians were roused by the Inhabitants of this Country, and led to the Treaty of Greenville, when General Wayne pledged the Faith of the Government that, in no Part, of the Tract of Land, that was by the Treaty, ceded to the United States, should the actual Settlers ever be disturbed, but that they would take them under their Wings, and shield their Possessions by the Humanity of their Laws. If all these Considerations when united, are not of themselves as sufficient to quiet us in our Possessions, as an inflexible Title, how sadly will be our Situations, and how great our Dissappointment in that Government that, boasts so much of "equal Right of all."

In fine if the Government of the United States is disposed to deal liberally with us, upon equitable Terms, it is a Thing much wished for, by every Inhabitant of the Territory, and they desire it may be particularly mentioned, and urged, that Commissioners may be appointed here, with plenary Powers to settle definitively and expeditiously all claims to Land in an equitable Manner, for we feel ourselves too much oppressed in our present unhappy situation or that those Powers might be given to the Commissioners, now in Office, with whom we desire our Executive may be united, in all of whom we have the fullest Confidence, that Justice will be done us, and done to the Government, and further that time may be given the Inhabitants to enter and record such Claims as have not yet been entered.

It is also desired that after our Claims are settled, the Indian Title in this Territory may be extinguished and the sales of the United States Lands commence to open to door to Emigration, for without it, we must remain of little Worth to the United States.

We further desire Sir, to Claim from the Government through you some

Support and Relief for the Sufferers by the late Conflagration at Detroit, and also some Appropriation for public Uses, the Necessity of which is too obvious to every Person. Our Government can if they are generously disposed (as we have great Reason to believe on an Occasion like this they certainly will be) without any specific Appropriation relieve the Sufferings of the unfortunate in a great measure, and also make to them a Donation for public Uses, by granting the whole, or a part of the Money arising from the sale of those lots in the New Town of Detroit, which was before a Part of the public Domain, and which perhaps of Right belonged to them.

This Requisition whether accepted to or not, leads us naturally to desire that the Plan of the New Town of Detroit, which has met with the Approbation, and been sanctioned by, all the Inhabitants here, who are in the least Degree interested or affected thereby, and which, undoubtedly, will be laid before the Government for their Approbation, may not be rejected by them, but that their interests, alike with that of the Citizens, will yield and give place to an Accommodation, that cannot fail to insure a more splendid Increase of the Value thereof.

With the Sentiments of the highest Consideration we have the Honour to subscribe ourselves

Your most obedient and most Humble Servants,

ELIJAH BRUSH.
JAMES MAY.
JOHN ANDERSON.

STATEMENT OF THE ACCOUNTS of COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

(No. 17,572.)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Auditor's Office, 20th January, 1806.

I have examined and adjusted the accounts of David Duncan, Collector of the Customs for the District of Michilimackinac, in the Indiana Territory, commencing on the 1st day of January and ending on the 31st day of August, 1805, and find that he stands chargeable with the following sums, viz.:

To balance of his account ending 31st December, 1804, yr's Report, No. 17,128	$35,834 31
" duties on merchandize from 1st of April to 30 June, 1805,	25,506 31

To duties on merchandise from 1st of April to 30 June, for 1805, Mediterranean fund	$3,994 51
" duties on tonnage from 1st of April to 30 June	101 28
" light money collected " "	77 50
" duties on merchandise to 31st August	10,459 36
" " on tonnage to "	99 20
" light money collected to "	72 50
Dollars	$76,144 97

I also find that he is entitled to the following credits, viz.:

By payments to inspectors, etc., from 1st April to June, 1805,	$110 00
" salary to the Collector from 1st January to August, 1805,	167 12
" amount of warrant No. 1 in favor of the Treasurer	3,000 00
" commission on dollars 3,378.47 at 3 per cent	101 35
And that the balance due to the United States on the first day of September, 1805, consisted of cash and uncollected bonds, amounting to	72,766 50
Dollars	$76,144 97

As will appear by the statement and accounts herewith transmitted for the decision of the Comptroller of the Treasury thereon.

R. HARRISON, *Auditor.*

To GABRIEL DURALL, Esquire,
Comptroller of the Treasury.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT MARTIAL.

Proceedings of a Detachment Court Martial held by Order of Major John Whipple at the Council House in Detroit on Sunday the 27th day of December, 1807, for the trial of such persons as may be brought before it. Present,—Captain Harris H. Hickman, President, Lieu't. John Palmer, Lieu't John Wattson, Members.

The Court being duly sworn, proceeded to the trial of Daniel Taylor, a private in Captain Hickman's Company, charged with using abusive language towards Lieu't. John Wattson, when in the execution of his duty. Lieu't. Wattson being sworn according to the law, saith that in commanding

the Second Platoon of Captain Hickman's Company, on their march to the parade ground for roll call at sunset, yesterday, he pressed his sword against the breast of the prisoner (who was one of his platoon, and was advanced ahead of the men on the right) and ordered him to dress by the right, that the reply of the prisoner was "If you strike me in that manner again with your sword, I will run you through," at the same time altering the position of his fire-lock (which was at a shoulder) in a menacing and a contemptnous manner.

The Court having therefore considered the evidence, is of opinion that the prisoner has transgressed the Sixth Article contained in an Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for establishing rules and articles for the Government of the Armies of the United States." By using abusive and disrespectful language to his commanding officer; and the Court doth therefore sentence the prisoner to receive Ten Stripes on his bare back.

HARRIS H. HICKMAN, *President.*
JOHN PALMER.
JOHN WATSON.

Attest:

JOHN PALMER, *Judge Advocate.*

DETROIT, the 27th, December, 1807.

At a Detachment Court Martial, held this day at Detroit, by order of Major John Whipple, commanding, whereof Captain Harris H. Hickman was president, was tried the named Daniel Taylor, a private in Captain Hickman's Company, charged with using abusive language toward Lieutenant John Watson when in the execution of his duty. The Court find the prisoner guilty of the charges exhibited against him and do sentence him under the Sixth Article of "an Act for establishing rules and articles for the Government of the armies of the United States" to receive Ten Stripes on his bare back.

The Commanding Officer confirms and approves of the Sentence of the Court, and orders it to be carried into effect at the evening's roll-call, after which the prisoner will be released and return to his duty.

By order
JOS. WATSON, *Adjutant.*

Any new commissioned officer, musician or private who shall be found to sleep out of their quarters, except by particular permission of the Major

Commanding shall be tried and punished agreeable to the sentence of a Court Martial. Sergeant, John McChesney, is appointed Sergeant-Major of the Detachment under the command of Major John Whipple and will be obeyed and respected as such. The Court Martial, of which Captain Harris H. Hickman was President, is dissolved.

Notes Regarding the Foregoing.

The Troops were in Service to protect the Town against the Indians. Major John Whipple, (who had been a Lieutenant in John Adam's army, in 1798) commanded the Battalion.

Cap'n. Harris Hampdon Hickman married Ann Hull, daughter of Governor Hull. L't. John Palmer was a Patriotic Irishman and died on the River Rouge above 35 years ago.

L't. John Watson went from the Country about 40 years ago and has not since returned. He left children here.

Joseph Watson, the Adjutant, was afterward, during the war of 1812, a Paymaster in U. S. Army. Died at Plattsburg or Burlington about 15 years since.

Detroit, Apr. 26, A. D. 1861.

B. F. H. WETHERELL.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM HULL, GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.

DETROIT, June 11th, 1807.

SIR:—I have received your letter of this day with the communications to Mr. Watson.

From the manner in which you have prepared the business, I am of the opinion, Mr. Watson may proceed to make out the deeds.

In so short a time, I should presume more could not be done.

I either wish to see you or know your opinion, whether the deviation proposed yesterday, would not be a beauty to the Town.

If any change does take place, it is necessary it should be arranged immediately.

I am respectfully, your most obed't Sev't,

WM. HULL.

P. S. I return you Capt. Dyron's letter, and regret that he is not disposed to act in the business. W. H.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOVERNOR WILLIAM HULL AND JUDGE A. B. WOODWARD, OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, AND WILLIAM BROWN, OF DETROIT, JUNE 9, 1807.

The undersigned Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and one of the Judges thereof being a committee of the Governor and Judges to act in the recess of the board, and William Brown, of the city of Detroit, in order to adjust a claim of the said William Brown in the said City, do enter into the following arrangement: deeds shall be made to the said William Brown for lot numbered seven in section numbered one, for lot numbered eight in section same after adjusting the pretensions of Chester Chittenden thereto, with the improvements thereon. lot numbered fifty-nine and lot numbered sixty in section numbered three, and lot numbered forty-six in section numbered seven, and an appropriation shall be made for the said William Brown of one hundred dollars payable from the Detroit fund, and the said William Brown relinquishes all claims under the act of Congress relative to the town both for donation and for old ground as well as for all damages occasioned by the present improvements of the said William Brown in the public street, he to have the materials on his old ground and to remove the same totally on or before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred eight. In Witness Whereof the persons before named have signed this paper the ninth day of June one thousand eight hundred seven.

ASA JONES.

WILLIAM HULL.
A. B. WOODWARD.
WM. BROWN.

LETTERS OF FREDERICK BATES TO A. B. WOODWARD.

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 3, 1806.

SIR—We arrived two days ago, without fatigue or unpleasant occurrence. All Pittsburgh is in commotion. Col. Burr's enterprize appears to be matured for execution, and large stores of provisions are daily loding on board the boats for the supply of his troops in the lower countries. Natchez will be the rendezvous, but their object and destination are altogether unknown, except to those in whom the leaders have thought proper to confide. The most intelligent with whom I have conversed appear to imagine that the army will be composed of about ten thousand chosen men, who will remain in the neighborhood of the Spanish settlements, until a declaration of war, or other political events shall authorize our government to justify

the preparations, and avow them as their own. Most of the young men in this vicinity, respectable by birth, education and property are descending the river. As soon as I am able to ascertain the extent of their equipments, I shall not fail to write you. I settled your account at Cleveland and will give you the receipt on my return.

Will not probably set out for Washington in less than five or six days.

I am respectfully

FR. BATES.

ST. LOUIS, June 18, 1807.

Your letters of the 7th and 14th of March last were some time ago received, and am pleased to find that you still entertain for me that esteem which I once thought I deserved from you.

I received some letters from Michigan on the subject of McDougall's *dis*appointment which led me to believe that I was not treated altogether as I should have been; but I must acknowledge that your letter furnished a better illustration of your conduct in that affair than the interested insinuations of my correspondent.

I will say nothing of this country or of the stormy aspect of its political atmosphere, but refer you generally to Mr. Forsyth, in whose power it will be to give you very accurate informations. But as you may be desirous of knowing something biographically of the several officers of this government, I will just take the liberty of observing that Judge Lucas, whose commission is now eldest, is a civil lawyer, and a man of superior parliamentary information. His wit, his satire, and his agreeable combination of images are surpassed by few. He is a man withall more sternly independent in principle and conduct than most of my acquaintances. If a *slave* approaches him in the tone and attitude of a suppliant, he spurns him from his presence. He is only acceptable to those who know the dignity of their nature, and how to speak the language of freedom. Judge Thrader has a great deal of collected knowledge. He is a Saxon by birth, and was early instructed in French literature—speaks with facility German, English, and French, and is perhaps as accurate a *special pleader* as any in the western country. A stranger would be apt to consider him the presiding judge, so entirely does Judge L. suffer him to be the organ of the opinions of the court.

I can yet say little of Judge Coburn. He arrived during my absence at St. Genevieve, and since my return I have been too constantly employed to cultivate an intimate acquaintance with him.

Should not those impertinences in the Aurora be answered, or are they too

trifling to be regarded? Yet believe me they have an effect on the minds of many. Our Michigan proceedings were censured with some severity at Washington, and some men even of sense and understanding, effected not to be satisfied with them.

I now enclose a paper which ought long since to have been transmitted —the receipt of McGuire.

Accept a repetition of those assurances of respect and esteem, which I have been accustomed to make you.

FR. BATES.

HON. JUDGE WOODWARD.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 20, 1807.

The Hon. Aug. B. Woodward:

SIR—I had the pleasure of receiving by last mail your letter of the 12th of August, and tender you my thanks, for the variety of information which it contained.

The assurance that I possess your esteem and friendship is very grateful to me. To say that those dispositions are now reciprocated, would be less than the truth, for you cannot have forgotten that I gave you mine *in advance.* I admired your genius, was convinced by your reasoning, and espoused your measures with too much precipitation. If I was afterwards abandoned, perhaps my own errors partially contributed to it, and I will now forever dismiss a subject which has been the Parent of so much unpleasant disagreement.

Judge Griffin is now here, and has been the life of our social circles for many weeks past — this our mutual friends tell me — it is impossible that I should personally know it, for I scarcely ever go beyond the threshhold of my office, except on business of indispensable necessity — and sometimes to breathe the pure air of the country.

The Judge and myself have compromised all our personal differences, notwithstanding the efforts of our enemies to bring about an adjustment in "Gentlemanly Style."

We met for several successive days, for the purpose of a conference, in the presence of our mutual friends by whose mediation we at last reconciled all things.

A record of some of my follies under the hand of Mr. May was brought forward in accusation — It certainly did contain some truths — and if there were perversions of some facts, I attribute them to the deafness, and to the handkerchief about the ears of the old gentleman.

The Judge desired me to recall certain exceptionable passages of my letter

— more especially *this*, in my reply to Col. McDougall — That his (the Judge's) letters "were filled with impertinencies." I declined to do this, and the demand was waved, in consideration of the desire which both of us most ardently entertain, that the whole affair might be accommodated. But although I refused to make this recall, as the basis of all adjustment, I should be sorry that Col. McDougall should at any future time, inculcate the impassioned passages of that letter to the injury of the Judge's feelings.

He leaves us for Washington, in a few days, where, or in Virginia, he will pass the Winter.

The escort of the Maudane-chief, commanded by Lt. Pryor, returned with their illustrious charge, a few days ago. Pryor's party has been defeated by the Ricaras, with the loss of four men killed and nine wounded. These savage bands inhabit the south bank of the Missouri 1,400 miles above its junction with the Mississippi. Pryor was a sergeant in L's and C's expedition, and promoted for his faithfulness. An account of this unfortunate miscarriage will probably be published.

Between the Judge and Secretary there is yet harmony. But some wise citizens, who pretend to judge of the future from the present, shrug their shoulders and fortell a storm.

I regret that I gave you those biographical notices in my letter of 18 June. My opportunities of observing their various shades of character have since been very ample. With Judge Lucas I have been continually acquainted at the Board of Commissioners, and united with Judge Shrader and occasionally with Judge Coburn, we have, during the last six months, gone through a regular course of legislation. If these Statutes were complete, they at least wanted the Drapery.

I am fearful Coburn will not settle among us. He can not overcome the reluctance of his family.

The Resolutions of the Democratic Republicans of your town have just reached us. Is there not too great a show of political separation? I fear indeed that your calm is a deceitful one, and that the tumult merely subsided, while the actors are changing the scenes.

We go next month St. Genevieve to decide land clams,—met in the van, I followed in the rear by the———, not of the *People*, but by a powerful Band of Speculators. We have a dreary circuit of 1,000 miles at least for next Spring and Summer, unless our letters patent are revoked before that time. In that event I must practice law. Judge Griffin has granted me license for Michigan, by Winter I can gain admission in Louisiana. With my best wishes for your health and happiness, accept assurance of sincere friendship.

FREDERICK BATES.

ST. LOUIS, February 23d, 1808.

SIR:—Mr. LaCroix tells me that he accompanied you to river Raisin where it was probable you would reside for a few months. I am not at all surprised that you should find such a relaxation necessary, from labors, to which stoicism itself, would appear to be unequal.

It has given me much pain to see, in the public print, the absurd accusations made by the malcontents of Michigan against Governor Hull and yourself.

The President will not, I hope, be misled by such clamour. But when it once became fashionable to institute an enquiry in the House of Representatives on every common and slight occasion, it may be the fate of the best man in society to suffer persecution. Baseness and fraud may arraign Integrity and Honor—and there may be found persons in that illustrious body easily prevailed upon to give the most virtuous and upright public officer a great deal of unnecessary trouble in the manifestation of that innocence which ought never to have been questioned.

The Representatives of the People "are wide awake" to the abuses of the public agents, and in their zeal to correct the wrong, it is sometimes possible for them to launch their thunder at those who have deserved well of their country. I became convinced of *this* last winter, in this city. The complaints from Detroit had already made an impression even on the minds of the President and the heads of the departments. Some of the members of Congress mentioned something about impeachment &c., and it was in vain that I attempted a vindication of some of those acts to which I found the seal of reprobation had already been affixed. Pardon this language; I was equally vindicated with yourself (as we for the most part concurred in sentiment) tho' to you, was almost exclusively confined the credit of *projection.*

I believe an enquiry at this moment would be greatly to your advantage. An *impeachment* would establish your name and character throughout the Union. A glorious opportunity would be thereby afforded you, of silencing forever those silly calumniators, who have endeavored to render either suspicious or criminal, all your efforts for the promotion of the public interest.

The fervor of our Louisiana Factions have very much subsided and altho' I ought not to attribute it solely to my exertions, yet it is certain that I have not been altogether unsuceessful in my attempt to *moderate* and to *reconcile.*

Governor Wilkinson had given the public mind a violent impulse. Party had been arrayed against Party, and scarcely an individual in the community escaped the imputation of some infamous crime. It is shocking to look at the picture which the Records of those times exhibit—but those times

have passed away, and the prospect before us will be ample indemnification for past sufferings. If ever you change your residence come to Louisiana. It is a country of vast internal resources, and is rising into wealth and respectability, notwitstanding every political discouragement.

Receive assurances of lasting respect and friendship,

FREDERICK BATES.

HON. AUGUSTUS B. WOODWARD, Detroit.

ST. LOUIS, March 26th, 1808.

SIR:—The last mail brought me your very acceptable favor of the 23d of January.

I lament that any remark of mine should have occasioned the trouble which you have taken. The detection of Lagnau's fraud was fortunate. The absence of one individual of a Board, employed in the transaction of such complex business, especially when regular records are not kept of its proceedings, opens a convenient back-door for the admission of fraudulent pretensions; and I have no doubt that others besides Mr. Lagnau have endeavored to squeeze through it. I wish you could lay your hand, from which the guilty are accustomed to *shrink*, on every rascal of them.

You do me a *justice*, for *which*, as justice is so rare in this world, I *thank* you, in supposing that had I been present, I should have been equally prompt with yourself in exposing the imposition. I should have regretted extremely that the eloquence of your Hon. Associate should have "*borne me out*" in an imposition on the public, which he well knows, or ought to know, it never could have been my design to sanction.

Let us put these cross "brats" to sleep. Their bawlings have given us all sufficient vexation. May their repose be the repose of the grave; their sleep, the sleep of death. If they are ever resuscitated, it will not be I who disturb their Manes. Can it be possible that you are coolly resolved to drag out your existence at Detroit? Will you not, one day, be an inhabitant of Louisiana? Where all unsouthern gentry will bring their negroes, as they cannot take them to the other territories; and where, to greater advantage than in any part of the United States, infant establishments may be made, which will increase and mature with the population and opulence of the country?

I implore you to discard those biographical babblings which I sent you last year. They were the bastard offspring of *Ignorance*, begotten on *Mistake*, and fostered by *Credulity*, until the waywardness of the youths betrayed the illegitimacy of their origin. *I now know those honorable gentlemen better.*

Twice to the nursery, as I live, for metaphors and illustrations; for swathing clothes, with which to dress up my poor ideas. An inference of *dotage*, I am well aware, might be fairly drawn, but I know my learned and indulgent friend will excuse these negligences. We have some sapient people west of the Mississippi, so knowing and so *fore*-knowing that I am almost ready to prate like a parrot or bray like an ass, in order fairly to confess the inferiority of my nature. If they would be satisfied with my assuming the *bib* and the *pap-spoon* I should be grateful. You do not understand these oracles. An amplified interpretation shall be given at a future time.

James Abbot, my agent, has been requested to take charge of whatever property I might have left at Detroit. Will you have the goodness to inform him, by a servant, of the articles which you deposited with McClosky?

Those assurances of regard which you have "laid at my feet," I gather from the dust, and preserve in my bosom; and have the honor to tender you in return respect for your worth, esteem for your virtues, and a very hearty reciprocation of that friendship with which you are pleased to favor me.

FREDERICK BATES.

HON. A. B. WOODWARD.

LETTER GIVING SKETCH OF FREDERICK BATES.

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 10, 1859.

C. I. WALKER, *Cor. Sec. of the Histl. Society, Detroit, Michigan.*

DEAR SIR:—I am honored with your letter of the 3d inst., enquiring after Frederick Bates.

You are right in conjecturing that he was my relative. He was my elder brother, the third of the seven sons of Thomas Fleming Bates, of Belmont, Goochland County, Virginia; and I am the last of the seven sons (and five daughters) all of whom lived to mature age. Our father was bred a merchant, but was driven from trade and pretty much broken up by the War of the Revolution. He was a Quaker until he forfeited his membership in the "Society of Friends" by bearing arms against the King at the siege of York. Though not absolutely poor, he was not able, in those hard times, (just after the Revolution) to give his sons collegiate education. Frederick, (like the rest of the elder sons) was well taught in the rudiments, and disciplined to study and work. At sixteen or seventeen, he was apprenticed to a Court Clerk for the double purpose of supporting himself by doing the practical duties of the place, and of studying law—intending thus, to go

through the Clerk's office to the bar, as was then very common in Virginia.

About the year 1795, I think, (at all events, it was before my recollection, and I was born in the fall of '93) he got some employment in the Quartermaster's Department of the Army of the Northwest, and left home for the frontier. Detroit was his chief point—called home—but he often went on business, to the outposts, Mackinac and others. He never considered that employment as permanent business, but intended to return, as soon as he was able, to the study and practice of his profession. In a few years he made a little capital, and went into trade, as a store keeper in Detroit, diligently using his spare time in refreshing and extending his law study. He made some money, as a merchant, but lost the greater part of it by fire, which consumed his house and goods.

That, I think, was the lucky turn of his life, for it gave him a fair occasion, and almost forced him, to quit a business which suited neither his tastes nor his talents. He had a large experience in the character and business of the frontier, and was with all, a pretty well read (though not practically) lawyer, and was about to go into the profession. At that time, Jefferson was President and Madison Secretary of State, and both were friends of our family. Frederick was appointed a Judge of the Territorial Court and a Land Commissioner. How he executed the duties of those offices I never knew, but suppose to the satisfaction of his superiors, for in 1806 or 7, being in Washington to make report of the Land Board, he was pressed into the service for Upper Louisiana and transferred, against his will, from Detroit to St. Louis. In lieu of his Michigan offices of Judge and Land Commissioner, he received here, the offices (deemed equivalent) of Secretary of the Territory and U. S. Reporter of Land Titles.

These offices he held for many years, by successive appointments under Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. The Secretaryship died out with the Territory, in 1820, when the State formed itself. New States then went into operation as soon as they were made, without waiting for Congress to tell them whether they had or had not a Constitution. And he continued to hold the Recordership, until, in 1824, he was elected Governor (the second Governor) of the State of Missouri.

He died in office in 1825, leaving a widow and several children, and a reputation without a stain. Born June 23, 1777; died August 4, 1825.

The opposition of Frederick Bates's transfer from Michigan to Missouri was, as I have heard, this: Governor Lewis, who was appointed, less for his civil and political qualifications, than for his good services in leading the exploring party to the Pacific, spent most of his time abroad, so that the Secretary was, very often, *de facto* Governor. At that time, Dr. Browne

was Secretary, and although personally, an unexceptionable gentleman, he was a relative of Col. Burr, and, for that reason, was thought at Washington, to be an unsafe man. My brother felt a strong repugnance, on a point of feeling and delicacy to supersede Dr. Browne, but he was told by both the President and Secretary of State, that Dr. B.'s removal was resolved upon, and that they must have a man of Louisiana, at that juncture, above all suspicions of undue bias.

F. B. was a man naturally of good parts, far above mediocrity, and by life long practice, methodical and exact in business. A constant and observant reader, well versed in the English classics; not ignorant of French literature; and a good historian of all times. He was no public speaker, having never practiced, but his powers of conversation were somewhat remarkable—fluent always, sometimes brilliant, and generally, at once, attractive and instructive. He was a very ready writer, using some diversity of style, but generally clear, terse and pungent.

His habits were very retired, perhaps censurable recluse. His friendships few, but strong and abiding. At Detroit, he was intimate with Governor Hull, who had shown him courtesy and kindness, at a time when courtesy and kindness were solid benefits to a young and unpracticed stranger. He never forgot it; never afterwards spoke of that unhappy man without poignant sorrow for his disgraceful fall.

I write you these things, sir, about my deceased brother, because they seem to me responsive to your inquiries, yet fully conscious that I write under the strong bias of brotherly respect and love, and therefore well aware that you will take my favorable views of his character, with some grains of allowance. I remain Sir, Most Respectfully,

Your Obt. Servt.,

EDW'D BATES.

LETTER FROM A. B. WOODWARD TO JOHN GRIFFIN.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1809.

The bill for the division of the Indiana Territory has passed the house of Representatives. The new Territory is called Illinoia, or Illinois, I am not certain which. Kaskaskias is the seat of government. Mr. Thomas is generally spoken of as governor. Your name has been mentioned. It has been suggested to me that mine has also been. No doubt others are in contemplation that I have not heard mentioned. I feel, however, individually confident that the bill will be arrested in the Senate. I am not myself a friend to the division of that Territory, and particularly at this time.

I feel gratified with the firmness at length manifested by the inhabitants of your City. A more steady executive would have made a powerful difference in the state of affairs. Turbulence, vexation, and fickleness are too often the concomitants of those who wear the sword, not with the holy enthusiasm of defending liberty, but from the minor passion of military éclat.

Remember me with affection to my various friends.

I cannot exactly state to you at this time the period of my return. My delay may be somewhat longer than would be consistent with my happiness. The pleasure of the imagination in turning my recollection to my friends with you, must now be substituted for the enjoyment of the reality.

Accept the reiterated assurance of my respect and esteem.

A. B. WOODWARD.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR HULL TO JUDGE WETHERELL.

DETROIT, 25 Feb'ry, 1809.

JUDGE WETHERELL—My highly esteemed friend:—Your letter of this day has excited sensation which I more strongly feel than I can express. The event which has lately taken place and to which you allude, I can say with sincerity, was unthought of by me. I should have been perfectly satisfied to have remained in my present situation. A great part of my life has been devoted to the service of my country, and the idea of shrinking from any duty to which I am called, is incompatible with my feelings. Your appointment as one of my associates in the Government, I have considered a most fortunate event, and it certainly is one of the strongest circumstances that would induce me to continue. On whom my mantle will fall is entirely unknown to me. I hope merit alone will influence the appointment, and every wish of your heart may be gratified. That you may continue here and proceed as you have commenced is the sincere wish of my heart. You may be assured that if I should have any influence in the arrangements of the Territory, I am decidedly of the opinion, that I could not exert it more beneficially for the Country, than by pointing you out as a leading character.

It is only necessary to know what you have done, during the short time you have been here, to determine what you are capable of doing. Situated as I am, I can only make general remarks. Those remarks I can assure you, are founded in sincerity. At this late moment I have one request to make of you. Among all our laws, nothing has been done to promote the educa-

tion of children. I am not willing to leave the Territory without warm provisions on that subject. Will you devote your mind to the subject and prepare a law, to-morrow for the purpose. Under the circumstances of the Country, I should think it would be expedient for the district Courts to be authorized and required to raise the necessary funds, and make the regulations in their districts. Excuse this liberty and believe me to be

Sincerely your Friend,

W. HULL.

HON'BLE JUDGE WETHERELL.

GOV. HULL'S ADDRESS TO THE INDIANS.

His Excellency Gov'r Wm. Hull's Speech to the Ottawa and Chippewa Nations of Indians at Michilimackinac this 28th day of August, 1809.

MY CHILDREN. To meet you in the Country where you live and where your Fathers and former Chiefs dwelt before you, is a great satisfaction to me.

Second:—

MY CHILDREN. I have for a long time wished to visit you. I am now gratified and sincerely hope my visit may be useful to you.

Third:—

MY CHILDREN. I salute you in the name of our Great Father, the President of the United States, and I present to you and to all our Red Brethren the assurances of his Friendship and his disposition to do all in his power to promote your wellfare.

Fourth:—

MY CHILDREN. My object in visiting you is not to ask you to sell your lands but to protect you in the Peaceable Enjoymeut of them. If any white man has made encroachments on you, inform me and he shall be removed. If any white man has done you an Injury inform me and you shall be redressed. If indeed in our intercourse with you, you have any complaints, let them be known and Justice shall be done you. Your Father will protect you in all your rights; he will suffer no white man to go into your Country without his permission. He will suffer no white man to purchase your lands. Because he might aake advantage of your situation, and defraud you of the value. He never will purchase them himself unless you desire it, or it should appear to be evidently for your benefit.

Fifth:—

MY CHILDREN. As an evidence of the Friendship and Benevolence of

your great Father he has directed me to present to you in his name some valuable presents, medal bearing his Image for your Chiefs, and American Flags to be displayed in your villages. The medals you will respect as evidences of the authority of your Chiefs, and they will consider them as pledges of their Fidelity to our country. When you see the Flags displayed in your villages you will remember the Hand that presented them and the duties you owe to the Country and Government they represent.

I shall likewise present to you implements of husbandry to cultivate your lands, powder and lead for your hunting and clothing to warm you when cold.

Sixth:—

MY CHILDREN. Listen thou to the counsel which I am instructed by your Great Father to give you; live in peace and friendship with one another; be just in all your dealings; preserve order in your villages; be industrious in cultivating your lands and, above all things, avoid the immoderate use of whisky as the evil which most easily besets you.

Seventh:—

MY CHILDREN. It is both our mutual duty and interest to brighten and strengthen the chain of friendship; we live together on the same land and travel on the same waters; we are connected by ties mutually beneficial; we are under the care of the same kind Providence; the same sunarises to cheer and to lighten us by day aud the same moon to dispel the darkness of the night. The Great Spirit who sees all our actions and knows all our thoughts will be pleased if we are friends and angry if we are enemies.

Eighth:—

MY CHILDREN. At the head of our council Fire stands your Great Father, the President; he is taking you under the arms of his great protection; if you are dutiful children and listen to his counsels you will be safe and happy. He wishes to see you live quietly on the land which is descended to you from your Fathers.

Ninth:—

MY CHILDREN. Your Great Father has ordered me to light a council Fire at this place and to inquire into your situation. He is anxious for your welfare and desirous of promoting it. Guided by his advice and encouraged by his assistance, many of your brethren to the South have changed their habits of life and instead of making hunting, fishing and idlenesss their principal pursuits are now attending to the cultivation of the land. I really wish you could see their situation, because I think you could be induced to follow their example. They are warmly clothed, they live in

comfortable houses, their barns are filled with the produce of the earth and they possess all necessaries, and indeed the comforts of life. It is not my intention, situated as you are, to discourage you from hunting and fishing; you ought not, however, to make them your entire dependence. In the chase you know how often you are disappointed and how much you suffer when you have no other means of subsistence. Cultivate the Earth, and you are as sure of produce as you are that the seasons revolve.

Your Father has the same desire to assist you as your southern brethren. If you desire it he will furnish you with plows and other implements of husbandry and teach you the use of them. Your lands are fertile and only want the hand of culture.

Tenth:—

MY CHILDREN. Let me intreat you by the love I bear you and the desire I feel to see you comfortable and happy to change your pursuits. Attend more to the cultivation of the land and you may be assured I will represent your wishes to the Great and Good Father and you may be confident of his assistance.

Eleventh:—

MY CHILDREN. It is painful to me to call to your minds the calamities you have suffered in your visits to the man of one of your nations, who calls himself a prophet. When I mention the subject, I see in your countenances indignation and resentment. Vast numbers in their ridiculous pilgrimages have died with fatigue and hunger, and those who survived have only returned to tell their sufferings and show their poverty and negligence. It is to be hoped the miseries you have suffered will be a warning to you in future, and that in all your concerns your conduct will be governed by reason and judgment.

Twelfth:—

MY CHILDREN. I am not insensible of your former connection with the British government. I fear you have too long continued under their influence, without duly considering the change in yonr situation. While that nation was in possession of the Country where you live, it was proper for you to listen to their counsels and consider the King as your Father. That nation has relinquished all claim to the Country where you reside and it is now a part of the United States and under their jurisdiction. You now, therefore, belong to the American Family.

Thirteenth:—

MY CHILDREN. While I do not object to your occasional visits to them, and acceptance of their hospitality and kindness, it is my duty to inform

you that in your national concerns you are not to listen to their councils, both your duty and interest will lead you to listen to this advice; your duty because you live in our Country; your interest because we are the only nation that can afford you protection, and we offer it to you without any sacrifice on your part. Has this been your situation heretofore, while you was under the protection of the British Government. Some of you now living can show the Scars you have received in wars in which you have had no interest, and the country is covered with the bones of your Fathers who were sacrificed in those wars. Trifles and gewgaws have been the only consideration for the best Blood of your Nations.

Fourteenth:—

MY CHILDREN. We are in peace and friendship with that nation and all mankind. We hope to continue so. If however contrary to our wishes, we should hereafter be involved in war with any nation, the policy of your American Fathers towards you will be different from that to which you have been accustomed. In such an event you will listen to his Council alone. He has directed me to inform you that you are to take no part in quarrels that do not concern you, to remain quite at your villages. He does not wish you to waste your blood in fighting his battles. He is strong enough to fight them without your assistance. He warns you, however, in the most solemn manner to take no part against him. He informs you of the consequences of such conduct that if any of his Red Children should be so lost to their duty as to take up the hatchet against him, he will exterminate them from the country and they shall never again reside on the land which covers the bones of their Fathers. I have considered it my duty to make this representation, that you may warn your young, inconsiderate warriors of the dreadful consequences of violating the duty they owe to the Government which is willing, and which is alone able to protect them.

Fifteenth:—

MY CHILDREN. I have only one subject more to communicate to you. The nations to which you belong extend over a large tract of country and you can have little communication with each other. You have made several treaties with the United States. Those Annuities have heretofore been delivered at Detroit and many of you have received no proportion of them. Indeed your brethren to the Southward say the Annuities are given for lands on which they resided; That you have sold none to the Northward and they consider themselves as entitled to the consideration. They say that this Island, the Island of Bois Blanch, and a small tract on the Strait between lake Huron and Michigan are all which have been ceded in this part of the

country; that these lands formed no part of the consideration because the land between the two lakes had been ceded to the French Government, and this Island to the British Government and the Island of Bois Blanch was a voluntary gift on your part; you will undoubtedly say that you are a part of the nations—that all the lands belonged to the nation, are held in common and undivided, and the treaties provided that the consideration shall be paid to the nations. Your Great Father wishes to do Equal Justice to all of you. Any just and satisfactory agreement in respect to a distribution of the Annuities, which you will make yourselves, will be approved and carried into effect by your Father, the President.

I have no more to say at present. When you desire to speak to me my ears will be open.

THE DETROIT BANK.

Petition for a Bank. Filed on Saturday, 6th September, 1806. Dated, March 31, 1806.

To His Excellency the Governor and the Honourable Judges invested with the Legislative authority in the Territory of Michigan. Boston, the thirty-first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred Six.

The Petition of Russel Sturgis, Henry Bass, Jr., Benjamin Wheeler, Samuel Coverly, Nathaniel Parker and their associates respectfully sheweth:

That whereas they have for several years been largely interested in prosecuting the peltry trade in the District of Michigan: and whereas they have experienced great hazard and inconvenience in the transmission of specie to so great a distance: your Petitioners beg leave to represent to his Excellency the Governor and Honourable Judges of said Territorial District, that the rapid improvements and flourishing state of the Territory of Michigan, has induced them to extend their trade and connections more largely in said District, and in their opinion the extention of commerce, the facility of transportation and remittance, the incouragement of agriculture, of emigration and a laudable spirit of enterprize, with many other purposes as well as private advantages would be greatly promoted by an Office of Discount and Deposit at the capital of said District, your Petitioners therefore fervently pray his Excellency the Governor and Honourable Judges to grant them and their associates an act of incorporation for the purpose of establishing a

Bank at Detroit, to consist of a Capital not less than Eighty nor more than Four hundred thousand dollars; and as in duty bound will ever pray.

RUSSELL STURGIS,
HENRY BASS, JR.,
BENJAMIN WHEELER,
SAMUEL COVERLY,
NATHANIEL PARKER,
BARZILLAI HOMES.

BOSTON, June 17, 1807.

SIR—This letter will be delivered by my father, Andrew Dexter, Esq., and my brother, Samuel Dexter Esq. They are authorized to coöperate with you, in such place for establishing the Detroit Bank, on proper principles as may be deemed most beneficial and proper. Any civilities shown them will oblige, Sir, with much respect,

Your obedient Servant,

Judge Woodward. ANDREW DEXTER, JR.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That William Flannigan of Boston in the county of Suffolk and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Gent'n and Russell Sturgis, Samuel Coverly, Nathaniel Parker, Benjamin Wheeler, Sam'l Sturgis, Samuel Spear, David S. Eaton, Eliphalet Williams, Dudley S. Bradstreet, George Odurne, Barzillai Homes, Henry Bass, Jr., all of Boston in aforesaid Massachusetts, are holden and stand firmly bound and obliged unto the President, Directors and Company of the Bank which is contemplated to be established at Detroit in the Territory of Michigan by the name of the Detroit Bank, and shall be binding on the parties hereto from the time said Bank shall make the first Discount in the full and just sum of fifteen thousand dollars to be paid unto the said President, Directors and Company or their successors; To the which payment, well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, in proportion to the shares we may own in said Bank firmly by these presents. WITNESS our hands and seals. Dated the twenty-seventh day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six. Now the condition of this obligation is such that Whereas the said William Flanigan has been nominated and has agreed upon condition of his election by the President, Directors of said Bank to the Office of Cashier thereof to accept of the same and to proceed to Detroit with all convenient dispatch for that pur-

pose. Now therefore if the said William Flanigan is elected Cashier of said Bank and shall during his continuance in said office of Cashier, and in case of his resignation, until such resignation is accepted by the President and Directors or their successors, conduct himself with fidelity and faithfully perform all trusts which now are, or may hereafter be, assigned him by said President and Directors, and permit no loss to arise through his inattention or neglect, except that he shall not be answerable for counterfiet bills, due care being always exercised and shall at all times whenever requested thereto, by the President and Directors, or their respective Successors, account for all monies, bonds, notes and other securities, books and papers whatsoever of which he, the said William Flanigan, shall have the custody in his capacity as aforesaid, and shall pay over and deliver up the same to the said President and Directors or to their respective Successors on demand, then this obligation shall be void, otherwise shall be in full force.

Signed, sealed and Delivered in presence of
SAM'L WILLIAMS, JR,
N. C. BETTON.

SAMUEL COVERLY.
NATH'L PARKER.
BENJ. WHEELER.
SAMUEL STURGIS.
DAVID S. EATON.
ELIPHALET WILLIAMS.
DUDLEY S. BRADSTREET.
GEO. ODURNE.
BARZILLAI HOMES.
HENRY BASS, JR.

DETROIT BANK.

Dols. 2. No. 39.

Be it known, That Agustus B. Woodward hath paid the first Instalment on one share in the stock of the DETROIT BANK, originally belonging to himself, transferable by endorsement in the presence of any magistrate in the United States and two witnesses, and delivering this certificate to the transferee; subject however to any future installments becoming payable on said shares agreeably to the laws and regulations of said Corporation.

Detroit, October 11th, 1806.

A. B. WOODWARD, *President.*

WM. FLANIGAN, *Cashier.*

NEW YORK, NOV. 18, 1806.

DEAR SIR:—I wrote you from Albany, ye 7, inst, stating Mr. Riley's declining to take any shares in the Detroit Bank, &c. I now have to add

that Mr. Astor has also declined, but he expresses much friendship for your attention &c. Our Fur Business, I think will ultimately succeed. And the success of our Bank is undoubted. I am sorry to add that it will be impossible for me to have the honor to call on Mr. Jay. But I have called on Mr. Barry & Mr. Laight, for a few moments, the short stay I make here not allowing the time I could wish for further acquaintance, however I have to acknowledge their politeness & attention. And for the letters you favored me with, as well as for your friendship and attention while at Detroit, I wish you to accept the sincere thanks, of your most Obt.

& humble Servant,

NATH'L. PARKER.

Hon'ble. Agustus B. Woodward, Esq.

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of State, dated 8th December, 1806. [Dated on the outside, April 28, 1806.]

"Having occasion to use the laws of the Michigan Territory passed since the reassembling the governor and judges this summer, and particularly the law respecting the erection of a bank.

"I request you to be pleased to cause copies to be forwarded, as soon as convenient."

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed), "JAMES MADISON."

GOVERNOR HULL.

Hon. A. B. Woodward, City of Detroit:

SIR:—By this day's mail I received from a respectable gentleman of Philadelphia three several Detroit bank bills, signed by yourself as President, and amounting in all to the sum of twenty dollars. This gentleman has directed me in the most positive terms to institute a suit against you as President on said bills, but, sir, presumed that you will feel disposed to pay this amount without this mode of proceeding on my part, which could certainly not but be disagreeable and disadvantageous to you, and I am convinced would be peculiarly painful to me. I have preferred to apprize you of these instructions. By favoring me with an answer on this subject before the return mail.

You will much oblige, sir,

Y. O. H. S.,

JOS. WATSON.

A list of the original Certificates of the Stock of the Detroit Bank, now transferred to Andrew Dexter Junior Esquire of Boston.

The following are the names of the persons to whom the Certificates were first issued:

Francis L. Barrow	10	Shares.
James and John M'Gregor	5	"
James May	46	"
John Griffin	10	"
Solomon Sibley	100	"
James Henry	100	"
Sam'l T. Dyson	10	"
William Hull	5	"
William Brown	50	"
Elijah Brush	100	"
Rich'd Pattinson	5	"
Hugh R. Martin	5	"
William Gilkinson	2	"
William Flanigan	250	"
Rob't & Ja's Abbot	10	"
Jon'a. Eastman	10	"
Territory Michigan	10	"
Dudley S. Bradstreet	3100	"
Benj'n Wheeler	200	"
Henry Bass, Jr.	120	"
Barzillai Homes	130	"
George Odiorne	200	"
Sam'l Coverly	200	"
Nath'l Parker	3957	"
Andrew Dexter, Jr.	1000	"
Dudley S. Bradstreet	300	"
Geo. Odiorne	50	"
Henry B. Breevoort	10	"
Wm. M'Dowell Scott	1	"
Gabriel Godfroy, Jr.	1	"
James & Francis Lassette	2	"
	9999	"
Out standing in the name of A. B. Woodward	1	"
	10000	"

DETROIT, March 23, 1809.

I certify the above to be a correct statement. All the original certificates, except for three hundred fifty-one shares, being in my possession and the persons to whom they were issued, except in the case of A. B. Woodward, have certified by letter that they had transferred the same to the said A. Dexter, Junior.

W. FLANIGAN,

Who has acted as Cashier from the commencement of the Bank to the present time.

I certify that I have examined the above list with the original Certificates and Letters and I find the same to be in conformity with the aforewritten certificate signed by William Flanigan, late Cashier of the Detroit Bank.

By order of the Commissioners under the Act of Congress of the 21st, April, 1806. JOS. WATSON,

Secretary.

Extract from "An Act for the Punishment of Crimes and Misdemeanors."

SEC. 27. "And Be it enacted That if any person or number of persons, Society, or Company of men, within this Territory, without authority and license first had and obtained from the Legislative Authority, thereof, shall strike, emit, or put into Circulation, any bills of Credit, or notes on any fund, or Credit of any person or persons, Society, or Company, to be passed and used as a general Currency, or medium of trade, traffick or commerce in lieu of money, (other than promisory notes of hand, and bills of exchange); every person herein offending, on conviction thereof, shall forfeit, treble the nominal value of bills or notes, so emitted, or put into circulation. One-third paid to him, her or them who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect; and the other two-thirds to the Treasury of the District in which such conviction shall be had."

SEC. 28. "And Be it enacted That if any person or persons within this Territory shall utter, vend or pass bills, or notes or other Currencies whatever, which either have been, or which shall hereafter be, struck, or emitted, or put into Circulation, to be passed and used as general Currency, or medium of trade, traffick, or Commerce in lieu of money as mentioned in the last pending section on the fund or credit of any person or persons, or private Society, or Company, either of this Territory or of the United States, or Territory thereof; shall forfeit double the value expressed in such bill, or note or other currency, the one moity, to him, her or them who shall sue for, and prosecute the same to effect; and the other moity to the Treasury of the District in which the conviction shall be had."

The Honorable, the Legislative Board for the Territory of Michigan:

The undersigned having the agency of the private concerns of the Detroit bank, feeling a disposition to use all laudable means to promote the usefulness, as well as its continuance, without desiring to promote private interest, at the expense of public good, have taken some small pains to ascertain the state of the minds of the inhabitants of Detroit (as will appear from the endorsed subscription paper) with respect to the propriety of continuing and suffering to go on as formerly without restraint.

The undersigned having no knowledge that anything improper has taken place, hitherto, in conducting the affairs of the bank, cannot but express a hope that the board, after weighing the subject once more, would be inclined to look upon it with a more favorable eye. For a time may come, indeed it is by no means improbable but it will arrive, when its utility will be acknowledged by all. But if the Government restrain it, or suffer the restraint they have placed upon it, to remain, it must sooner or later cease to have a being, and the extinguishment will act as a discouragement to all future enterprise of this kind.

Mr. Adam Smith says somewhere in his book (I. P. 256.) that "To restrain private people, it may be said, from receiving in payment the promissory notes of a banker, for any sum, whether great or small, when they themselves are willing to receive them, or, to restrain a banker from issuing such notes, when all his neighbors are willing to accept them, is a manifest violation of that natural liberty which it is the proper business of law not to infest but to support.

The undersigned cannot possibly see any impropriety in the Government's suffering the affairs of the bank to go on as usual, nor do they conceive that in so doing any greater share of liberality will be extended to it, or to them, than they are deserving of. They are, however, fearful that it my seem a little out of order to present this address at this time. They certainly would have done it at an earlier period, were they not in serious doubt with respect to the course the board might pursue. But as it is, they conceive it is now in the power of the board to grant relief, and they most respectfully request it.

They, therefore, move the board to reconsider the Act for the Punishment of Crimes and Misdemeanors, and to strike out the two sections that have a bearing on the bank.

JAS. HENRY, *President.*
WM. BROWN, *Director.*
W. FLANIGAN, *Cashier.*

Detroit, Dec. 12, 1808.

LETTER FROM GEO. MC DOUGALL TO GOVERNOR HULL.

DETROIT, the 13th June, 1806.

His Excellency Gov. Hull:

SIR:—Having been nominated by the officers of the Second Regiment of militia to deliver you a Congratulatory Address on your safe return to this country.

I am really sorry, owing to some difference with Colonel Brush and from principles of consistency, that I cannot have the honor of paying you my devoirs at his house.

Your Excellency will confer an obligation on me by nominating some other place I can have the pleasure of reiterating to you the assurances of my personal regard and respect.

I have the honor to remain,

Your Excellency's obedient and most humble servant,

GEO. MCDOUGALL.

TRANSLATION OF THE PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COAST OF THE POWTOWATOMIES, PRESENTED TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MICHIGAN ON THE 12TH DECEMBER, 1806.

At a meeting of the principal Citizens, freeholders of the Coast of the Potawatomies, held at the house of Messrs. Jaques & Francois Lasalle, on Tuesday, the 9th day of December, 1806,

Rssolved. That a committee be appointed to join the committees of other districts, to frame a petition to his Excellency, the Governor, and to our legislature on the following Subjects.

Resolved, That we shall demand of the Legislature to continue our ancient laws of the Northwest and Indiana, in establishing our Courts of Common Pleas and quarter Sessions, in order that the Supreme Court may be held by three Judges and no less than two, according to the Ordinance of Congress of the 13th July, 1787, which is our Constitution; and particularly, that the Supreme Court be held agreeable to the law of the Territory, which says "that there will be but one term for the Supreme Court, which shall be held on the third Monday in September of each year, (and not every two months) and that special Court shall be held, when two of the said Judges shall deem it necessary." And we think that those special Courts ought not to be held but in cases of atrocious crimes and not for suits between individuals: that the Court of Quarter Sessions do appoint Commissioners

chosen amongst the people for the levying of our taxes, agreeable to the law approved at Cincinnati the 19th, December, 1799, entitled "An Act to regulate County Levies." Which said Commissioner shall make an estimate of the taxes necessary for each year, but not to be levied until approved by the Court of Quarter Sessions and by the Grand Jurors of said Court. We find it very lamentable to us that now a freeholder, for the smallest sum under twenty dollars, is taken by a capias as a criminal, and that execution follows immediately; whereas by our ancient laws we were all summoned, and execution could not be had but three or six months after judgement.

Resolved, that in the adoption of laws, for the Territory, one whole law be adopted of one State only, at a time, and not in part, and of several States in one section, such as they are now.

Resolved, that the ten thousand acres of land given by Congress for the construction of public edifices at Detroit, be a fund separated from Territorial taxes and that the twenty thousand dollars of our money appropriated by the Legislature for that object, do not suit the present circumstances of Detroit, and that the spot chosen by the Legislature in the big square, for the construction of the public edifices, is not convenient as being too far distant from the town.

We demand that the oath of the Grand Jurors be administered as formerly and that each citizen be not obliged to serve as a Grand Juror, but in his turn, and not for a whole year, which is very hurtful to the interest of each private individual.

Resolved, that if the legislature do not redress, our grievances immediately, we shall be obliged to appeal to Congress.

Resolved, that Elijah Brush, Gabriel Godfroy, and Jacob Visger, Esq., be the said committee.

For a true copy of the proceedings.

(Signed) J. LASSALLE.

TRANSLATION OF A COPY OF THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL FREEHOLDERS OF THE NORTHEAST COAST, PRESENTED TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MICHIGAN BY GEORGE MC DOUGALL ON THE TWELFTH DAY OF DECEMBER, ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED SIX, AND FILED.

At a meeting of the principle freeholders of the Northeast Coast of Detroit, held at the house of Joseph Campeau, Esq., on Monday, the 8th of December, 1806, to take into consideration the actual Situation to which are

reduced the Citizens of Michigan in consequence of the ill-intended proceedings of Judge Woodward in the establishing, and in the proceedings in our several Courts of Justice; it has been determined that enquiries should be made into his official conduct from his arrival to this country; because the System which he has introduced both in the formation of our laws, and in the mode of the executions of Justice, and also in the administration of his other offices, he has begun a partial project, which injures and will reduce to Misery all the Inhabitants of the said Territory in throwing all the advantages on the side of the Speculators, if no opposition is made thereto. After having heard the translation of the Ordinance of Congress respecting the Government of this Territory, with respect to the appointing these territorial Judges, their powers and qualifications, and after having maturately deliberated on the motive of their meeting.

First:—Resolved unanimously that a committee of three be nominated by this meeting to make inquiries and to report to the citizens as soon as possible on the subjects above mentioned, which committee shall unite and communicate with other committees which may be nominated for that object by the citizens of Detroit, of the Poutowatamis Coast, of River aux Raisins, and of River St. Clair.

Second:—Resolved also unanimously that Joseph Campeau, John Williams and George McDougall, Esqs., be the said committee.

Resolved also, that this meeting contemplates with sensations of great regret that instead of the privileges which the people enjoyed under our ancient Territorial laws, the proceeds of our taxes are now expended by our Government themselves, without being accomptable to the citizens in any manner whatsoever; we have great confidence in His Excellency, our Governor, and in the majority of the members of our actual Government, that they will remedy these abuses on our representations and we greatly dread the consequences of the fluctuating and dangerous measures which have always been agitated by Judge Woodward, who makes use of the Territorial money to erect bridges behind the City of Detroit, and to digg wells and make pumps on the domain for the animals of the woods: who has caused to be adopted a resolution to appropriate twenty thousand dollars of the Territorial money to build a prison and a Court house, instead of taking advantage in selling immediately the ten thousand acres granted by Congress for that purpose, after satisfying the Citizens, who have suffered by the Conflagration of Detroit. Whereas that by the law which was in force previous to the beginning of the present Government, commissioners were chosen amongst the people and charged to make out an estimate of the taxes necessary for each year, but could not be taxed untill they were con-

firmed by the Court of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and the Grand Jury.

Resolved that the said committee, together with those who may unite with them, do frame a petition containing the substance of our grievances, and that it be circulated amongst the Citizens of the Territory to receive their signatures, addressed to his Excellency, Gov. Hull, praying him to convene the Legislature for the purpose of organizing the Court of Common Pleas and General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, in order that our ancient laws of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, and Indiana, be put in force, especially that regulating County levies, approved at Cincinnati the 19th Dec. 1799, which was made by our own representatives, authorizing the appointing of County Commissioners, be put in an immediate operation, and in order that ample justice be rendered to the people, by a Court composed of three Supreme Judges, in the last resort, in conformity to the ordinance of 13th July, 1787.

As a proof of the propriety of our demands, we take the liberty to draw the attention of his Excellency and territorial Judges to the aforesaid ordinance, which we consider as our Constitution, and which ought not to be violated on any account whatever. The third section declares that there shall be established a Court composed of three Judges, any two of which forming a Court. Instead of that, it is now composed of Judge Woodward alone; the other two Judges having private and different Courts in each district held by one Judge only, from whom there is an appeal to themselves in the Court of Mr. Woodward in last resort, which is unconstitutional and greatly dangerous that the final decision be made by a man of his character, whilst Congress have decided that there should be two at least to hold the said Court. That the regular Courts lately introduced by Judge Woodward, held every two months in the Superior Court for sums above two hundred dollars, is contrary to the law of the Territory which says that there shall be but one term in the said Court, on the third Monday in September of each year, and that special Courts shall be held when two of the Judges will think it necessary, which no doubt means when any murder or any atrocious crime shall require a sudden punishment, and not contemplating Suits between individuals: that the said law says that the proceedings in the Court of Districts, (which have Cognizance of sums below two hundred dollars), shall conform to the law & custom of the Superior Court; and here is the difference; the District Courts for two hundred dollars are held every Six months, and the Superior Court for sums above $200 are held every two months.

We find now a freeholder for the smallest sum below twenty dollars is

taken by a Capias like a criminal and execution follows immediately, whilst by the law made by our representatives at Cincinnati, the 2nd, December, 1799, we were always summoned, and execution could not issue but three or six months after judgment.

That the material of the oath of the Grand Jurors to keep the Secrets of the United States and of their brother jurors being abolished and omitted by Mr. Woodward in order to exercise his vengeance on those who should dare to present the whole truth, agreeable to their oath, in a case where he should be himself the guilty person; and the injustice of keeping the Grand Jury in Session the whole year, as now does Mr. Woodward, is as tyrannical as it is unjust; for in all Governments in the United States, each Citizen is not obliged to serve but on his turn.

That agreeable to the sentence rendered in the Supreme Court in September last, it has been decided that the Indiana laws were in force in this Territory; that being the case, we lament very much that the present Government has abridged our liberties by their new laws, instead of perpetuating them at least.

Resolved, that, if we cannot get an immediate and complete redress from our Legislature on the aforesaid Subjects, we shall address the President of the United States and the two houses of Congress now assembled in the City of Washington.

A true Copy from the Minutes.

(Signed) GEO. MCDOUGALL.

LETTER FROM JAMES MADISON.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Nov'r 28, 1806.

SIR:—I enclose herewith a number of printed copies of a proclamation issued yesterday by the President in order to arrest an Enterprise represented to be in preparation against the possessions of Spain.

You will be pleased to make the disposition of them, which you may judge the most suitable for the occasion. I have the honor &c., &c.,

(Signed) JAMES MADISON.

His Excellency, the Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GOVERNOR HULL.

WASHINGTON CITY,
His Excellency, Governor Hull: March 21, 1807.

SIR:—At the present state of things on the Western side of the Mississippi does not threaten any immediate collision with our neighbors in that quarter and it's our wish they should remain undisturbed until an amicable adjustment may take place, yet as this does not depend upon ourselves alone it has been thought prudent to be prepared to meet any movements which may occur. The law of a former Session of Congress for keeping a Body of 10,000 Militia in readiness for service at a moment's warning is still in force. But by an Act of the last Session, a copy of which I now enclose, the executive is authorized to accept the services of such volunteers as shall offer themselves on the condition of the act which may render a resort to the former act unnecessary. It is for the execution of this act that I am now to solicit your zealous endeavors.

The persons who shall engage will not be called from their Homes until some aggression, committed or intended shall render it necessary. When called into action, it will not be for a lounging. But for an active and perhaps distant service. I know the effect of this consideration in kindling that ardour which prevails for this service, and I count on it for filling up the numbers requisite without delay. To yourself, I am sure, it must be as desirable as it is to me, to transfer this service from the great Mass of Militia to that portion of them to whose habits and enterprise active and distant service is most congenial. In using therefore your best exertions towards accomplishing the object of this act, you will render to your constituents as well as to the Nation, a most acceptable service.

With respect to the organizing and officering those shall be engaged within your state, the act itself will be your guide. And as it is desirable that we should be kept informed of the progress in this Business, I must pray you to report the same from time to time to the Sect'y of War who shall correspond with you on all the details arising out of it.

I salute you with great consideration and respect.

Sign'd THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MEMORIAL OF JAS. MAY TO THE LEGISLATURE.

Copy of petition delivered to the Legislature praying relief in a settlement of my accounts with E. Brush, Treasurer.

To His Excellency Govr. Hull and the Hble. the Judges of the Territory of Michigan in their Legislative Capacity:

The Petition of James May, late Marshal of said Territory,

Sheweth:—That your petitioner in conformity to the order of your Hble. Body, presented his accounts against the Territory to E. B., Esqr., Treasurer to be audited. That the sum of Four hundred and thirty-one dollars the said Treasurer has refused to audit as will appear from the annexed statement, intimating that appropriations have not been made for the payment of part of the charges, and the remainder he feels himself unauthorized to admit.

Your petitioner feeling himself thus situated and sensible at the same time of the equity of his demand, and that every charge in said acct. for services rendered the Territory moneys expended &c &c &c can be proved if proof is required.

Your petitioner in justice to himself, feels it his duty to submit the said objections before your Hble. B'y—for investigation fully convinced that justice will be done in the premises.

And your petitioner in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

RESOLUTION FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE ON THE SUNDRY CONSIDERABLE SUMS OF MONEY SUBSCRIBED FOR THE RELIEF OF THE SUFFERERS BY THE CONFLAGRATION OF DETROIT.

(Filed October 21, 1808. No order hereof.)

WHEREAS, Sundry subjects of his Britannic Majesty residing in Montreal, in Upper Canada, actuated by motives of the purest benevolence, did subscribe and pay, on the late melancholy conflagration of the town of Detroit, sundry considerable sums of money, for the relief of the sufferers by the said conflagration; and the inhabitants of Michillimackinac did also subscribe and pay on the same occasion sundry considerable sums of money;

AND WHEREAS, It has so happened that the said moneys have never been applied to the benevolent purposes contemplated by the generous donors, and events of this kind greatly tend to diminish the fire of benevolence, by exciting the apprehension that from fraud, or mismanagement, the fund of charity may be diverted from its object;

Resolved, Therefore, that it is expedient to appoint a committee on the part of this legislature to enquire into the amount of the sums paid at the respective places before mentioned, and the names of the contributors, and to enquire to whom the said moneys have been paid in this country, and what causes have prevented the application thereof to the purpose contemplated by the donors, and what, if any measures, it will be expedient to

adopt on this subject, and that the said committee have power to send for persons and papers.

A PETITION TO THE GOVERNOR AND JUDGES OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN.*

To his Excellency the Governor and the Hon. Judges of the Territory of Michigan, sitting as Commissioners by virtue of the Act of Congress of the 21st of April, 1806, to regulate the affairs of the city of Detroit:

The petition of the residents of Detroit and its vicinity humbly shows:

That the petitioners and their ancestors from the first establishment of this country until to-day (being about————years) have been in the habit to possess, occupy and enjoy peaceably all that piece of land commonly called and known by the name of the Commons of Detroit, situate between a farm belonging to the heirs of the late William Macomb at the south-west, and that of Elijah Brush at the north-east, extending eighty arpents, or French acres, in depth along the Detroit River.

At a time so distant from the first establishment of this country, as to-day, is cannot be supposed that its first settlers be alive, but according to the course of nature they must either be known or it is to be presumed that they are dead; the astonishing and almost incredible changes, produced by the lapse of time and the different cessions of the country from one government to another, from France to England and from England to America, may perhaps make it improper for the petitioners to speak with absolute certainty of the origin of the right, by virtue of which they have enjoyed and possessed this piece of land as a community, belonging to the inhabitants of the city of Detroit and its vicinity.

But the petitioners are taught to believe and they do believe on the strength of the representations of their ancestors and of divers facts which exist and can be substantiated, in corroboration, that the old government of France has originally given to the residents of the city of Detroit and its vicinity a charter for this piece of land to be, by them and their descendants, enjoyed forever as a community and not otherwise.

This belief is strengthened greatly by the uninterrupted possession and enjoyment which the residents of the city of Detroit and its vicinity have had thereof; in different instances individuals have encroached upon this community and have been driven out by some legitimate authority emanat-

*Translated from the French by Rudolph Worch and Dr. F. Krusty, editors *Michigan Volksfreund.*

ing of those governments, mentioned above, which at that time ruled the destinies of this abandoned and unhappy country.

But unluckily for the petitioners, this charter (if it has ever existed) seems to have been lost, either by time or accident, or it has been carried away amongst the archives of some one of the ancient governments and transported to some distant country whence the petitioners cannot obtain it; but it is to be hoped and believed that this cannot be prejudicial to the rights of the petitioners, for they have been taught to believe that the rigid and inflexible principles of the common law supply a remedy in all cases whatever for the loss of original papers, either by *time* or *accident*. When it is shown or known how they are lost, copies ordinarily supplant them, and if no copies have been taken, it is permitted to produce verbal testimony of their existence and their contents, which is uniformly received as conclusive and decisive upon the subject which they are proved to contain. Assuredly the petitioners will not be placed in a worse situation before a tribunal of equity and fairness, than they would be in if they had to contend with an inflexible adversary in a court where the rigorous execution of the common law is hardly reconcilable with justice. We consequently offer to your Honorable body the evidence of the existence of this charter and we humbly hope and confidently believe that we shall be able to prove that a similar document has existed, and if we succeed in proving this to the satisfaction of all reasonable minds, will it be necessary for us to ask for a confirmation of our old and inalienable right?

Admitting however that we might not succeed in proving in such manner as the law may require, our absolute and incontestable right, we still rest in perfect security, relying upon your benevolence to annul the order of the 20th of February 1809 for the sale of that part of the commons behind the *Circus* for the courthouse in lots of five and ten acres together with the subsequent sale which has taken place on the 6th of the following March and to recognize the right of the petitioners to the said commons by virtue of their long and peaceable possession and enjoyment, which is a right equal in every degree (with exception of three or four) to any other produced in this country and that these commons be transferred to a community and be possessed by them and their successors as a common property for the use of the residents of the city of Detroit forever hereafter and for no other use whatever. And the petitioners shall ever pray, etc.

Detroit, July 10, 1809.

[NOTE.—The name of Wm. A. Henry appears on a memorandum pinned to the French original (or copy?), which is exceedingly well and carefully written on substantial paper, covering one full sheet of foolscap, and having no signature attached to it.—Translator.]

ACTION OF THE GRAND JURY RELATIVE TO GOVERNOR HULL.

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN. } ss.
Supreme Court, September Term, 1809. }

HISTORY, the record of facts, shews, that under every form of government, man, when invested with authority, from the weakness and imbecility of his nature, has a strong propensity to assume powers with which he is not legally cloathed. Fully persuaded of this truth from reflection and observation, WE, the Grand Jurors for the Body of the Territory of Michgan, after having heard witnesses, and a free and dispassionate discussion, and mature consideration of their testimony, on our Oaths do present: That William Hull, Governor of this Territory, did, on the 27th day of February, 1809, illegally and without any colour of authority, sign an instrument of writing, as Governor of this Territory, remitting a fine of fifty dollars, imposed on John Whipple, by the Supreme Court of said Territory, at their September term of 1808, for having abused and insulted, and called Augustus B. Woodward, one of the Judges of said Territory, "a damn'd rascal"—on account of said Woodward's having rendered a certain decision in a certain suit, which was then pending in the said Supreme Court. And WE, the said Grand Jurors, have a confident hope, that the Supreme Court will carry into effect their own judgments.

WE, the Grand Jurors, on our oaths, further present so much of the Act adopted by the Legislature of this Territory, the 24th February, 1809; entitled "An act making appropriations for the years 1808 and 1809, as appropriates for James Witherell, John Whipple, and William M. D. Scott, as commissioners, for 17 days' services each, in exploring and superintending the survey of a public road from the foot of the rapids of the river Miami of Lake Erie to Detroit, at four dollars per day, each—204 dollars; for James McCloskey, surveying said road at 3 dollars per mile—199½ dollars; for the hire of two horses and two men 17 days, at 4 dollars per day, 68 dollars; and for 11 days for the service of one man on the same business, at 1 dollar per day—11 dollars; as unnecessarily and illegally burthening the people of this Territory with taxes, to remunerate the said commissioners for services which agreeably to the Act, entitled "An Act for laying out and opening a road from the city of Detroit to the foot of the rapids of the Miami, which enters into Lake Erie," when performed, and, under which the said commissioners acted, were to be compensated for, only, out of the proceeds of a lottery authorized by the last mentioned Act:

AND we the Grand Jurors aforesaid, also, unanimously express it as our

opinion that the said James Witherall, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of this Territory, acted unbecoming the character of a faithful and impartial Judge, when he introduced to the Legislative Board and voted for the law making the aforementioned appropriation.

The Legislature of the United States having by their Act of the 30th April 1790, entitled "An Act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," provided for the punishment of Treason and Misprison of Treason: and the Territory of Michigan, being from the nature of its form of Government, merely a component part of the United States, and not a sovereign or independant Government, against which alone such crimes can be committed. WE the said Grand Jurors, on our oaths, further present the first and second Sections of the Act adopted by the Legislature of this Territory, entitled, "An Act for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors" as unnecessary, nugatory and a nuisance.

WE the Grand Jurors, on our oaths, do further present the 40th Section of the said Act for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors, as unconstitutional, and a gross violation and infringement of the unalienable rights of the Citizens of this Territory; inasmuch as by the 2d Article of compact, contained in the ordinance for the Government of this Territory, the right of trial by Jury, and of Judicial proceedings; according to the course of the common Law, is most solemnly, and unless with the consent of the Citizens of this Territory, unalterably guaranteed to them. (a).

The Grand Jurors aforesaid further present as unconstitutional so much of the law entitled "An Act prescribing the mode of assessing and collecting Taxes within this Territory" as subjects to taxation Lands to which the occupiers, or pretended owners, have not a complete title.

And we the said Grand Jurors, on our oaths, do further present as a public grievance, the almost continual absence of a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court from the Territory of Michigan, since its organization.

And the said Grand Jurors, on their oaths, Report, that upon inspecting the Territorial Treasurer's Books and Accounts, that they are astonished to find the expenses of the Detroit fund to amount to so great a sum as 1,628 Dolls. 48½ cts. and that there is still due therefrom 250 Dollars; (b)— although the proceeds of the sales of many valuable lots in the City of Detroit, and of half the Detroit Commons, are expended and no Court House or Jail being built agreeable to the benevolent intentions of Congress and that the support of Paupers and the Marshall's accounts for services rendered, have hitherto made up full three-fourths of all the charges against this Territory. They earnestly draw the attention of the Legislature, to these important objects.

And the said Grand Jurors also recommend to the Governor and Judges of this Territory, the repeal of so much of the Militia Law, as subjects any but free, male, white Citizens of the United States, between the age of Eighteen and forty-five, to serve in the Militia. The egregious impolicy of forcing Aliens, and renegade Negroes into our service, is too notorious to require any comment.

Resolved also, unanimously, that the Governor and Judges be requested to cause to be translated into the French language the Laws of this Territory—and as their opinion that the expense of such translation, shall be paid out of the Taxes to be levied on the people and property of this Territory. (c)

(Signed) GEO. HOFFMAN, *Foreman.*

Sept. 26th, 1809,
Grand Jury Room.

Notes.

(a) Common law allows a peremptory challenge of thirty-five—and the statute of Henry the 8th, of twenty—and the law presented of only six.

(b) The true sum since this presentment was made, has been discovered to amount to at least 950 Dollars.

(c) Three-fourths of the people of this Territory liable to taxation, do not understand the English language.

The Grand Jury was composed of the following named persons, viz.:

Geo. Hoffman,	Richard Smyth,	David Hull,
Jacob Visgar,	Christian Clemens,	Joseph Jobin,
Robert Abbott,	Jean Marie Beaubien,	Jean Baptiste Couture,
George M'Dougall,	George Cotterall,	Antoine DeQuindre, and
James Henry,	Francois Lasselle,	Hugh R. Martin.
James May,	Francois Lafontain.	

M. Miller, Printer, Detroit.

MEMORIAL TO THE PRESIDENT FOR THE REMOVAL OF GOVERNOR HULL.

To His Excellency James Madison, President of the United States of America:

The undersigned are very sensible, that, in the discharge of those official functions, which the Nation has entrusted to your hands, some are accompanied with the satisfaction which ever attends the consciousness of doing good, and others on the contrary, are in their nature, painful and unpleasant.

It cannot afford more regret to your Excellency, than it does to the undersigned, that it should be our lot, to call the attention of your Excellency, to an act of the latter description.

Persuaded however, that a high sense of duty, uninfluenced by personal consequences either to yourself or others, will always govern your Excellency's public conduct; the undersigned present to you a respectful request, that a change may be made of the Executive Magistrate of this Government.

For, fully convinced of the neccessity of assigning substantial grounds for a solicitation of this nature, to expect a gratification of it, on any other condition; the undersigned proceed to the unwelcome but necessary talk stating the public infelicities which have attended the Administration of General William Hull in this Government, and the causes which have rendered this country dissatisfied with the longer continuance of this Gentleman as their Governor.

This territory is situated on the Frontier of a foreign Government, the Province of Upper Canada belonging to his Britannic Majesty: notwithstanding the difference of government, the French population which forms the principal part of both are one and the same people. In Upper Canada, African slavery has always existed; and the labor of their slaves, is a principal reliance of many families, on both sides, for subsistence. Mr. Hull has much countenanced the run-aways in that Province, by embodying them into a military company, and supplying them with arms from the public stores. He has signed a written instrument, appointing a black man to the command of this company. This transaction is extremely dishonorable to the Government on this side of the river; violates the feelings of the opposite side; essentially injures their interests; and eventually injures our own people, by exciting the others to retaliate in the same way.

The savages belonging to the tribe called Chippeways make frequent visits, in our settlements. On one occasion, a man of that Nation was barbarously murdered by another in broad daylight, on the farm of one of the French settlers. It behoved all persons to discountenance so infamous an action; but Mr. Hull, totally insensible of the honor of the country he represents, and of the station he is permitted to fill, visited the murderer at his place of abode and made him his convivial companion, in a manner outraging the sensibility of the virtuous and respectable part of the community.

It has been our lot to be harrassed with incessant alarms of an attack from the savages. These alarms are entirely false and unfounded, and nothing but the incapacity and want of judgment of the executive officer keeps them alive. The United States have been unnecessarily put to an immense and useless expense on this account, and the inhabitants of the country have been subjected to great vexation and oppression.

He has so incorrect an idea of the nature of militia, that he issues a gen-

eral order for a particular company to cut so many pickets, transport them from the woods, dig so many feet of trench, and plant so many feet of pickets, as if they were regular troops and subject to his command as their officer. The intention of the militia, is in the first place, for the purpose of discipline; and in the second place, for actual service, when called into it, and put under actual pay. The manner in which Mr. Hull has acted on this head, and which his constant and ridiculously ostentatious General Orders do fully shew, is a greater stretch upon lawful authority than has ever been attempted before in the United States.

From the circumstances of our being on the frontier, in a double sense it is peculiarly necessary to have an officer of judgment and military science. This Gentleman has a kind of reputation of that sort, from his having served as a major in the army, and from having been a General in the militia; but we have enough to satisfy us here that it is unmerited. We judge from what we see with our own eyes. The stockades which have been placed along this town, and other operations of that kind, altho' they have cost the United States an immense sum of money, are evidently of no use, from the manner they have been executed. They are now, and never have been, of any defense to us. Interstices are left from place to place, along a line enormously long, and the whole line of water is unprotected. Colonel Burbeck and his successor, officers of real military skill and science, and at the same time amiable and unostentatious in their manner have done more for the defence of the population of the town, without any noise or disturbance, than Mr. Hull with all his pomp and parade and extravagant expense. A person need only open his eyes to perceive that all Mr. Hull's intended fortifications are useless waste of labour and money.

The office of superintendent of Indian affairs in this Territory is united with that of Governor, and he is authorized to give licenses to trade and the law prohibits an agent, superintendent or person authorized to grant a license, to have any concern in any trade with the Indians. Mr. Hull has an interpreter (a man of worth) whom he persuaded to assume the ostensible proprietorship of a store which was open in the town of Detroit, the goods of which belonged to Mr. Hull were imported into the Country by him and were exposed to sale to Indians and white people secretly for his benefit. As a Militia Commandant he would first prescribe a particular dress or epaulette, or cord, or facing, and then sell the cloth or lace to comply with it.

The taxes on our people are very heavy; and the public money, when entrusted to the discretion of Mr. Hull, is wantonly wasted. He authorizes a number of commissioners to explore a road to the Miami in the dead

of Winter; when the country was but one sheet of ice and snow and which it would be impossible for the same, or any other person to find again in the summer time and expended four hundred and eighty-two dollars, raised by taxes on a spare and poor population. On this useless and injudicious project, money which might be productive of some good, if the dictates of common sense had been complied with and a proper season of the year selected for the purpose.

The affairs of our town are kept in perplexity and confusion by the constant and incorrigible versatility of this gentleman, his inconsistency, and his non-adherance even to his own measures and propositions. Public officers are made an engine of intrigue; a man goes in, and goes out; not according to the manner in which he serves the public; but according to his supporting or disapproving Mr. Hull's errors and inconsistences; his improper conduct in this respect is obvious to every man of independence and virtue in the Territory, and loudly calls for a person of a more elevated and correct mind.

His system of favoritism has in one instance excited the indignation of the whole country and met with pointed animadversion of the Grand Jury of the Territory. He unlawfully, and without any power or right, attempted to pardon one of his particular favorites for a gross violation of the rights of the judiciary, leaving those who had been subject to punishment for other subordinate offenses, but who were not his favourites or partisans, to the regular course of the law—in short, he may be said to have assumed all the powers of the government with his own hands, the legislative, the executive and the judicial. The executive he is entitled to as long as he is deemed a suitable person to act in that capacity; but the laws, or pretended laws, now appear with his name alone; and he undertakes to revise and annul the sentences of our court of justice screening his partisans from punishment, and thundering defamatory proclamation upon the judges.

These, and a variety of other matters, with which we at present forbear to fatigue your ear, render it the opinion of the undersigned, and an opinion by no means hastily taken up, that the public good of this country requires a change in our executive magistrate; and we respectfully solicit your Excellency, as our political guardian and father, to extend to us that grace alike necessary to the interests of the United States and to our own tranquility.

[NOTE.—This paper is without date or signatures.]

LIST OF LAWS.

AUGUST 12, 1809.

A list of the laws passed in Michigan from the ninth day of November, 1808, until the twenty-sixth day of February, 1809.

1. An act to fix the time of meeting of the Legislature of the Territory of Michigan, and for other purposes. Nov. 9, 1808.

2. An act for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors. Dec. 9.

3. An act to repeal an act for the encouragement of literature and the improvement of the town of Detroit. Dec. 10.

4. An act in addition to an act making appropriation for the service of the year 1808. Dec. 10.

5. An act concerning limitations to claims for donation lots in the city of Detroit. Dec. 15.

6. An act for laying out and opening a road from the city of Detroit to the foot of the rapids of the Miami which enters into Lake Erie. Dec. 19.

7. An act in addition to an act entitled an act concerning the militia of the Territory of Michigan. Dec. 21.

8. An additional act concerning compensations. Dec. 27.

9. An act to provide for the assessment and collection of a Territorial tax. Dec. 27.

10. An act prescribing the mode of assessing and collecting taxes within this Territory. Jan. 7, 1809.

11. An act concerning highways. Jan. 18, 1809.

12. An act for the support of the poor. Feb. 1.

13. An act for the probate of wills, and the settlement of testate and intestate estates. Jan. 31.

14. An act for the support of the poor. Feb. 1.

15. An act for the maintenance and support of illegitimate children. Feb. 4.

16. An act subjecting real estate to the payment of debts. Feb. 4.

17. An act directing the mode of taking inquisition on the body of a person found dead by casualty or violence. Feb. 9.

18. An act concerning ferries. Feb. 9.

19. An act concerning the treasurer of the Territory of Michigan. Feb. 9.

20. An act concerning tavern-keepers. Feb. 9.

21. An act concerning auctions. Feb. 9.

22. An act concerning the militia of the Territory of Michigan. Feb. 10.

23. An act defining the powers of Justices of the Peace in causes of a civil nature. Feb. 16.

21. An act concerning depositions and witnesses. Feb. 18.

25. An act concerning jails and jailers. Feb. 18.

26. An act concerning attachments. Feb. 18.

27. An act concerning the supreme court of the Territory of Michigan. Feb. 18.

28. An act concerning executions. Feb. 18.

29. An act concerning minors. Feb. 18.

30. An act concerning marshals. Feb. 18.

31. An act concerning trustees of concealed or absconding debtors. Feb. 21.

32. An act repealing an act concerning aliens. Feb. 21.

33. An act concerning the recording of deeds and other writing. Feb. 21.

34. An act concerning interest on contracts. Feb. 21.

35. An act for the limitation of suits on penal statutes, criminal prosecutions and actions at law. Feb. 23.

36. An act concerning attorneys. Feb. 23.

37. An act concerning juries. Feb. 23.

38. An act regulating enclosures. Feb. 24.

39. An act concerning forcible entry and detainer. Feb. 23.

40. An act repealing certain acts therein named. Feb. 24.

41. An act making appropriations for the year 1808 and 1809, Feb. 24.

42. An act regulating fees. Feb. 26.

43. An act concerning schools. Feb. 26.

44. An act concerning forms of writs and other process. Feb. 23.

45. An act concerning district courts. Feb. 21.

No. 1. Signed "William Hull, President of the Legislative Board."

No. 2. Signed "William Hull, Governor of Michigan and President of the Legislature." The others the same.

LETTER OF INHABITANTS OF MICHIGAN, ACCOMPANYING MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

CITY OF DETROIT the 24th of January, 1810.

To the Hon'ble. Peter B. Porter Esq., Representative in Congress for the State of New York:

SIR:—As we do not yet enjoy the advantage and privilege of a Representative in the Council of the Nation to which we belong, we take the liberty of addressing you on a subject highly interesting to the Territory of Michi-

gan. This we do under the auspices of your being acquainted, and your possessing a personal knowledge of our situation, and under conviction that you will take pleasure in being of service to those who feel happy in having it in their power thus to express their confidence.

Sometime since, G. McDougall, Esq., one of our number whose absence at Miami, where he has been appointed Collector, will prevent his signing this communication, had the honor of addressing you on the subject of a petition to Congress for a change in the Government of this Territory, and of stating that the most numerous class of the inhabitants, who are the Canadians, were totally opposed to it, they are indeed, Sir, and rely upon your kind exertions to convince Congress of the fact, and for this purpose we, the undersigned, their committee, now forward to you by this mail in a packet numbered 1, a counterpetition expressive of their feelings on the subject, and of those of a majority of the Americans by birth as you will perceive by the signatures; in addition to this petition we can only state and happy do we feel in possessing the opportunity to do justice to those who study our happiness and prosperity, that the inhabitants generally have the fullest confidence in the talents, virtue and correct views of the Governor and the Secretary, and Judge Wetherell.

By this mail we also, at the request of our fellow citizens, take the liberty of forwarding to you, in a packet No. 2, a petition praying that Congress may cause certain laws to be translated and printed into the French language for the use of the Canadians of this Territory, you, Sir, will have it in your power to state to Congress the reasons why this petition ought to be granted.

Should you be pleased to communicate with us on the progress of these petitions, you will be so kind as to address your communications to Mr. Joseph Watson, who is now our Secretary and from whom in a few days you will probably receive, on our part, a petition which, if circumstances had admitted, would have accompanied the petition contained in packet number 1.

As George McDougall Esq., the real friend of the Canadians and of the Government of the United States, has recently been rewarded by the President with a commission and as we feel sensibly interested for his welfare, should you be enabled to assist in procuring the approval by the Senate of his appointment, you will add, Sir, a new obligation to those which we shall already be under towards you.

With the utmost respect and esteem, we are,

Y. O. H. S.

[No signatures attached.]

PETITION TO CONGRESS.

To the Hon'ble. Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

The Petition of the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the Territory of Michigan. Humbly Sheweth:

That your petitioners have been induced to sign their names to a petition, addressed to your Honorable body, praying for a change of Government in this Territory. That they did this act without duly considering and understanding the Subject. That their number are too small for the Second Grade of Government under the ordinance of 1787, or any other form which would subject them to any expense, in supporting a Legislature.

They humbly request therefore, that Congress, so far from considering their Names, as having any effect, in granting the prayer of that petition, would consider them as opposed to it, and their request is that the prayer of it may not be granted. This last request, they make from a sense of duty to themselves and the Territory to which they belong, they were improperly hurried and pressed into the error. It was unintentional on their part and they are happy in having an opportunity to retract it.

November, 1809.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TAKING THE THIRD CENSUS.

DETROIT, Jan'y 10, '65.

CHAS. I. WALKER, ESQ.—*Dear Sir:*—I have been requested to present the enclosed Circular Appointment and instructions, relative to the early days of our Territory, to the Historical Society in the name of R. M. Leod of Mackinaw. It being over fifty years old, it is well worth a place in the Society's Archives. Very Resp. Y. &c.,

D. BETHUNE DUFFIELD.

Circular of Instructions.

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN,
Secretary's Office, July 17, 1810.

SIR:—Enclosed I transmit you a commission as assistant Secretary within the division known as the civil district of Michilimackinac, for the purpose of taking the third census of the United States directed by law, which I hope you will be pleased to accept with the two-fold object of rendering the

general government of your country an essential service and obtaining for your fellow-citizens of this Territory a species of information which it is well they be possessed of. You will also find enclosed one copy of the Secretary of State's instructions, a certificate of approbation of the Judge's allowing you one dollar and twenty-five cents for every fifty persons returned, and extract of a letter of the Secretary of the Treasury relative to the enumeration of manufactures, two copies of an oath which you will be pleased immediately to take and subscribe and forward to this office, one copy of the return which you will have to make, one copy of the Acts of Congress for the third census, and also a translation into French of the several interrogatories directed by the Secretary of the State and Treasury. All that I conceive necessary for me to say is to request your strict compliance with the requisitions of the papers now forwarded and that your enquiries from the heads of families should be confined to the objects of the act, not that I would have you refuse any explanation of the true objects of the census to the uninformed on that point, but that I feel the utmost anxiety that all possible dispatch should attend your proceedings. The mode of forming your census book, recommended by the Secretary of State, you will undoubtedly find the most advisable, and as respects your returns to this office, I would advise the addition of a sufficient quantity of paper to that contained in the return with printed heading, herein enclosed; any further instructions I may judge necessary to give and such as you may require, will in due time be forwarded to you. As in all returns of a public nature uniformity is indispensably necessary, I have thought fit to enclose to you the form to be observed in the account of the several manufacturing establishments and manufactures within your division, by a reference to this form, you will easily perceive that it is made up under the impression that tanneries, distilleries, saddleries, and hatters are the only establishments of the kind in the Territory; should it however prove otherwise within your division you will so far alter the form as to admit of their insertion. As to jennies and other labor-saving machines, your report can only be in the form of a letter, duplicates of which are requested. I am Sir,

Y. O. H. S.,

REUBEN ATTWATER.

Samuel Abbott, Esq., Michilimackinac.

P. S.—The Judges not having been able to agree as to the allowance to be made to the assistants, the one having allowed to the full extent of the law and to the other a lesser sum, the certificate of approbation will not be found enclosed; on this subject I will make a representation to the General Government, and flatter myself to obtain the full allowance.

ROUGH DRAFT OF OPINION BY A. B. WOODWARD.

July 25, 1810.

In the matter of Reuben Attwater, Secretary of the Territory of Michigan, who applies for the approbation of the Judges to an extra allowance to the assistance in all the divisions of the Territory of Michigan in taking the enumeration required by the act providing for the third Census of the United States.

The clause of the law under which this authority is to be exercised fixes the *adequate compensation*, under *general* circumstances, at *one dollar* for enumerating *one hundred* persons. The particular circumstances which it contemplates as operating to render this compensation inadequate is only the *dispersion of the population.* In a faithful execution of the trust confided by the law it appears to me beyond the power of the judge to consider whether the compensation intended to be allowed by the law as fully adequate, or not, or to consider whether any circumstances, other than the *dispersion of the population,* render it inadequate in particular places. The term *inadequate* amounts as here used to the same import, as disproportionate. A minimum and a maximum are laid down, and a particular fact, the dispersion of population, made the principle which is to regulate the vibration between the two extremes.

In this Territory two particular circumstances render the task more troublesome in its execution than in the United States generally. The first is the mass of the population using the French language, and being acquainted with no other. The second is the immense disproportion in the price both of labor and of commodities, and as well of commodities the produce of the country itself, as of those imported from other places. The first operates to render an unusual skill and attention requisite, the second renders even ordinary skill and attention disproportionately compensated at the same rate. But neither of these circumstances are contemplated by the law, and the circumstances contemplated by the law, the dispersion of the population, has not as great an operation here as in many other parts. The French settlements are remarkably compact, more so than any I have been acquainted with in the United States.

The application of the law will therefore depend in a great degree on the manner in which the Territory is arranged with divisions.

This rests in the discretion of the Secretary. A division may not consist of more than one county or city, but one county or city may be arranged into a number of divisions.

In this Territory we have no counties. The ordinance of 1787 authorizes only the parts to which the Indian title is extinguished to be erected into

counties. This would exclude a considerable part of our white population. The same ordinance authorizes, however, another division into districts for the execution of process criminal and civil. Under this power the four districts of Detroit, Erie, Huron and Michillimackinac have been established by executive authority, and Michillimackinac and Erie have been erected by the legislative power into judicial districts under the jurisdiction of district courts. They are, therefore, substantially *counties*, in the sense in which the term is used in the act of Congress. The two districts, of Detroit, including the city, and of Huron, constitute the third judicial district, and the discretion of the secretary must determine on the manner of their being arranged into divisions.

Within the district of Detroit, where the settlements are much more compact than in any of the country parts of the United States, with which I am acquainted, it appears to me that the lowest or minimum sum allowed by the law is an adequate compensation: the principle of dispersed population being the rule of determination.

In the other districts, if a division is made and an assistant appointed on each particular river where there is a settlement, these being also, except at the western extreme, generally compact, it appears to me that the lowest sum allowed by law, at least with a small addition for one or two extreme farms, would be adequate. I therefore do approve in that case of one dollar twenty-five cents being allowed for the enumeration of every one hundred persons.

On the contrary if the smallest number of divisions and assistants which may be contemplated under the law is adopted, it appears to me the distance of one settlement from another, though the population of each may in itself be compact, will render one dollar for enumerating one hundred persons an inadequate compensation. Thus in the district of Erie the assistant making the enumeration on La Riviére aux Raisins must go personally to the Miami River and even cross the peninsula between two and three hundred miles to enumerate one or two individuals on the River St. Joseph, which enters into Lake Michigan.

So in the district of Michillimackinac, though the settlements on the island are compact, yet the assistant must go to four or five other places, some at the distance of sixty or seventy miles, in order to enumerate one or two individuals at each particular spot.

The law does not specify whether the appropriation is to be made before or after making the enumeration. If the terms are known before the service is rendered, it is certainly more safe to the government and to the individuals concerned.

I therefore render this as my answer to the application of the honorable the Secretary of the Territory.

That if the districts are each made a division, with one assistant to make the enumeration, the ordinary or lowest rate of compensation allowed by the law, one dollar for every hundred persons, will in the district of Erie be in my opinion an insufficient compensation to the assistant, from the dispersed situation of the inhabitants in that division, and that I do approve of the highest sum allowed by the law, one dollar twenty-five cents for every fifty persons, being allowed to such assistant. Even in that case it would appear to me not to be a compensation fully adequate to the fatigue, anxiety, and trouble.

So in the district of Michillimackinac the ordinary rate of compensation will in my opinion be insufficient, under the same circumstances; and I do approve of a further compensation being allowed to the assistant of that division, from the dispersed situation of the inhabitants, that is to say, one dollar for every fifty persons.

In the district of Detroit I consider the sum allowed by law an adequate compensation, the inhabitants being by no means in a dispersed situation, and I therefore do not approve, if an assistant is appointed for that district as one division, of any further compensation being allowed him than the ordinary rate directed by law.

The district of Huron is less compact than the district of Detroit, and yet the situation of the inhabitants is less dispersed than in either the districts of Erie, or that of Michillimackinac. If therefore that district is made one division, I consider the lowest sum allowed by law not perfectly sufficient on account of taking in some remote settlers on the higher waters, and I do approve of one dollar fifty cents being allowed to the assistant of that division for every one hundred persons, from such dispersed situation of the settlers.

If the districts of Huron and Detroit are made by the Secretary one division, I do approve for the reasons aforesaid of one dollar thirty seven and a half cents being allowed to the assistant for the enumeration of every one hundred persons.

AUGUSTUS B. WOODWARD,

One of the Judges in and over the Territory of Michigan.

Territory of Michigan, July 25, 1810.

WM. EUSTIS, SEC'Y OF WAR, TO THE INDIANS, OCT. 8, 1811.

MY CHILDREN. Your Great Father, the President, takes you by the hand, and commands me to say to you,—

MY CHILDREN. Your Father opens his ears to your complaints. You say the animals of the forrest are leaving you and that your hunting fails. It was once so with his white Children. They killed and drove away the game from their fields. But they planted corn and have had plenty ever since. Do you the same, plant corn and you will have abundance for your wives and children thro' the long winters. Your Great Father will give you a plough and a horse to enable you to cultivate the earth.

MY CHILDREN. You say your Great Father has stopped the white men's goods which used to come among you. It is true that no British goods can come within the U. States this year. The white people as well as the red suffer by this. But it cannot be helped. It is the law of the Great Council and must be obeyed.

MY CHILDREN. Your Great Father has sent to Michilimacinac many goods; many more have been sent this year. From these he hopes you will be able to get sufficient supplies. If you cannot get everything you want, you must learn to do as the white people have, to do without as well as you can.

MY CHILDREN. You complain that you do not receive your proportion of the supplies which are sent out every year to your nation.

MY CHILDREN. Your Great Father sends to you all the goods and money stipulated in the Treaty. You must call meeting of all the chiefs of the nation, at which the Governor will be present, and you must agree among yourselves on the proportion of goods and money which each part of the tribe ought to receive. The Governor will report to your Great Father and then you will receive accordingly.

MY CHILDREN. You say you have shut your ears to the bad birds sent by the Pattawomie who calls himself a prophet. Beware of the man. He is not good. He has already caused the destruction of many young men belonging to you and other tribes. All who go to him with arms will be destroyed.

MY CHILDERN. Your Great Father takes you again by the hand he bids you farewell; and he commands me to give you clothing some gun-powder and other things in token of his good will towards you and your nation. He is pleased with your conduct since you have been here, and trusts that by such behaviour through the country and in the great towns where he will send you, you will merit the regard of his white children.

War Department, October 5th, 1811. W. EUSTIS.

LETTER FROM AARON GREELY TO GEORGE MC DOUGALL.

WASHINGTON CITY, 30th November, 1811.

DEAR SIR:—Your communication with letter of Attorney came to hand on Saturday last. A short time before I wrote you respecting the 2nd Concession; I am sorry Campeau and Williams have exerted themselves to the injury of those ignorant French Inhabitants. I want nothing from them but what is just and a reasonable remuneration for my time spent in their service.

They cannot too much appreciate your exertions for them and any services in my power I shall be happy to reciprocate. I shall do everything in my power for them. Campeau must (for me) transact his own land affairs. I am sending to him his final certificates as soon as they come to me from the Land Office for explanations.

I have sent you the Patent for your Lands at the River aux Roche and the one for yourself and Ruland, they are directed with a number of others, to Mr. Abbott. We will settle our account on my return to Detroit.

Yesterday the Committee on Foreign Relations made their Report. I send you a number of the Intelligencer of this day containing it. The Report is a showy indication of War. War will certainly take place. The aggressions of the British has been such that the spirit of the nation is roused to such a pitch, that I do not believe any concessions on their part will avert war. The Federalists say they will fight the British if war is declared, the party which they depended upon to support them in the day of their Calamity. Poor deluded nation. Their corrupt Government, by their insolence and injustice, has led them to the very brink of Destruction.

I am at this time busy in preparing an Abstract from the Commissioner's Report and the surveys for Congress, that the survey may be confirmed for the remainder of your lands, the issuing of your patents will be deferred until that time.

I am sincerely yours,

G. McDougall Esquire. AARON GREELY.

MISCELLANEOUS LEGISLATIVE DOCUMENTS.

(Found among Judge Woodward's Papers.)

FRIDAY, July 5, 1805.

The Governor and Judges convened pursuant to adjournment.

The committee to whom referred the situation of Detroit, and the measure incumbent on the government in consequence thereof, reported that in the opinion of said committee it will be proper to adopt a law constituting Detroit a city, and providing for the rebuilding and future regulation of the same, in such a manner as to prevent a similar calamity, which being considered ordered that the said committee do report an act conformably to the same.

The committee to whom was referred the duties, qualification, security and oath of the marshals of the Territory of Michigan, made a report which was read, and being considered, resolved, ordered that the said committee do report an act agreeably to the same.

On the motion of the Governor, resolved that whenever a subject shall be referred by this body to any committee, the said committee may report by bill or otherwise.

On the motion of Judge Woodward, resolved that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the organization of a judiciary system for the Territory of Michigan, and to report the same to this body; ordered that the said committee consist of two, and that Judge Woodward and Judge Bates be the said committee.

On the motion of the Governor, resolved that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the organization of the Militia of the Territory of Michigan, and report thereon to this body; ordered that the said committee consist of one, and that the Governor be the said committee.

On the motion of Judge Bates, resolved that a committee be appointed to enquire and report to this body an opinion whether the Governor and Judges of Michigan have the power to adopt the laws of any State made such since the year 1787. Ordered that Judge Woodward and Judge Bates be said committee.

And then the Governor and Judges adjourned until Tuesday next at eleven of the clock in the forenoon, then to convene at the same place.

Report of the Committee appointed to consider whether the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan can adopt the Laws of other States.

The committee charged to enquire and report an opinion whether the Governor and Judges of Michigan have the power to adopt the laws of any State made such since the thirteenth day of July in the year one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, report that in the opinion of the committee the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan have the power to adopt

the laws of a State made such since the thirteenth day of July in the year one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven for the following reasons.

First. The Constitution of the United States which commenced its operations on the fourth day of March one thousand seven hundred eighty-nine, vests in the Congress of the United States the power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory belonging to the United States. The Congress of the United States by the act of the eleventh day of January one thousand eight hundred five, provide, in strict pursuance of the power conferred by the constitution, that so much of the Territory belonging to the United States as lies north of a line drawn east and west through the southern bend of Lake Michigan, and east of a line drawn through the middle of Lake Michigan to the boundary of the United States, shall constitute a separate government, and a separate Territory, and be called Michigan; and referring to the ordinance of Congress of the thirteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, they further provide that the government established for the Territory of Michigan shall be *similar* to that designated by the ordinance of one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, and *the power of the officers shall respectively be the same. With respect therefore to the Territory of Michigan,* the words of the ordinance of the thirteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, are to be construed as deriving their energy and effect from the act of the eleventh day of January one thousand eight hundred five. Hence every State in the American Government, existing previous to the eleventh day of January one thousand eight hundred five is, with respect to the *Territory of Michigan,* an original State, and as such participated in *originating* the Territory of Michigan, and the Governor and Judges have power, conformable to the strict letter of the law, to adopt the laws of such a State, as far as they are necessary, and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory.

Second. The obvious *intention* of the Legislature is to apply this incipient state of society the laws which societies further advanced under the same *principles of government,* have found convenient and advantageous; and it is therefore consistent with the *spirit* of the ordinance and the acts of Congress to model the laws of a territorial government on those of an existing State.

Third. The act of the Congress of the United States constituting the Territory of Indiana, which is worded precisely in the same manner as that constituting the Territory of Michigan, has received in this respect, from the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Indiana, a construction corresponding with the preceding, and as the laws adopted by them from States created since the thirteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, for instance from the State of Kentucky, have been regularly

reported to the Congress of the United States, and not disapproved by them, under the power which is expressly reserved to them on that subject, the principle may now be considered as in a great measure settled and officially sanctioned.

An Act, in alteration of an act, entitled "An Act of the Governor of the Territory of Michigan, constituting the District of Detroit."

STANLEY GRISWOLD, Acting as Governor of the Territory of Michigan,

To all to whom these presents shall come:

BE IT KNOWN, That the District of Detroit shall be circumscribed by the following limits, viz.: beginning at the Northeastern corner of the District of Erie, and running westwardly with the northern line of the said District of Erie, to the Indian boundary line; then along the said Indian boundary line, and six miles distant from the waters of Detroit River, to Milk River; then down said Milk River to the mouth thereof and into the waters of Lake St. Clair to the boundary line of the United States, and along said boundary line of the United States to the place of beginning.

And all those parts of the act of the third day of July, one thousand eight hundred and five, entitled "An Act of the Governor of the Territory of Michigan, constituting the District of Detroit," which are incompatible with the above described limits, are hereby annulled.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the Territory of Michigan, at Detroit, the twenty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and six.

STANLEY GRISWOLD,
Acting as Governor of Michigan Territory.

DETROIT, 20th January, 1807.

SIR:—The Legislative Board will meet to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock, at the usual place. Your attendance is requested.

I am, respectfuliy, your most obedient servant,

Hon. A. B. Woodward. WILLIAM HULL.

WEDNESDAY, the 19th day of October, 1808.

On motion of Judge Griffin,

Resolved, That the Governor and Judges do on Monday next the 24th October, 1808, meet as a board of commissioners under the act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide for the adjustment of titles of land in the town of Detroit and Territory of Michigan, and for other purposes."

THURSDAY, the 20th day of October, 1808.

The board pursuant to its order of yesterday, resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the subject of rules 3, 4, and 18, Judge Woodward in the chair, and after sometime spent therein, the Governor resumed the chair, and Judge Woodward reported that the committee had according to order had the subject of rules number three, four, and eighteen under consideration, and came to the following resolutions:

1st. *Resolved,* That the third rule be not adopted.

2d. *Resolved,* That the fourth rule be amended by striking out after the word "President" the words "a President *pro tempore* shall be elected" and adding the words, *and the Secretary of the Territory shall in the absence of the Governor act as President.*

3d. *Resolved,* That the 18th rule be amended by striking out the words, "the other members," and adding the words *every member approving the bill;* and also by striking out the words, "annexing to their signatures their respective stile of office and" and the words, "in cases where the Governor is not President of the legislative body," and also the words, "by signing any law no member shall be considered as necessarily assenting to the same, but merely as certifying that it has regularly passed to be a law according to the rules of this body, on the contrary."

The board proceeded to consider the resolutions of the committee of the whole, and on motion of Judge Woodward,

Resolved, That the further consideration thereof be postponed.

The foregoing resolutions, &c., are true copies from the Journal of the Governor and Judges of Michigan in their legislative capacity, and the days of the month prefixed over them are those on which they were entered into.

Attest:

JOS. WATSON,

Secretary to the Legislature of Michigan.

On TUESDAY the 25th October, 1808.

On motion of the Governor for the appointment of President, the Commissioners proceeded to make an appointment, whereupon Judge Witherell was called to the chair.

I certify that the foregoing proceedings took place on the above date, and that said motion is truly copied from the Journal of the Commissioners, under an act of Congress entitled, "An act to provide for the adjustment of titles to land in the town of Detroit and Territory of Michigan and for other purposes."

Witness my hand:

JOS. WATSON,

Secretary to the Commissioners.

Jos. Watson's respectful compliments to Mr. P. Audrain, and sends him the documents requested by him, and has the honour to inform him that in course of the afternoon he will also send him rules 3, 4, and 18 of the legislative body of Michigan in the state they were when referred to the committee of the whole and the report of the committee thereon.

DETROIT, the 19th May, 1810.

Rules 3, 4 and 18 as originally:

Rule 3. At each stated session of the Legislature they shall elect by ballot one of their members to preside at their deliberations, who shall continue to preside until the next stated session, and until a new President shall be elected.

Rule 4. In the absence of the President, a President *pro tempore* shall be elected, who shall, as well as the President be styled in discussion, mister President.

Rule. 18. All bills shall be read three times on three different days; excepting in cases in which for special reasons the Legislature shall dispense with the reading of the same on three different days; the first reading shall be for information, and the question after the reading of the same shall be, shall this bill have a second reading, and if determined in the affirmative it shall be assigned at what time. On the second reading the bill shall be read and passed by sections, but after the reading and decision on the last section, motions to amend any preceding section shall be in order; and when fully amended the question shall be, shall this bill be engrossed for the third reading? On a third reading motions to amend shall not be in order unless in a small matter, or in a matter of urgent necessity, but the bill may be recommitted, in which case it shall pass through three several readings in the same manner as a new bill. After the third reading the only questions shall be, shall this bill pass to be a law, and if determined in the affirmative, shall the title of this bill be, stating here title proposed, on which question any motion to amend the title shall be in order. The President, previous to the third reading of every bill, shall, with the Secretary, carefully compare the same with the originals, and shall see that the same is correctly and fairly written, without interlineations, or improper defacements, and that the orthography and punctuation thereof are correct. On the passing of a bill the President shall immediately sign the same, annexing his style of President and other office and the other members shall successively and without exception sign the same immediately afterwards, annexing to their signatures their respective style of office and giving prece-

dence to the Governor in cases where the Governor is not President of the Legislative body, and the Secretary in like manner when acting as Governor, then to the Judges according to their respective situations on the bench. By signing any law no member shall be considered as necessarily assenting to the same, but merely as certifying that it has regularly passed to be a law according to the rules of this body; on the contrary any member shall have a right to have his dissent to any law recorded on the Journals, together with his reasons therefor; and the names of the members voting in the affirmative on any question, and of those voting in the negative shall, on the demand of any member, be recorded on the Journals.

Rules 4 and 18 as reported by the Committee of the whole.

Rule 4. In the absence of the President, the Secretary of the Territory shall act as President, who shall, as well as the President, be stiled in discussion mister President.

Rule 18. All bills shall be read three times on three different days excepting in cases in which for special causes the Legislature shall by unanimous consent dispence with the reading of the same on three different days. The first reading shall be for information and the question after the reading of the same shall be, shall this bill have a second reading, and if determined in the affirmative, it shall then be assigned at what time. On the second reading the bill shall be read and passed by sections but after the reading and decision on the last section, motions to amend any preceding section shall be in order, and when fully amended the question shall be, shall this bill be engrossed for the third reading? On a third reading motions to amend shall not be in order unless in a small matter or in a matter of urgent necessity, but the bill may be recommitted in which case it shall pass through three several readings in the same manner as a new bill. After the third reading the only question shall be, shall this bill pass to be a law, and if determined in the affirmative, shall the title of this bill be stating here the title proposed on which question any motion to amend the title shall be in order. The President previous to the third reading of every bill shall with the Secretary carefully compare the same with the originals, and shall see that the same is correctly and fairly written without interlineations, or improper defacements, and that the orthography and punctuation thereof are correct. On the passing of a bill the President shall immediately sign the same annexing his stile of President and his other office, and every member approving the bill shall successively and without exception sign the same immediately afterwards, giving precedence to the Governor and to the Secretary when acting as Governor; then to the Judges according to their respective situations on the bench—every member shall have a right to have his dissent to

any law recorded on the journals together with his reasons therefor and the names of the members voting in the affirmative on any question and of those voting in the negative shall on demand of any member be recorded on the Journals.

LEGISLATURE OF MICHIGAN, } ss.
Secretary's Office. }

It is hereby certified that the foregoing rules and the report of the committee of the whole thereon have been faithfully and correctly copied from the originals on file in this office.

Given under my hand and seal this 19 day of May 1810.

JOS. WATSON,
Secretary.

Notes in the Debates Respecting Laws, August 31, 1810.

1st point: three present, two make a law. 2nd point: board the right of authentication. Cons. Legislative power, senate and house of representatives, art. 1, sec. 1. Afterwards a majority a quorum. No provision that a majority shall legislate. Three a quorum. That the practice a majority of the majority legislate. Except impeachment, majority form a quorum. The act of this government unnecessary. The construction has been hitherto such. Authentication. Constitution. We are not a body. We need not assemble. Residing officer. You make none. Bolstered up. Any other step. Judge W. The people in various ways have expressed their approbation. A usurpation to act without one. Opprobrious laws of Vermon. Slaves. The right of conscience violated. A consistency in my interpretation. The vote of two determine a question. Draw the hand in rebellion to the heart. My courtesy too great. No law signed before. Unanimous adoption of section second. The former laws, &c., were imperfect. I never questioned the validity Mr. Judge Griffin until judicial capacity. I did not say that I had not looked into the laws expedient the substance of the laws good apply to this country. Vermont a new State. Mark Ohio Puritans. Catholics. I did not care what the laws were. I do not like them because I did not frame them. He composes a third of the court. A single judge. A whole court. Other courts overset. Unwarrantable to set aside laws,—but must be laws, not bills. Suppose House of Representatives alone, like House of Commons in Oliver Cromwell's days. The whole three binding. As you were—what do you gain?

The Committee to whom was referred the petitions of sundry inhabitants of the south west coast and of sundry citizens of Detroit, respectfully report in part.

That the prayer contained in the said petitions for the abolition of the district courts appears to be reasonable, and ought to be granted. From the inquiries and investigations of your committee, the representations of the said petitions, *that the district courts have not justified the public hopes,* appear to be founded in fact. Your committee therefore report a bill for the abolition of the district courts.

The committee to whom was referred the petition of sundry inhabitants respectfully report in part.

That the prayer of the petitioners to have the jurisdiction of justices of the peace augmented to the amount of one hundred dollars is reasonable and ought to be granted. Your committee therefore report, and recommend the adoption of the following resolution.

Resolved, that the prayer contained in the petition of sundry inhabitants to have the jurisdiction of justices of the peace augmented to the amount of one hundred dollars is reasonable and ought to be granted,

Sept 8th, 1810.

Passed—Committee appointed Judge Woodward.

Committee instructed in bill to be reported to leave it optional with the parties to have their cases decided by jury or by referees.

J. W., *Secy.*, *T. M.*

A Bill relative to the Jurisdiction of Justices, &c.

(Introduced the——Sept., 1810. Joseph Watson, secy. to the G. & L.)

(Negatived—Judges Woodward & Griffin for; Gov. Hull and Judge Witherell against. J. W., Secy.)

An act to abolish the courts of districts, and to define and regulate the powers, duties and jurisdiction, of justices, in mattors civil and criminal.

Be it enacted &c. that all acts, and parts of acts, relating to courts of districts, and to judges thereof, be repealed.

Section 2. And be it enacted that this act shall commence and be in force, from and after the seventeenth day of September one thousand eight hundred ten; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original States, to wit, the State of Virginia, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan.

(This section is stricken out.)

Made adopted and published the——day of September one thousand eight hundred ten.

An act to repeal all acts of the parliament of England, and of the parliament of Great Britain, within the Territory of Michigan, in the United States of America, and for other purposes.

Whereas the good people of the Territory of Michigan may be ensnared by ignorance of acts of the parliament of England and of acts of the parliament of Great Britain which are not published among the laws of the Territory and it has been thought advisable by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan hereafter specially to enact such of the said acts as shall appear worthy of adoption.

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan that no act of the parliament of England and no act of the parliament of Great Britain shall have any force within this Territory of Michigan; provided, that all rights arising under any such act shall remain as if this act had not been made; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original States to wit the State of Virginia as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan.

Section 2. And whereas the good people of the Territory of Michigan may be ensnared by ignorance of the laws of other governments under which this Territory has heretofore been that is to say of the *contume de Paris* or common law of France, the laws, acts, ordinances, writs and decrees of the ancient kings of France, and the laws, acts ordinances writs and decrees of the Governors or other authorities of the Province of Canada and the Province of Louisana under the ancient French Crown, and of the Governors Parliaments or other authorities of the province of Canada generally and of the province of Upper Canada particularly under the British Crown, which laws acts ordinances writs and decrees do not exist of record or in manuscript or print in this country, and have never been formally repealed or annulled.

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan that the *contume de Paris* or ancient French common law existing in this country, the laws, acts, ordinances, writs and decrees of the ancient Kings of France and the laws, acts, ordinances, writs and decrees of the Governors or other authorities of the province of Canada and the province of Louisiana under the ancient French crown and of the Governors, Parliaments or other authorities of the province of Canada generally, and of the province of upper Canada particularly, under the British crown are

hereby formally annulled, and the same shall be of no force within the Territory of Michigan, provided that all rights accruing under them or any of them shall remain valid; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original States to-wit the state of Virginia as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan.

Section 3. And whereas, the good people of the Territory of Michigan may be ensnared by ignorance of laws adopted and made by the Governors and the Judges of the ancient Territory of the United States North-west of the River Ohio, and of laws made by the general Assembly of the said Territory and of laws adopted and made by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Indiana under all of which respective governments this Territory has heretofore been, and which said laws do not exist of record or in manuscript or print in this country and are also out of print as well as intermingled with a multiplicity of laws which do not concern or apply to this country and therefore may not be expected to be reprinted in a body, and may not be expected to be selected and reprinted in a detached form without much uncertainty, delay and difficulty, and it has been thought advisable by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan heretofore specially to re-enact such of the said laws as appeared worthy of adoption and hereafter also to re-enact such of the said laws as shall appear worthy of adoption.

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan that the laws adopted and made by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of the United States North-west of the River Ohio and the laws made by the General Assembly of the said Territory and the laws adopted and made by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Indiana shall be of no force within this Territory of Michigan provided that all rights accruing under the said laws or any of them shall remain valid; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states to-wit the State of Virginia as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan, and the same being also made by the said Governor and Judges pursuant to the powers given to them by the second section of the act of the Congress of the United States approved by the President of the United States on the eighth day of May one thousand seven hundred ninety-two so far as the repealing power thereby conferred is or may be applicable to this subject.

(All after the foregoing section not adopted.)

Section 4. And whereas by the second section of a writing purporting to be an act to fix the times of meeting of the legislature of the Territory of Michigan and for other purposes bearing date on the ninth day of November

one thousand eight hundred eight, it purports to be enacted that the Govern. or and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan shall compose a legislative board for the said Territory, three of whom shall form a quorum for the transaction of business, and that a majority of such quorum shall be adequate to the making of a law in which case it shall be signed by the Governor alone, and in pursuance of the said section forty-four other writings are extant purporting to be acts or laws and bearing date on sundry days between the said ninth day of November one thousand eight hundred eight, and the 11th day of May one thousand eight hundred nine, including the said last mentioned day; and whereas the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan did on the fifth day of October one thousand eight hundred nine in the case of James MacGarvin against James Willson upon a writ of error from the judgment of the court of the District of Huron and Detroit decide by a lawful majority the court being then full that a power to the Governor of the Territory of Michigan to sign a bill for the purpose of becoming a law in any case where less than a majority of the whole number of the Governor and the Judges assented to his signing the same for that purpose was a void power the same being construed to contravene the ordinance of the Congress of the United States passed on the 13 day of July one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven which requires the governor and the judges or a majority of them to adopt the law, it being considered that such power could be given only by an act of the Congress of the United States, and that the said provision was not adopted from the laws of any of the original states and particularly from the state of Vermont from which it purported to be adopted, and did further decide that the power attempted to be given being a void power the acts done under the supposed power were also void; and whereas the Governor of the Territory of Michigan on the 19th day of October afterwards did issue a proclamation announcing that the Judges of the said Supreme Court rendering the judgment in the said case of the said James McGarvin against the said James Willson upon the said writ of error from the judgment of the said court of the District of Huron and Detroit had departed from their duty and that their decisions were void and did call upon the citizens and civil and military officers of this government in all things to obey the said writings purporting to be laws the judgment of the said Supreme Court in the said case upon the said writ of error notwithstanding, whereby great confusion incertitude and calamity have fallen upon the good people of the Territory of Michigan, and it has become necessary for the future happiness good understanding regulation and harmony of the said good people and of the executive and judicial officers of this government to remove all further doubt and uncertainty with respect to

the said writings purporting to be laws from the minds of the good people of the Territory of Michigan thus confused by the said decision of the Supreme Court and the said executive proclamation in opposition to the same, and it has been thought advisable by the Governor and the Judges of the said Territory of Michigan hereafter specially to re-enact such of the said writings purporting to be laws as may appear worthy of adoption.

Be it therefore further enacted by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan that no such writing as aforesaid, signed as aforesaid, and purporting to be a law, shall have any force or authority within the Territory of Michigan; the same being adopted from the laws of five of the original States, to-wit: the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan, and the same being also made under the repealing power in the second section of the act of Congress, approved by the President of the United States on the eghth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, so far as such power is or may be applicable to this subject.

(Passed.)

Section 5. And whereas it is necessary and expedient for the time to come in order that those entrusted with the power of adopting or making laws should know at what period to attend for that purpose, and be prepared for the execution of the said trust, and in order that those having petitions, memorials or remonstrances to offer may know at what time to attend for that purpose;

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan that the second Thursday in October in every year be adopted as the time for the assembling at the seat of government of those entrusted with the power of adopting or making laws, and that special meetings of the said persons may be held at other times of the year at the request of any one of them; the same being adopted from the laws of three of the original States, to-wit: the States of Connecticut, Vermont, and Virginia, as far as necessary and suitable to the Territory of Michigan.

Section 6. And be it enacted that the act passed on the tenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred five, entitled, An act concerning the marshal of the Territory of Michigan, and all acts additional thereto, and the act passed on the twenty-fifth day of July, one thousand eight hundred five, entitled, An act concerning district courts, and all acts additional thereto, and the act passed on the twentieth day of August, one thousand eight hundred five, entitled An act concerning appeals, and all acts additional thereto, and the act passed on the thirtieth day of August, one thousand eight

hundred five, entitled, An act concerning auctions, and all acts additional thereto, and the act passed on the ninth day of September, entitled, An act for the encouragement of literature and the improvement of the city of Detroit, and all acts additional thereto, be, and the same hereby are repealed.

Section 7. And be it enacted that the title and first section of the act passed on the first day of August one thousand eight hundred five entitled An act concerning the recovery of debts to the value of twenty dollars be repealed so far as the same is applicable to the amount or value of twenty dollars, and all the provisions of the said act shall apply to the amount or value of one hundred dollars; the same being in part made under the repealing power and in part adopted from the laws of two of the original states to-wit the states of New York and Pennsylvania so far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan; and so much of the act passed on the thirty-first day of August one thousand eight hundred five entitled An act concerning wills and intestiaces as provides for the probate of last wills and testaments shall be repealed and the provisions for the probate of wills and all other provisions of the said act shall apply to judges of probate to be commissioned in and for the several districts of this Territory; the same being in part made under the repealing power and in part adopted from the laws of two of the original states, to-wit, the states of Massachusetts and Vermont, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan.

Adopted made and published, at Detroit, the thirty-first day of August, one thousand eight hundred ten.

GEORGE HULL,
Governor of the Territory of Michigan.
BENJAMIN WOODWARD,
One of the Judges of the Territory of Michigan.
BARTHOLOMEW GRIFFIN,
One of the Judges of the Territory of Michigan.
THEOPHILUS WITHERILL,
One of the Judges of the Territory of Michigan.

Attest:

Tristram S. Watson, Secretary of the Governor and the Judges in their legislative department.

Act to repeal the British statutes, and for other purposes. Oct. 25, 1810. Sept. 17, 1810.

(Adopted.)

And whereas the good people of the Territory of Michigan may be ensnared by an ignorance of the laws passed between the thirtieth day of

June one thousand eight hundred five, and the ninth day of November one thousand eight hundred nine, many of which have been repealed or professed to be repealed by certain acts or bills passed between the ninth day of November one thousand eight hundred nine, and the first day of September one thousand eight hundred ten.

Be it enacted that all the said acts be and the same hereby are repealed so far as they have not been already repealed by the laws or bills aforesaid excepting the following, that is to say an act, concerning the temporary seal of the Territory of Michigan, passed on the 9th day of July one thousand eight hundred five.

An act concerning the supreme court of the Territory of Michigan passed the 24th July, 1805.

J. W. clothed completely in American Manufactures moved the following resolution.

WHEREAS, the encouragement of American Manufactures is a duty imposed on the good citizens of the United States both by the dictates of benevolence as well as by the injunctions of patriotism and whereas the consumption of domestic manufactures is at the same time most simple and the most efficacious encouragement of them, and whereas it is at all times becoming that those who desire both honour and emoluments from the execution of public trusts should exhibit themselves the foremost in examples of utility; therefore,

Resolved, that it be respectfully and earnestly recommended by the legislative authority of the Territory of Michigan to all the officers of this government to appear clothed in articles the manufacture of the continent of North America at all times when engaged in the execution of any public duty power or trust from and after the fourth day of July in the year 1813.

(DETROIT September, 1811.)

An Act of the Governor of the Territory of Michigan respecting Districts.

The District of Erie and Michilimackinac, will remain as constituted by the acts of the Governor, bearing date the third of July eighteen hundred and five.

All that part of the Territory which lies betwixt the said Districts of Erie and Michilimackinac, will form two districts and will be divided by a line drawn from the center of Lake St. Clair to the mouth of Milk River, which empties into Lake St. Clair then a westerly line to the mouth of Rock

River, on Lake Michigan, and thence continuing westerly to the boundary line of the Territory of said Lake. The District north of the last mentioned line will be called the District of Huron, and the District south of the said line, the District of Detroit.

This act to take effect from and after the first day of January one thouand eight hundred and twelve.

WILLIAM HULL.

Additional act, concerning the Supreme Court.

Be it enacted by the Governor, and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan, that the Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction of all matters of equity; the same being adopted from the laws of three of the original states, to wit, the states of Maryland, Ohio and Virginia as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan.

Adopted and published at the City of Detroit within the Territory of Michigan, this nineteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

REUBEN ATTWATER,
Acting Governor of Michigan.

A. B. WOODWARD,
One of the Judges of Michigan.

Attest:
JOS. WATSON, Secretary.

J. WITHERELL.

Petition to the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan, assembled to adopt laws.

To be laid before the meeting this evening 27 August 1810.

To the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan assembled to adopt laws:

GENTLEMEN:—The subscribers, upon whom your proceedings daily operate, have long borne and suffered with unexampled patience the extraordinary and unprecedented conduct and proceedings of the opposition members to the Local Government, finding the petition from the district of Erie not likely to make much impression on you so as to operate to public good, being of so delicate a texture, hence determine to remain no longer silent. As our rights have imperiously compelled us, so we have viewed and examined their conduct with an impartial eye; we trust, therefore, that altho' we will express our sentiments with Republican freedom and sincerity, we shall not for this reason be taxed with infringing upon the dignity of their official functions.

We shall in the first place lay it down as a firm principle in the language of that holy instrument, the declaration of our independence, and must insist upon it *as citizens* of the United States, "That we are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," &c.; That these rights are somewhat circumscribed by the ordinance of Congress of the 13th July 1787 we readily admit, but not to the extent practiced by you; the operative words therein compelling you to adopt and publish such laws of the original States, civil and criminal, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district.

This last instrument, Gentlemen, gives you, fortunately, no power to legislate for us. You have the Codes of seventeen different free States spread before you, all governed by the foregoing sacred principles of 1775 to select such laws as will guarantee unto the inalienable rights aforesaid by promoting our happiness in adopting such laws as best suit our circumstances.

How then can any of the members of our government be justifiable in resisting the wishes of the people, by upholding any system contrary to our feelings and interests, persisting to force on us what is called Woodward's Code so replete with imitations and inconsistencies as he has himself acknowledged in his famous preface?

We will now proceed to state why these laws are not in force. Firstly, that they were adopted when not one of the members of the local government were qualified with the freehold estate ordained by said ordinance, while in the exercise of their offices, which we consider a matter of substance and not of form. Secondly, That they are made and not adopted agreeable to the powers delegated to you as aforesaid. And lastly, because they have been repealed by more wholesome laws, call Witherell's code, which code were adopted and received the sanction of three members of the local government in their passage (with only two or three exceptions) all which can be proved by oral testimony and are its said matters of record in the journals of the house.

What then is to be done with the decision to the contrary thereof, of two of the Supreme Judges? We say let them examine into the facts above alluded to and on such proof being exhibited they must rectify their error. Let them take the example of the great Mansfield in a similar case.

You ought to pass the resolution now under consideration, which will meet with the almost unanimous approbation of the whole Territory (two or three of your junto excepted—we address this to the opposition members)

and enact that the laws adopted and published at the last session shall be in force, with such exceptions as have been presented against by the Grand Jurors at last September Term; refer the said presentments to one of your own body and add the laws there prayed for to the act which is to state what laws are in force; adjourn then until all parties are duly qualified according to the ordinance. Harken to the voice and interests of the people you are sent to govern and not to the disappointed sycophants, who surround the members in opposition to our government, and sicken at being left in their native insignificance. Legislate hereafter for the citizens of the Territory according to our circumstance, and not for foreigners, now residing out of our limits. Let the great majority of the good people of the Territory have their present wishes gratified; you are bound to adopt laws for their benefit. Keep our Bill of Rights and the ordinance of Congress aforesaid always before you. Adjourn then we pray you until you are legally qualified. Whenever that happens meet again, not with all the pomp and expence of Legislature, *quoting parliamentary forms*, but at your own fire-sides, discard the new fangled system you have palmed upon us, unite in adopting laws as literally as possible. Lay out the parts of the Districts in which the Indian Title shall have been extinguished, into substantial Counties and Townships, as you found the country organized on your arrival here. Do not compel the duties of Magistrates and other Civil Officers in each County or Township to be performed in Districts and by Marshals and other titles not to be found in the ordinary and original laws of Ohio, where Sheriffs and Constables and Courts of Common Pleas still exist — that state having emanated under the 1st ordinance, ought to be your Polar Star in adoption.

Fear not of allowing parties to have an opportunity of settling their controversies before a justice of the peace at a small expence, the trial by jury be permitted to them in the upper courts should they wish for the same. We are well aware that the most forcible reasons respecting your qualifications apply with equal force against your exercising any further functions in your respective capacities of adopting laws or acting as judges on the bench; but we are willing rather than remain under the present uncertainty to be contented under the new laws with the exceptions and additions before mentioned.

Another strong reason ought to operate upon your minds, gentlemen, on this important subject, to beware and not throw the whole Territory into a complete scene of litigation and confusion, by enabling the attorneys to tear up all the decisions that have taken place under the new code.

And lastly, let us solicit you, gentlemen of the opposition, to reflect seri-

ously on the state you have reduced the Territory to and the consequences which may flow therefrom.

Your good sense ought to point out to you speedily to remedy the evil, or *beware of the consequences.*

We remain, with the highest respect and consideration, Gentlemen,

Your Obedient Servants and Fellow Citizens.

WAR OF 1812 AND BRITISH OCCUPANCY OF DETROIT.

Subscription to Raise Powder. 1812.

We, the undersigned, conceiving it necessary and proper, having regard for the scarcity of ammunition in this place, that a supply of Gun Powder should be procured for the use of the inhabitants of this Town and distributed by the Committee of Public Safety, to be used in case of emergency and to supply those who may not have the means of procuring said article; do respectively, subscribe the Sums annexed to our respective names, for the purposes above stated.

Detroit, May 8th, 1812.

James May	16s. paid	Geo. Sibley	16s. paid
Robert Smart	16s. paid	Geo. McDougall	16s. paid
Denis Campau	6s.	Henry Berthelet	16s.
Henry I. Hunt	16s. paid	E. Brush	16s. paid
Conrad Seek	4s.	B. Campau	16s. paid
J. Bt. Piquette	6s. paid	John Harvey	16s. paid
Pierre Desnoyer	8s. paid	Ant Dequindre Jr.	8s. paid
A. Cook	8s.	Christian Clemens	16s.
E. Warner	8s.	William Jones*	16s. paid
B. Woodworth	8s.	Dr. McCoskry	8s.
Joseph Campau	16s. paid	J. M. Donell	8s. paid
Jno. R. Williams	16s. paid	Peter Audrain	8s. paid
Richd H. Jones	16s. paid	Wm. Forsith	16s. paid
Steven Mack	16s.		

*Recd. his share in powder.

General Orders.

No. 7. HEADQUARTERS, DETROIT, 11 May, 1812.

Abraham Geel is promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant, George John-

ston to the rank of Second Lieutenant, and Isaac Lee is appointed ——— in the Troop of Cavalry commanded by Captain Richard Smith. They are to be obeyed accordingly.

One company from the First Regiment and from that part of the Battalion commanded by Lt. Col. Christian Clemons, which reside near the River Huron and one company from the Second Regiment are to be added to the two companies of militaire now in actual service; each to consist of one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, four Sergeants, four Corporals, one Drummer, one Fifer, and one hundred rank and file. Until the 20th day of this month is allowed for voluntary enrollments, in which case the men will nominate their own officers; on which day, should the companies not be completed, the officers commanding the said regiments and Battalion will cause the deficiency to be detached agreeable to the detail furnished by the Adjutant General which accompanies this order.

Such portions of the respective companies so enrolled as reside at the River Huron Raisin, and Miami, will for the present be stationed at these places, under the immediate command of an officer of proportionate grade. The remainder will rendezvous at Detroit.

James Witherell, Esquire is appointed to the command of said detachment, and is to be obeyed accordingly.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

GEORGE MCDOUGALL,
Adj. Gen. S. M.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 14th May, 1812.

Officers and soldiers of the Detachment!

It is now many years since my sword returned to its scabbard, but it can never sleep there while my arm retains strength to draw it when the liberties of the country are invaded; and I am persuaded that similar sentiments pervade the soul of each officer and soldier of this Detachment.

But to give efficacy to your army, uniformity and concert are essential; these are unattainable without strict subordination. Soldiers are not paid to insult but to protect their fellow-citizens and chastise their enemy; let a manly and decorous deportment mark every act toward the citizens. While I would not have you forget that you are all citizens, yet as you have for a season assumed the character of soldiers, this demands that your time should be diligently devoted to the acquisition of that discipline which alone can render your services be useful to your country or honorable to yourselves.

Being now in the service of the United States, the Rules and Articles of War, established for the regulation of their armies, apply equally to you as to their other troops, which will be read to you for your information on that subject; but let it be distinctly understood and remembered that disobedience of orders, mutinous conduct and intoxication, merit and will receive the most exemplary punishment. The two companies will parade for roll-call at the same hour which the troops of the Garrison do, at which time no one will be permitted to absent himself without a written permission, except he be on duty. Half an hour at each roll-calling will be spent in reading the Rules and Articles of War by the Adjutant, until the whole be read.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 16th May, 1812.

A detachment Court Martial will assemble at the house of Benjamin Woodworth in Detroit, on Monday, the 18th instant, at 10 o'clock, A. M., for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before it, of which Captain Richard Smyth is President, and Lieutenant George Johnston and Ensign Johann McCombe are members, and Captain Antoine Dequindre is Judge Advocate.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 18th May, 1812.

At a Detachment Court Martial, whereof Capt. Richard Smyth is President, was tried, Joseph Andre, a private in Capt. Smyth's Troop of Cavalry in the Detachment of the Militia of this Territory in the service of the United States, on the following charges:

First: For disobedience of orders in refusing to go on parade in the evening of the 14th instant, when regularly warned;

Second: For assaulting and beating Corporal John Palmer in the act of doing his duty.

The prisoner being called on for his defence, was fully heard; whereupon the Court are of the opinion that the charges are fully substantiated, and, under the 9th, 21st, and 99th Articles of an Act for establishing rules and articles for the Government of the Armies of the United States, DO SENTENCE the prisoner, Joseph Andre, to be brought out from his confinement at this evening parade; then and there to ask Corporal John Palmer's par-

don and return to his duty. The foregoing sentence is approved and ordered to be carried into effect. The Detachment Court Martial whereof Capt. Richd. Smyth is President is hereby dissolved. J. WITHERELL,

Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders,

DETROIT, 20th May 1812.

Thomas Hunt is appointed Sergeant Major to the Detachment of the Militia of the Territory of Michigan, now in the service of the United States; he is therefore to be obeyed accordingly.

Lieutenant Johnston, of Capt. Smyth's Company, of Cavalry, will on the 22nd Inst., repair to the River Raisin, and take the command of that part of said troop which is stationed there, and Col. Bee will join that party of the troop which is at Detroit. J. WITHERELL,

Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 25th May, 1812.

A Detachment Court Martial will assemble at the home of Benjamin Woodworth, in Detroit on the 26th Instant at ten o'clock A. M., for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before it.

Capt. Richard Smyth is hereby appointed President, and Lieutenant Geel and Lieutenant Forsyth, members, and Capt. Dequindre, Judge Advocate.

J. WITHERELL,

Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 27th May, 1812.

A Detachment Court Martial whereof Capt. Richard Smyth is President, was tried Joseph Venier, Louis Goddard, Michael Niquot, Joseph Dupley, alias Libland, Jacques Deplanes and Joseph Bilan, privates in Capt. Smyth's troop of cavalary. They were brought before the Court charged with disobedience of orders, in refusing to do their duty when on guard, and taking up arms in violation to the law made for the Government of the Armies of the United States of America, on the 23rd and 24th Instant.

The prisoners were separately brought before the court and the foregoing charges were read and explained to them, whereupon the Court, after mature

deliberation, are of opinion and do find that the charges against the prisoner are fully sustained;

And sentence them under the 50th and 99th Articles of "An Act for Establishing Rules and Articles for the Government of the Armies of the United States," to ten days' hard labor at the Battery, with a ball and chain attached to one leg.

RICHARD SMYTH, *President.*

ANTOINE DEQUINDRE, *Captain and Judge Advocate.*

The Commander of the Detachment approves the foregoing sentence.

But being persuaded that the commission of those crimes was due to ignorance and not an intentional infraction of those rules of which soldiers are required to govern their conduct and from a full conviction that the foregoing sentence will serve as a sufficient admonition to all the detachment against a repetition of those offences. The Commandant is induced to remit the punishment to each of the prisoners and orders them to return to their duty.

The Detachment Court Martial whereof Captain Richard Smyth is President, is dissolved.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 12th June, 1812.

Lieutenant Geel will repair, on the 15th Inst., to the River Raisin, there to do duty with the Detachment until further orders.

Without arms and ammunition, soldiers are not only useless to their friends, but harmless to the Enemy. All the men present, not sick or on martial duty, will parade on each Saturday at 4 o'clock P. M., in the rear of Fort Forsyth encampment for the purpose of Inspection.

It is presumed that the lightness of tne duty affords ample time to each soldier to keep his arms, accoutrements and clothing in good order.

It must not be forgotten that by an order of the 14th Ultimo, no one is permitted to be absent from roll-call without a written permission, unless on duty.

The Commanding Officer of each company will cause that no less than two hours in each day (Saturdays excepted) be devoted to disciplining their men —a considerable part of which, after attaining the first rudiments. should be employed in forming, displaying and marching in column and marching slow and quicktime, with charged bayonet.

The men must lodge in their quarters.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 14th June, 1812.

Should it be found necessary to hold Court Martials for the trial of any non-commissioned officers, musicians or privates of the Militia of the Territory now in actual service, stationed at the River Raisin, for any offence, not capital, recognizable before a Detachment Court Martial, Capt. Hubert Lacroix is authorized to appoint such Court and to approve or to disapprove of the sentence thereof, causing regular records to be kept of the order appointing such Court, and all subsequent proceedings thereon.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 14th June, 1812.

Lt. Geel will repair to the River Raisin on the 15th Inst. to do duty in that part of the Detachment until further orders.

The Commandant conceives that the stockades &c. at that place are now in such a state of forwardness as to fully enable the Troops to turn their attention to the all important subject of the road, when the difficulty of marching an army from the Rapids to Detroit with a number of baggage wagons &c., over the road, or rather mud and waters, which are to be passed on that route, the mind is drawn forcibly to the necessity of making every exertion to obviate those impediments to its passage; lest, if left wholly to prepare its own way, the arrival might thereby be rendered too late to answer the important purposes of its destination. As the Period is fast approaching which will essentially affect the state of this country in one way or another, every exertion ought to be made to meet the want that can happen. You will therefore cause a Detachment of at least one Subaltern, two Sergeants, two Corporals and thirty privates to be daily employed in making and repairing the road on the course laid by the Commissioners, between the Rapids and Detroit. Perhaps it would be convenient for those stationed at Otter Creek to work in that direction, while the remainder are employed between the River Raisin and the River Huron.

As the pressure of so many loaded wagons will require a firm foundation, the bridges and causeways ought to be proportionally strong. The object to me, to be sufficiently interesting to draw to it the exertion of every inhabitant, as the benefit will solely come to them after the more general purposes for which it is now made can be accomplished. I confide in the patriotism of the people, and that under your prudent and active exertions, much will

appear to have been accomplished on the arrival at that beautiful River Raisin, of the Veterans who have been traversing a desert for its defence.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

This may certify that, to the best of my knowledge, I believe Thomas Welch, a private in Captain Dequindre's Company of Riflemen, now in the service of the United States, under command of Major James Witherell, is capable of doing the duties of a soldier.

Witness my hand, at Detroit, this 24th day of June, 1812.

WM. BROWN,
Acting as Sergeant.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 27th June, 1812.

Pursuant to a general order of the 19th instant, James Dodomead will deliver the brass four pounder, together with the carriage and apparatus now in his charge to Lieut. Robert Forsyth on his giving a receipt for the same.

One sergeant, two corporals, and ten privates from the company, commanded by Lieut. Forsyth, will go into a daily exercise of said field-piece and make every exertion to perfect their skill therein. They are to keep a regular guard, furnishing one sentinel for the management of the field-piece and apparatus. No public powder is to be used in exercise except by special direction of the commandant. No drum or fife is to be used after the close of the tattoo until reviele beating, between which hours the officers and men must be found in their proper quarters. All the arms which need it must be prepared without a moment's delay. This requisition must be understood to apply equally to those in the cavalry who are armed with the muskets as to the rest of the troops.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 12th July, 1812.

Officers and soldiers of the Detachment:

The perseverance and activity with which you have sustained and discharged the various services which have fallen to your share for some days

past, would have done credit to a band of veterans, and have not escaped the notice of either the General or the patriotic army he led into the country.

I have only to regret that the general regulations should have prevented you the gratification of being among the first who descended the opposite bank of the river; but however anxious you may feel to visit that side, it must in no instance be done without permission.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

DETROIT, July 13th, 1812.

DEAR GEN'L.: I need not descant upon the pecuniary circumstances of most of the men composing my detachment. 'Tis enough to say that a great share of them have families without any visible means of support except the earnings of the husband. They were promised by the officers under whom they volunteered, that they should be paid at the end of two months.

They entered the service on the 21st of April. By a letter from the Secretary of War, to the acting Governor on that subject, (in answer to one from him) it was stated that you would bring the means.

If such be the case, I flatter myself that your perfect knowledge of the premises will induce you to cause the complaint to be remedied. The exertions of both officers and men in aiding the operations of the army which you marched into the country, have been laudable.

I remain with great respect, &c.,

J. WITHERELL.

Hon. B. Gen. Hull.

Extract from General Orders.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE N. W. ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
Sandwich, July 16, 1812.

Upon an alarm at camp, three rounds will be immediately fired from the piece of artillery, commanded by Lieut. Anderson. Should an alarm be given at Detroit, three rounds will be fired from such piece as Major Witherell shall designate.

The signal of an alarm on the north bank of the river, will be three rounds fired from a a field-piece near the south gate of the town of Detroit.

Major Van Horn will cause a report of the troops under his command to be made every morning, immediately after roll-calling, to the commanding

officer at Detroit, where the officers of the respective guards will receive the counter-sign.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt. at Detroit.

The senior officer in the fort and the officer commanding at the Battery and each officer commanding a company on the commons, will cause a report to be made each morning, immediately after roll-calling, of the state of the works and of the troops under their immediate command. The officers of Guards will receive their countersign at my quarters.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt. at Detroit.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 21st July, 1812.

William Little is appointed for the time being to do the duty of Sergeant Major to the Detachment of Michigan Militia in the service of the United States; he is to be obeyed accordingly.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt. at Detroit.

General Order.

DETROIT, 29th July, 1812.

As there are some who have fled from the British Standard to this place in a state of indigence, who are likely to suffer from the want of present means of subsistence, the Contractor is hereby ordered to issue rations for their relief, on returns made and signed by Major James Witherell.

WM. HULL, *M. Gen. Com'g.*

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 6th Aug., 1812.

A Detachment Court Martial will assemble to-morrow morning at the dwelling house of Mr. Woodworth in Detroit, at 10 o'clock A. M., for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before it.

Capt. Stephen Mark, President, Lt. Josiah Brady and Ensign John McComb, members; Sergeant Major Wm. Little will serve as Judge Advocate.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 8th Aug., 1812.

The Court Martial whereof Captain Mark is President, is dissolved.

A Court Martial will assemble this day at the house of Benjamin Woodworth in Detroit at 10 o'clock A. M., for the trial of such prisoners as shall be brought before it. Lieut. Josiah Brady is appointed President; Ensign John McComb and Ensign Wm. Blackmer, members. Sergeant Major Wm. Little will serve as Judge Advocate.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 8th Aug., 1812.

At a Detachment Court Martial, whereof Lt. Josiah Brady is President, was tried Antoine Barreau, Elisha Lampher, John Duplane, Edward Hubbard and William Robertson, all of Captain Smyth's Troop of Cavalry, in a Detachment of Michigan Militia, in the service of the United States, for disobedience of orders when called upon to go on parade and duty. The prisoners being severally put to plead, plead not guilty. After hearing evidence, and mature deliberation, the Court are of opinion that Antoine Barreau is guilty of the charges exhibited against him and sentence him to a confinement in the Guard House for two days. The Court also find that Elisha Lampher, Edward Hubbard, John Duplane, and Wm. Robertson are not guilty of the charges exbibited against them, and acquit them.

JOSIAH BRADY, *President.*
WM. LITTLE, *Judge Advocate.*

Detachment Orders.

DETROIT, 8th Aug., 1812.

The foregoing sentences are approved and orders to be carried into execution to-morrow morning at roll-calling.

The Court Martial whereof Lt. Brady is President is dissolved.

J. WITHERELL,
Major Comdt.

RIVER RAISIN, 15th June, 1812.

To Major James Wetherell, Commanding a Detachment of Militia, in the service of the United States, at Detroit:

Inclosed you will find a morning report of the Detachment of Militia under my command. I am fearful that it is not correct; you will advise me

of its errors that it may be corrected, and also the several returns which are also recited; but there are eight tin pans that I have not received and it appears that they were not sent.

Louis Lajoie have offered to have the stockade for the upper settlement built around his house and I have thought it the most convenient place and I have command it there; and we can have his house for barracks for a reasonable price wich I hope will be allowed to him by the Quarter Master, as we cannot do without barracks. We have been very busily imployed for the five or six days past at the several stockades according to your order and the work goes on very brisk.

We are so few commissioned officers here that it makes it very difficult to do our duty; therefor, I hope we shall have an Ensign appointed by the Governor or chosen by the "men." I could not send you the muster roll for the month of May for wanting a form. Therefor, I wish you would send me one.

Since writing the above, I have received your orders by Lieutenant Geel for working on the road. The greatest difficulty that we shall experience on that point is for the want of tools; if it is possible to receive them from Detroit, it would accellerate the business very much, as I have had the greatest difficulty in acquiring them.

I shall not be able to finish the stockades as soon as the other way could, for the want of teams. The inhabitants of the upper settlement, who are but few, are not supplied with teams and are not well supplied with tools and are loth to furnish them. So soon as I will receive your answer, I will quit the stockades and go to work on the roads.

You will receive this letter by Poivier, that I send in Col. Anderson his boat, to have tools if it in your power to send us some.

I remain, Sir, very Respectfully, Your Obedient Servt.,

HUBERT LACROIX, *Captain.*

DETROIT, 22d June, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter of the 15th inst., accompanied with your report which was very methodical, except that you need have but one total column on the right hand side.

The tin-pans have been sent down by the boat. As to the axes we have not been able to procure one here, except what were gotten from the inhabitants. Col. Anderson has agreed to furnish you with a few. By a letter which I have received from General Hull, of the 14th inst., he will be at the Rapids about the 26th inst., with about 2,300 troops, including Col.

Boyd's regiment, and as the presence of that army, especially as he is leaving detachments for security on the way, will be sufficient to allay any apprehensions in your vicinity, so as to enable the work on the road to be pursued with vigor. Let it be well done.

The sound of the Ohio axes will soon strike your ear from the southwest. I think there can be no excuse for the inhabitants if they do not also lend a hand to the work by furnishing teams, &c. They must be sensible that it is for their benefit, as I have before remarked.

You will direct that all the gun-locks that are out of repair and cannot be repaired by the smith at that place, be sent up by some trusty soldier immediately, who will remain here till they are done, and if any ramrods are wanting they can be had by your making a return stating the deficiency.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. WITHERELL,
Maj. Comd.

CAPT. LACROIX, 22d June, 1812.

RIVER RAISIN, 26th June, 1812.

TO MAJOR JAMES WITHERELL:

SIR:—I have the honor to transmit to you another morning report of the detachment under my command; and, as I have become responsible for many axes and other tools, I wish to know if I am to be individually responsible for them that have been broken or lost, or if they will be paid for by the Government. I have had fifty men employed in cutting the road since Monday last, and from that this day I shall have eighty toward Detroit and thirty toward the Miami. We have but a very small number left for a guard. I would wish that you would be so kind as to give me an answer to the several particulars that I have wrote to you in my last two letters.

I will have all the guns that are out of repair sent to you as soon as possible. I have not been able to find the road exactly in the place laid out by the Commissioners, but according to the best information that I have been able to obtain, we are nearly in the same course. Dr. Hott went with me but he was not able to recollect the course, and the places can rarely be found; but I have and shall continue to do my best and hope it will be satisfactory.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient and humble servant,

HUB'T LACROIX, *Captain.*

RIVER RAISIN, 16th July, 1812.

TO MAJOR JAMES WITHERELL:

SIR:—Inclosed you will find a morning report of my Detachment of the 16th Instant, which I hope you will find correct.

I take the liberty to ask you once more if I cannot have an Ensign appointed in my company, as I find it very difficult to do without one, as the Lieutenant is employed a great deal of the time with the Detachment in the upper settlement. I do not know how I am to finish the stockade in the upper settlement, for want of teams. The inhabitants being few and having no cart, and they will not hall any more voluntarily. I wish to know whether this Detachment will remain there or be ordered below.

The stockade at Otter Creek is finished and the new block house in the old stockade will be finished to-morrow.

In your last letter you mentioned that you had inclosed the form of a Muster Role, but I did not find any, for which reason I have not made any return of any, not knowing how to do it correctly.

I remain, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your obt. and humble servt.,

HUBERT LACROIX, *Captain.*

RIVER RAISIN, July 17, 1812.

MAJOR JAMES WITHERELL:

SIR:—We have understood from good authority that those men of Capt. Smyth's company who, we understand, came from Detroit in search of some deserters, have conducted themselves with great impropriety, viz:—before they arrived at Brownstown, they stripped and fought; that at Brownstown, or near there, they took a horse by fource from same Indian and have the horse now at this place. Some Indian passed here to-day who related the circumstance and sayed the horse belonged to a Sandusky Chief, and that the Indians were on the eave of raising the tomahawk to defend their property. They took Mr. Godfroy's horse at this place without asking for it and their whole conduct seems very improper. On this account, Colonel Anderson and we ourselves advise Lieutenant Geel to go with them to see the horse returned and make the best arrangement he can and represent the conduct of these men.

HUBERT LACROIX, *Captain.*

ISAAC LEE, *Comm't.*

DETROIT, 7th June, 1812.

SIR:—Until the arrival of General Hull, (who, in arranging the troops that may come with him, may possibly cause a different regulation,) it shall be understood that you shall be entitled to receive from the public, as an entire compensation (medicine included,) for the necessary medical attendance upon the militia in actual service, stationed at the River Raisin, at the rate of twenty-five dollars per month; on condition, that if required, you will perform, or cause to be faithfully performed, the like service for the remainder of Capt. Lacroix's company, whether organized at the Rapids of the Miami, of Lake Erie, at the River Raisin or at any place between these partitions, for the additional sum of eight dollars and thirty-three cents per month, making in the whole, thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents per month.

You will please to take notice that, altho' I entertain no doubt that the general Government will acquiesce in and allow the above stipulation, should the services be faithfully performed, yet I do not consider myself personally responsible for any part of it. If the above conditions are acceptable to you, please to express it by writing at the bottom and signing it, and, inclosing this to me, reserving a copy if you choose. I am Sir,

Respectfully your obt. servt.,

J. WITHERELL,

Doctor Peter I. Austin. *Major Comdt.*

Proclamation.—Province of Upper Canada.

ISAAC BROCK, Esquire, President administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major General Commanding His Majesty's Forces within our said Province.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME—Greeting:

Whereas, on the seventeenth day of June last, the Congress of the United States of America declared, That WAR then existed between those States and their Territories and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dependencies thereof; and whereas in pursuance of such Declaration, the Subjects of the United States have actually committed hostilities against the Possessions of his Majesty, and the Persons and Property of his Subjects in this Province; Now therefore, by and with the Advice of his Majesty's Executive Council in the Affairs of the Province, I do hereby strictly enjoin and require all His Majesty's Liege Subjects to be obedient to the Lawful Authorities, to forbear all communication with the Enemy, or

Person residing within the Territory of the United States, and to manifest their Loyalty by a zealous co-operation with His Majesty's Armed Force in defence of the Province, and repulse of the Enemy. And I do further require and command all Officers, Civil and Military, to be vigilant in the discharge of their duty, especially to prevent all communication with the Enemy, and to cause all Persons suspected of Traitorous Intercourse to be apprehended and treated according to law.

GIVEN under my hand and Seal at Arms at York, in the Province of Upper Canada, this Sixth Day of July, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand eight hundred and twelve, and in the fifty-second year of His Majesty's Reign.

ISAAC BROCK,
President.

By Command of His Honor.
WM. JARVIS, *Secretary.*

Regulation of the Civil Government of the Territory of Michigan.

Whereas the Territory of Michigan, was on the sixteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and twelve, Ceded by Capitulation to the arms of His Brittannic Majesty, and the American flag was removed and the British flag substituted on the same day at noon; And whereas on the same day a Proclamation was issued by Isaac Brock, Esqr. Major General Commanding His Majesty's forces in the Province of Upper Canada, &c., &c., &c. And the said Proclamation, among other things, announces to all the Inhabitants of the said Territory that "wishing to give an early proof of the moderation and justice of the British Government, the American laws heretofore in existence shall continue in force, until His Majesty's pleasure be known, or, so long as the peace and safety of the said Territory will admit thereof." And whereas the said laws cannot be carried into excution according to the effect and intention so announced to the inhabitants without providing for the existence and continuance of the proper civil officers; for the execution of the same, and without the necessary courts and other judicial authorities for the administration of Justice among the said Inhabitants.

Now, therefore, be it known, that I, the undersigned, Henry Proctor, Colonel in the Military forces of His Brittanic Majesty, now commanding in the Territory of Michigan, do make and establish for the time being, the following Regulations for the civil administration of the said Territory.

I.

The civil officers, remaining in the country, shall continue to exercise the respective functions appertaining to their offices, without any new commissions for the same, and those offices which are suspended by the departure from the country of those holding them, shall be supplied as hereinafter provided.

II.

The civil executive powers shall be exercised by a civil Government. The Civil Government shall appoint to all civil offices, which are or shall be vacant, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

III.

Courts of Justice shall be held as usual.

IV.

Legislative provisions need not be adopted from the laws of any of the American States. A majority shall not be necessary when any of the offices are vacant. The Secretary shall make two copies of all executive proceedings, and legislative Regulations, one of which shall be transmitted for the use of the British Government, and the other shall be retained.

V.

The expenses of the civil administration shall be defrayed quarterly, by the proper officer in the military department paying the lawfull amount thereof to the civil treasurer. The duties, customs, and revenues accruing according to the laws of the United States, shall be paid quarterly, by the collectors to the proper Officer in the Military department. The internal duties and revenues accruing to the territory of Michigan, shall be paid to the proper treasurers thereof.

VI.

The undersigned will act as civil Governor of the Territory of Michigan for the time being. Augustus B. Woodward Chief Justice of the said Territory is appointed Secretary. The offices of register, and receiver of the Land-Office, and Postmaster, are superceded, reserving a full right to adjust all anterior concerns. All offices in the Indian Department are superceded.

Given under my hand at Detroit the twenty-first day of August, one thousand eight hundred twelve, and in the fifty-second year of his Majesty's reign.

(Signed) HENRY PROCTOR, *Colonel.*

(Copy.) DETROIT, August 24, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—I beg leave to acquaint you that, immediately after your departure hence, a difficulty was experienced regarding the administration of the laws of this Territory as announced in your proclamation of the 16th inst., and to remove the same, on mature consideration, I conceived it requisite to take upon myself a responsibility of which, before you left this, I most certainly had not the least idea. In so doing, I have, to the best of my judgment, acted in obedience to your proclamation and with the spirit of which, I humbly conceive, the annexed regulatiou of the 21st inst. strictly accords. I hope you will do me the justice to believe that I have not been actuated by interested motives, and that it has been with the greatest reluctance, your approbation not having been previously obtained, that I have taken upon myself a responsibility which, however, it was requisite should be assumed, to restore to the affrighted inhabitants confidence, the immediate object, as I conceive, of your proclamation. I inclose a letter which I conceived it expedient to write to Mr. Justice Woodward and also his answer, which I hope you will find satisfactory. I was doubtful whether the American R————————laws ought or ought not to be enforced. Formerly, they were productive, I understand, to the amount of six or eight times the expenses, but of late they have been reduced. If those laws are not enforced, the inhabitants of this Territory, paying no customs or duties, will be placed on a better footing than those of your Province, which was not intended by your proclamation. I shall therefore make a provisional appointment of Collectors. Little, however, will be done in this or any other civil matter until I have the opportunity of hearing from you. In the hope of being favored with a letter from you,

I am, Sir, with respect, faithfully and obediently yours,

(Signed) HENRY PROCTOR,

Ma'r Genl. Brock, Niagara. *Colonel Command'g.*

DETROIT, 16th Aug't, 1812.
In prisen.

TO THE HON. A. B. WOODWARD, &C., &C.:

Whereas my Situation Renders my life uncertain, several Balls having already passed through the Prisen, I implore you may judge it Expedient, to have me removed on Board the Schooner Mary, where I will find Security, for my Return to the Prisen, in which I now am, as Soon as tranquility takes place for which I shall be bound by the strongest Obligations of Gratitude from

Your faithful and obt. servt.,

ROBERT LIVINGSTON.

JUDGE WOODWARD:

SIR:—I am sorry to trouble you so often, but has I have heard that you was agoing over the river, if you will let me have your house as our family is large, and I do not find myself safe where we are—if you will be so good has to speak to Gouvenier Proctor, and let me have an answer, if it is not too much trouble, and the price, you will do me a great favor.

I am, sir, with respect, your obedient servant,

ELIZA GODFROY.

Detroit, the 25th of December, 1812.

Mrs. Godfroy's compliments to Judge Woodward and wishes to inform him that she has spoke to Judge Woodward according to promise, and Mrs. Knags now be very happy if you will do her the honor to come and see her this evening. Mrs. G. begs that the Judge will excuse her if she did not go to Mrs. Mures to-day, has the roads are very bad, and they is a number of pepol arrived here this morning from River Raisin. Mrs. G. would thank the Judge if he will be so good as to stop at her house wen he will return from Mrs. Knags, has she would wish to speak to him.

Detroit, the 24th of January, 1813.

Col. Proctor and the gentlemen composing his family present their respects to Mr. Chief Justice Woodward, and will do themselves the pleasure of waiting on him to-morrow at four o'clock.

Thursday evening.

Colonel Proctor takes the earliest opportunity of sending to Chief Justice Woodward two American newspapers, which the Colonel requests he will return with as little delay as possible.

Wednesday morning.

DETROIT, December 27, 1812.

To. COL. PROCTOR, Commandant at Detroit and its dependancies, &c., &c.;

SIR:—It is with much pain and extreme regret that I am compelled by my feelings to acquaint you with a transaction that has this day come to my knowledge. I had resided a number of years at the Miami rapids, during which period had the misfortune to lose my wife, and, as a tribute of

respect due to her worth, did procure a tomb stone with a suitable inscription at a considerable expense, which covered the grave of the deceased, around which was a proper paling, surrounded with a picketing to prevent the intrusion of persons disposed to insult the sacred repository of the dead. This object had been preserved inviolate for more than six years; until your army advanced to that place last September, when it was violated in the most wanton manner by destroying the paling and pickets that surrounded it, defacing and otherwise mutilating and injuring the stone itself. How far such treatment of a Deceased Lady comports with decency, I leave you to determine or in what way it Promotes the honor or interest of his Majesty's Service, or injures that of his Enemies, I am at a loss to discover. It has certainly shocked my feelings and I feel persuaded cannot meet your approbation. It is very far from my wishes to implicate the gentlemen who commanded that Expedition, yet I am of opinion they might have prevented it. I forbear, Sir, enlargeing on the subject so derogatory to the British character and so repugnant to my feelings, and I pass over the particular transactions accompanying it out of delicasy. With the utmost deference and with Sentiments of high Respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, LOUIS BOND.

DETROIT, 9th January, 1813.

The HON. A. B. WOODWARD, ESQ.:

SIR:—The undersigned, having private and important to transact with some Inhabitants of River Raisin, have taken the privilege to address you, wishing that you would interest yourself in obtaining a pass from the Commanding Officer, so that they may transact the same, and return unmolested, and at the same time, they would thank you to apply for a pass for Mr. William Macomb, who wishes to go out at the same time.

We are respectfully, sir, your obt., humble servts.,

JAS. BURNETT,
DUNCAN REID.

To the Hon'ble A. B. WOODWARD,
One of the Judges of the Territory of Michigan:

SIR:—We, the Inhabitants residing in the vicinity of Detroit, beg leave to state; that we have learned with extreme regret, that in consequence of not receiving any answer to your dispatches which have been forwarded to the General Government, (after waiting a reasonable time), you have signified

your intention, of shaping your course in a few days for the City of Washington.

We are on this occasion particularly obliged to acknowledge and admire your Patriotic and uniform conduct, since the Surrender (on the 16th, Aug't. last) of this territory to his Majesty's Arms, in interceding and protecting us suffering citizens to save our lives and persons from the victorious and insisting savage, in preserving the remnants of our properties from pillage, and in aiding the means of departing those who wished to go. And find the standard of their country, and also for the spirit of Humanity which you have displayed towards the surviving citizens of the unhappy and terrible disaster which took place on the 15th Aug' last in the vicinity of Chicago, in procuring the means of preserving those unhappy survivors from the distressing calamities which environ them, and for their restoration to their friends. We have seen with great satisfaction the good effects which have resulted from your repeated efforts, and we sincerely hope that the pains and interest you have taken in their behalf may be crowned with success.

From the just sense we entertain of your goodness we can not reconcile it to our minds that you have any, the least wish or intention to imitate the example and conduct of your Colleagues, who at the hour of danger, and at a time their services was most undoubtedly required immaturely abandoned their parts, and flew to the United States, leaving us to our Fate, and owing entirely to the pains and exertions which you have taken on the occasion we have happily escaped. Fully impressed from the situation of the country, of the necessity of your presence, the fond hope we entertain that ere long your dispatches will be answered and your conduct highly approved by the Gen'l Government, we take the liberty of soliciting as a special favor, that you will continue to remain, and brave out the storm with us; or until the Genl Govt shall judge proper to recall you from the Territory.

We further beg leave, with the deepest sense of gratitude, for the past exertions which you have made on our behalf and for the tranquility which we continue to enjoy, to offer you our warmest thanks.

DETROIT, 6th Jan'y, 1813.

DETROIT, 1st February, 1813.

GENTLEMEN:—I am ordered by Col. Proctor to say that he expects you will be prepared to leave the country on Friday next in company with a number of American citizens from this place.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

Messrs. H. J. B. Brevoort and William Macomb.

SANDWICH, 3d February, 1813.

SIR:—I am directed by Col. Proctor, commanding, to inform you that he has further inquiries to make respecting Mr. Naggs before he can decide whether Mrs. Naggs and her brother will be permitted to accompany him.

Mrs. Naggs will be made acquainted with the Colonel's decision.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

A. W. McLEAN, *A. D. C.*

Augustus B. Woodward, Esq., Sandwich.

SANDWICH, 4th February, 1813.

SIR:—Yesterday you informed me that whatever was wanting for my present convenience should be attended to as far as circumstances would permit if I would make my wants known to our friends in Detroit. I am destitute of shoes, and could not wear any if I had them, as my right foot is swelled too much. A pair of socks would be better. These with a blanket, outside coat, a pair of mitts or gloves, with ten or twelve dollars in cash, would supply my necessities at present.

I am yours, &c.,

SAMUEL McKEEHAN,

Surg's Mate, 2d Reg., 2d Brig., Ohio Militia.

Honorable A. B. Woodward, Detroit.

DETROIT, 2d FEBY., 1813

THE HON. A. B. WOODWARD:

DEAR SIR: Having learnt on Saturday last that all Citizens of the United States, excepting native Canadians were to be shortly ordered out of the Country, I called on Mr. William Jones on Sunday & laid my peculiar case before him, with a request that he would intercede with Colo. Prokter to allow me to remain here until Spring; inasmuch as my extreme debility and impotent bodily infirmities totally disqualify me from undertaking such a Journey at this inclement Season.—I stated to that Gentleman that I had taken the earliest opportunity after the 16 August last, to make myself acquainted with the Laws of Nations and of England relative to our situation and duties as Citizens of the United States and was soon aware of that temporary allegiance which aliens owe to that government by which they are protected, and that they cannot, with impunity, transgress the Laws of any Country so long as they are residents in, and conducted myself accordingly.

I therefore Sir, at the Risque of some Obloquy, early promulgated my

opinions on this head very generally and that not only none of us as Neutrals, ought by word or Deed to interfere in matters of Government but that to attempt to discover & betray its Secrets, would subject the party to be excuted for High Treason; for should men be daring enough to live in any Country for the purpose of discovering and betraying its Secrets to the Enemy with whom it was at War, the wisest Counsels and the greatest Exertions of power must be inefficacious, or only conduce to accelerate that "Ruin they were intended to prevent.

I also stated to him that I had no objections to give my parole in strict conformity to thery principles & to find undoubted security for a strict compliance therewith.

Mr. Jones informed me yesterday that he had so represented my case to Colo. Proctor, who did not think proper to come to any determination then on the subject: this has given me the greatest possible and has kept me all night from an eye, for I could not help deploring my unhappy fate on finding my dwelling House, Store & Out houses at River Reason next to Praume's conflagrated by the Savages on the 23rd ulto. in addition to my two Story House, farmer's house, Barn and Disstillery at Stony Creek having shared the same fate last fall by the same hands, and being thus sent into a strange Country without any pecuniary means, without Friends, too proud to beg and too helpless to earn a livelyhood, I threw myself out of bed in dispair with this exclamation,—"My God! What have I done to forfeit those Rights for which the faith of the British Government is plighted by the Capitulation with & the proclamation of that great & Generous Hero, the deceased Maj. Genl. Brock? What has become of that boasted faith which has been the prop to the prosperity of that Government? I will call on my Friend Judge Woodward, the Champion of our Rights, in aid to Mr. Jones' representations, to state my case and if any slanderous complaints have been made against my Honor, to ask to be confronted with my accusers" for I declare it to you, Sir, in a most solemn manner, that I abhor from my soul the thoughts of such dispicable conduct; as soon would I think of betraying you, My Dear Sir, after being feasted and protected at your hospitable board, as to become a Traitor to any Governmnt and thus insure the censure of my own.—May I therefore, My Dear Sir, solicit you, to obtain the same indulgence for me as has been granted to Colo. Hunt, who holds the same Rank in the late Michigan Militia as myself.

I pray you, Sir, to accept the assurance of my Respectful Salutations and Esteem.

GEO. MCDOUGALL.

A Proclamation by His Excellency Henry Proctor, Esqr., Governor of the Territory of Michigan, &c., &c., &c.

Whereas existing circumstances render it necessary, for the peace and safety of the said Territory, that the laws now in Force therein, should, for the present, be suspended, and that Martial Law should be proclaimed: Now therefore, I the said Henry Proctor Esq. Do by These presents declare, that, the Civil & Criminal Laws now in Force, in the said Territory shall be for the present suspended; & I do order and direct that the said Territory shall be Governed by Martial Law until such time, as the Danger now existing, and to be apprehended, shall be removed. And all Persons residing within the said Territory are required to take Notice of the Present Proclamation, & to Govern themselves accordingly.

Given under my hand and seal at Detroit this fourth day of Feb'y, 1813, and in the 53d year of His Majesty's Reign.

HENRY PROCTOR,
Colonel com.

Proclamation.

HEAD QUARTERS, SANDWICH, 13th Sept'r, 1813.

His Excellency, Sir George Prevort, Governor in Chief, having authorized the officers commanding the troops in the Upper Province to execute martial law in such District or part thereof, in which it may be found advisable, or necessary to resort to that measure: I do hereby, by virtue of the authority above mentioned, proclaim, and direct, that the same shall immediately take effect, as far as "supplying the wants of the troops under any plan or the sending away or apprehending all traitorous or disaffected persons may render expedient.

HENRY PROCTOR,
Maj'r Genl., Com'g the right division.

AFFIDAVIT OF FRANCIS GANDON CONCERNING MASSACRES, ETC., COMMITTED BY INDIANS AT SANDY CREEK.

(Last war.)

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, } ss.
County of Monroe. }

Be it remembered that personally appeared before me, James J. Godfroy, a Justice of the Peace in and for said county of Monroe, in said

Territory, Francis Gandon, who, being duly sworn, deposeth and says that at the commencement of the late war with Grate Britain he lived at Sandy Creek, about three miles from River Raisin, on the road leading from said river to Detroit, and that of the 21st or 22d day of August, 1812, or one or two days after the burning of the stockade and blockhouses, and the plundering and destruction of Col. John Anderson's property, four chiefs, two Ottoway and two Delawares, came to my house and told me that they were going to the River Raisin, to cut off the two hands and pull out the tongue of said Anderson, so that he could not write or talk to the Big Knives, a name they have for the Americans. I told a young man who lived with me to go as fast as possible and give said Anderson notice, and I give the Indians some refreshment to detain them. They took out their large knife and stuck it in the floor, saying, "That is to cut off his hands." They treated me harshly and called me a dog and a Big Knife, &c., as I had light colored hair.

From that time to the 22d January, 1813, I was much troubled with the Indians going to and from River Raisin to Detroit, so that I had to move my family to Detroit, and I would return as often as possible to save my grain, to keep my family from starving. On the 18th of January, Col. Lewis came to River Raisin and drove the British and Indians from that place, and on passing this place they shot two citizens, Eatane Labo, and Jean Bapt. Solo, and the only reason for doing it, they said the young man asked them if they were running away from the Big Knives; on the 22d they took possession of my house with a number of prisoners. One they roasted by the fire they made in the holes in the floor, and he was the whole day a dying as I was told by one of my neighbors, Alex's Gee, who seen him often through the day, and his cries could be heard a mile; but he dast say nothing, or even speak to him—would be certain death. When I came home in the evening to see my house he was laying on the door step, one side black. I cannot describe my feelings on this mournful occasion; but on the 23d was still more gloomy, the poor wounded men on the battle ground were all butchered or burnt alive in the houses of Miss's Godfroy, Lacroix, McDougall, Jerome, and Coutreand, the families of River Raisin, Otter Creek, and this place, running in every direction, some to Detroit, some to Sandusky, in slays, on horseback and a foot, leaving their property behind.

The British had provided a number of slays on the 22d to take their wounded to Maulden, and those poor people had to go on foot and carry their children on their backs, and many who were in affluence the day before were beggars now, and I, with the others, went to Detroit, and when the Indians left my house they put fire to it, and it was consumed about two

weeks after, as I was informed by Captain Joseph Jabian, who seen it burning, and after the arrival of Gen. Harrison at Detroit, with the army, I returned to my farm and found house and barn and froot trees destroyed, and my wife would not agree to live there any more on account of the dead bodies she seen there; where the house stood there was three or four skeletons which were burnt, as I have been informed. I was to exchange my farm at a grate loss for a piece up the Creek. I am now sixty years of age. I was a voluneeer in the service of the United States, under the command of Captain Hubart Lacroix, in consequence of which the Indians twitted me harshly, saying I was a dog, &c.

They took from me fourteen horses and most all my hogs, cattle and sheep. They killed one ox to take the tail to put on their arm and left the meat to rot, and farther this deponant saith not.

His
FRANCIS ✕ GANDON.
Mark.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 25th day of November, 1834.

J. J. GODFROY,
Justice of the Peace.

JUDGE DUROCHER'S NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN HART'S MASSACRE.

MONROE, March 29, 1858.

HON. R. MCCLELLAND:

DR. SR:—The accompanying statement of our friend Durocher I had intended giving to you personally and to have made some explanation, that you might not err in putting it in form.

Lest I might not see you on my way east, I enclose the paper with the request of the Judge, to which I add my own, that it be prepared for publication.

I will add that Saintcomb has informed me that he was in the road and near Capt. Hart when shot; that he fell from his horse instantly on being shot without a word or a groan.

He says further, that some years after, at the request of some Lexington friend, then here for the purpose, the grave be opened and the under jaw taken by said friend. I have the promise of our friend that he will commence a history of the settlement of this county.

Respectfully yours,

D. S. BACON.

In the action of January 22, 1813, Captain Hart received a wound in one of his ankles. He was taken prisoner by a Pottawattomie Indian about the same time that Gen. Winchester was taken in the attempt to rally the flying soldiers, and near the place where the General was captured. After Captain Hart was murdered the Indian who took him captive declared that he intended to have saved his life. When the Captain was taken, his captor made him remain on the horse he had been riding, and led the animal, with his rider upon him, toward the battle ground. He then made signs to Captain Hart to follow him up the River Raisin, to get out of the way of the

other Indians. On their way up the river, about 100 rods west from the battle-ground, the Indians stopped at the house of Antoine Campeau and made signs to Capt. Hart to proceed, which he accordingly did. On arriving in front of Francis Lasselle's house, which was about forty rods up the river from Campeau's, he stopped his horse in the road and hailed; and when Lasselle partially opened the front door, Captain Hart earnestly entreated that he would save him from the hands of the Indians. Lasselle answered sorrowfully that it was out of his power to save him; that in the morning, at the beginning of the action, several Indians, mostly Wyandottes, had come into the yard, back of his (Lasselle's) house, and asked who were within, particularly inquiring if any Americans were there; and on being answered by Lasselle from an upper window that there were no Americans there, and no one at all except women and children, the Indians had warned him not to suffer any one to come in, and to keep his doors and window shutters closely shut, for if an American were found in his house every one in it should be killed and all his buildings should be destroyed.

As the road appeared clear of Indians, Mr. Lasselle thought the best and only way for Capt. Hart would be to proceed with his captor to his brother, James Lasselle, whose influence with the Indians would save him, and said that he himself would accompany the Captain but for the apprehensions that, in his absence, some Indians might come into his house and commit acts of pillage and cruelty or murder. During this conversation the Indian already mentioned had overtaken Captain Hart and Francis Lasselle spoke to him and entreated him in the most earnest manner to take good care of the Captain, to which he signified his willingness.

Capt. Hart, in despair, followed the Indian. Unfortunately, in the next house (which was about 15 rods distant from the dwelling of Lasselle), were five Delaware Indians, who had entered it seeking for plunder, and had found some whisky and become intoxicated. This Lasselle did not know. As the Indian and Capt. Hart came in front of the house, the Indians within the house called to the one in the road to come in. He went to the gate, leading the horse on which Capt. Hart was, tied the halter to the gate post, and went in. One of the Indians from within, standing in the door, leveled his rifle at Capt. Hart and shot him in the breast. Another ran and scalped him and tomahawked him and left his body stretched in the road almost naked. Then the Indian who had captured Captain Hart, feeling much grieved at the outrage, threatened to avenge his death; and would have killed the one who shot the Captain, had it not been for the interference of the others, who prevented him.

As the Indians had threatened and warned the inhabitants that they

should not remove the bodies of Americans lying exposed in the roads or else where, the body of Captain Hart remained on the same spot until in the night, when one Joseph Ruland (who occupied the house), with some others, took it and placed it in a potato hole, from which the potatoes had been previously taken out, and covered it up well until the next night. The next day Messrs. Chovin, Campau and St. Cosme dug a grave in a thicket back of a field, on Robert Navarre's farm, and under the protection of the darkness of the night, wrapped up the body in a piece of carpet and buried it there.

Mr. St. Cosme has informed Judge Bacon of Monroe that he was in the road and saw Captain Hart shot; that he fell from his horse instantly on being shot, and died without a groan. Some years after, at the request of a friend from Lexington, then at Monroe for the purpose, the grave was opened and the lower jaw taken out, and the visitor carried it away with him.

DETROIT, 9th March, 1818.

DEAR SIR:—My best endeavors to procure from Lasselle or others, any notes of the circumstances attending the death of Captain Hart, were in vain; they promised, but their neglect to perform compelled me to leave River Raisin without them. However, the following is the substance of the history they give of it as far as I can recollect. Yours very sincerely,

Major Charles Larned. P. LECUYER.

Capt. Hart, in the action of the 22nd January, 1813, received a wound in his leg or ankle, (they disagree) and among other wounded, took refuge in Jerome's house. Whether before or after the general massacre, (I did not learn or do not recollect) he chanced to fall in the hands of a Pottawattomie Indian who considered him his prisoner, and, as is reported, intended to take him to Malden; at all events, from the mild treatment Capt. Hart received from this Indian, no doubt is entertained of his intention to save him. He caused Capt. H. to mount his own (Capt. H's.) horse, and, if I remember well, gave him his saddle bags, then beckoned the Captain to follow him up the river. When they arrived opposite old Campeau's the Indian stopped, and as he was going into the house, made sign to Capt. Hart to proceed, which he did until he arrived opposite Mr. Lasselle's, and finding him within call, he most earnestly entreated him to rescue him from the barbarous hands of the savages; to which Mr. Lasselle grievingly assured, "that it was not in his power to save him; that, since the morning, five of the Delaware Indians had taken possession of his house and were constantly offering him insults and threatening to burn up his property, and in fact were using every means to find an apparently plausible cause to begin their hellish deeds; and should he attempt to shelter him, he (Capt.

H.) not only would be exposed to more danger and undoubtedly the first victim, but afford a pretext to these savages to destroy lives and property indiscriminately; that, as it then appeared, the road being clear of Indians, the best and only way for him would be for him to proceed to his brother James, whose influence with the Indians, he had no doubt, would save him, and he would follow him thither if it was in his power to get rid of the Indians."

Capt. Hart, then with the deepest anguish and despair depicted in his face, turned away his head and rode on. Most unfortunately, the next house above Lasselle's was full of Indians, the greatest part of whom were intoxicated, which circumstance, Lasselle says, he then was totally ignorant of; and as soon as Capt. Hart came in sight of them, one leveled his rifle at him and shot him through the breast; another ran, scalped him and sunk the head of his toamhawk into the back of his skull, as the hole, yet to be seen through that part, fully proves.

As the Indians had positively declared that whoever should dare to touch one of the bodies of these American dogs should share the same fate, Capt. Hart's body, consequently, remained on the same spot nearly two days; and at last Captains Lacroix and Lasselle's human feelings, prevailing over all apprehensions of the consequences, they resolved to pay to his remains (as they expressed themselves) the last tribute of their respect due his memory, and, after having, in day time reconnoitred a suitable place for the purpose, they, aided by an old man named Chovin, under the protection of the darkness of night, went and deposited his remains in a grave.

MICHIGAN, January 31, 1813.

SIR:—I had the honor to transmit to you some days ago, simply under an envelope, some information for the friends of Messieurs Baker and McCarthy; and I now beg leave to transmit communications of a similar nature for some other families.

In the Battle of "La Riviere aux Raisins" of the twenty-second of this month, and which terminated in a complete victory on the part of the British Commander, the American General evidently committed four military errors.

First:—His troops were posted on the left bank of the River Raisin; when they should, unquestionably, have been upon the right.

Second:—They were posted at the extremity of a public road; when if posted on the left bank at all, they should have been in a situation that

either fences or woods might have presented some obstructions to the approach of cannon.

Third:—He slept a mile and a half from his soldiers and the next to him in command being absent, they, in fact, had no commander.

Fourth:—He received intelligence of the march of the attacking party in the evening; but would not credit it.

The operations of the British Commander are marked with the same minute correctness of judgment in this instance and the same boldness of conception and execution, which distinguished, in the former instance, his illustrious predecessor General Brock. It is, in fine, a military movement of equal, and in fact of greater splendor. His allies will, however, tarnish his military laurels; and plant a thorn in his heart; "But that I am" &c. Hamlet, Act 2, scene 4.

The American soldiers fought like lions. The enemy do justice to their intrepid bravery; and being the first instance they have felt in this quarter, of American spirit, it is not without its impression. Whatever credit is, however, given to the bravery of the men, the superiority of generalship beyond all doubt or question, belongs to the British Commanders.

If Genl. Winchester advanced without the affection of the Commanding Genl. there was still a greater and a worse military error.

I have the honor to be, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. B. WOODWARD.

To Hon'bl. James Monroe, Secy. of State.

NOTE.—The following document appears without authorship or date:

Some time in April about the 7th, a party of Winnebagoes came to Chicago and murdered two men. This gave us sufficient ground for to suppose the Indians hostile as they had left every sign by scalping, and leaving a weapon, say a war mallet, as a token of their returning in June. Mr. Kinzie sent in a letter from the interior of the Indian country to inform Captain Heald that the Indians were hostile inclined, and only waiting the Declaration of War to commence open hostilities. This, they told Kinzie in confidence. On the 10th of July Captain Heald got the information of war being declared and, on the 8th of August, got Genl. Hull's order to evacute the post of Fort Dearborn by the route of Detroit or Fort Wayne, if practicable. This letter was bro't by a Pottawattomie chief, Winne Mag, and he informed Captain Heald, through Kinzie, to evacuate immediately, the next day if possible, as the Indians were hostile and that the troops should change the usual

route to go to Fort Wayne. Captain William Wells arrived from Fort Wayne on the 12th August with 27 Miamis, and after a counsel being held by him, with the tribes then assembled, to amount of 500 warriors, 179 women and children, he after counsel, declared them hostile and that his opinion was that they would interrupt us on our march. Captain Wells inquired into the state of the arms, ammunitions and provisions. We had two hundred stand of arms, four pieces of artillery, 6000 lbs. of powder, and a sufficient quantity of shot, lead &c., three months' provisions, taken in Indian corn, and all this on the 12th of August; having prior to this expended three months' provisions at least, in the interval between the 7th and 12th of August. Exclusive of this we had at our command 200 head of horned cattle and 27 barrels of salt. After this survey Wells demanded of Captain Heald if he intended to evacuate. His answer was he would. Kinzie then, with L. Helm, called on Wells and requested him to call on Captain Heald and caused the ammunition and arms to be destroyed, but Captain Wells insisted on Kinzie and Helm to join with him. This being done, Capt. Heald hesitated and observed that it was not sound policy to tell a lie to an Indian, that he had received a positive order from Gen'l Hull to deliver up to those Indians all the public property of whatsoever nature, particularly to those Indians that would take in the troops and that he could not alter it; and that it might irritate the Indians and be the means of the destruction of his men. Kinzie volunteered to take the responsibility on himself, provided Captain Heald would consider the method he would point out a safe one. He agreed. Kinzie wrote an order as if from Genl. Hull and gave it in to Captain Heald. It was supposed to answer, and accordingly was carried into effect. The ammunition and muskets were all destroyed the night of the 13th. The night of the 15th we evacuated the garrison and about one and a half mile from the garrison, we were informed by Captain Heald that we were surrounded and the attack by the Indians began, about ten o' the clock the same morning. The men were, in a few minutes, with the exception of 10, all killed and wounded. The ensign and surgeon's mate were both killed, the Capt. and myself both badly wounded. During the battle I fired my piece at an Indian and felt confident I killed him or wounded him badly. I immediately called to the men to follow me in the prairie or we would be shot down before we could load our guns. We had proceeded under a heavy fire about an hundred and fifty paces, when I made a wheel to the left to observe the motion of the Indians and avoid being shot in the back, which I had so far miraculously escaped. Just as I wheeled, I received a ball through my coat pocket, which struck the barrel

of my gun and fell in the lining of my coat. In a few seconds I received a ball in my right foot which lamed me considerably. The Indians happened immediately to stop firing and never more renewed it. I immediately ordered the men that were alive to load their guns and commence loading for them that were unable. I now discovered Captain Heald for the first time to my knowledge during the battle. He was coming from towards the Indians and to my great surprise, they never offered to fire on him. He came up and ordered the men to form; that his intentions were to charge the body of Indians that were on the bank of the lake where we had just retreated from. They appeared to be about 300 strong; we were 27, including all the wounded. He advanced about 5 steps, and not at all to my surprise, was the first that halted. Some of the men fell back instead of advancing; we then gave the only piece of ground there was near. We now had a little time to reflect and saw death in every direction. At this time an interpreter from the Indians advanced towards us and called for the Captain, who immediately went to meet him. (The interpreter was a half Indian and had lived a long time within a few yards of the fort and bound to Mr. Kinzie; he was always very friendly with us all.) A chief by the name of Black Bird advanced to the interpreter and met the Capt. who after a few words conversation, delivered him a sword and in a few minutes returned to us and informed me that he had offered 100 Dollars for every man that was then living. He said they were then deciding on what to do. They, however, in a few minutes, called him again and talked with him some time when he returned and informed me that they had agreed if I and the men would surrender, by laying down our arms, they would lay down theirs, meet us half way, shake us by the hand as friends, and take us back to the fort. I asked him if he knew what they intended doing with us then. He said they did not inform him. He asked me if I would surrender. The men were at this time crowding to my back and began to beg me not to surrender. I told them not to be uneasy for I had already done my best for them and was determined not to surrender unless I saw better prospects of us all being saved and then not without they were willing. The Capt. asked me the second time what I would do, without an answer. I discovered the interpreter at this time running from the Indians towards us, and when he came in about 20 steps, the Capt. put the question the third time. The interpreter called out "Lieutenant, don't surrender; for if you do they will kill you all; for there has been no general council held with them yet; you must wait and I will go back and hold a general counsel with them and return and let you know what they will do." I told him to go, for I had no idea of surrendering. He went and collected all the Indians and talked for some time. When he returned and told me,

the Indian said if I would surrender as before described, they would not kill any and said it was his opinion they would do as they said for they had already saved Mr. Kinzie and some of the women and children. This enlightened me and the men, for we well knew Mr. Kinzie stood higher than any man in that country among the Indians and he might be the means of saving us from utter destruction, which afterward proved to be the case. We then surrendered and after the Indians had fired off our guns, they put the Captain, myself and some of the wounded men on horses and marched us to the banks of the lake where the battle first commenced. When we arrived at the bank and looked down on the sand beach I was struck with horror at the sight of men, women and children, lying naked with, principally, all their heads off and, in passing over the bodies, I was confident I saw my wife with her head off about two feet from her shoulders. Tears for the first time rushed into my eyes but I consoled myself with the firm belief that I should soon follow her. I now began to repent that I had ever surrendered, but it was too late to recall and we had only to look up to Him who had first caused our existence. When we had arrived in half a mile of the fort they halted us, made the men sit down formed a ring around them and began to take off their hats and strip the Captain. They attempted to strip me but were prevented by a chief who stuck close to me. I made signs to him that I wanted to drink, for the weather was very warm. He led me off toward the fort and, to my great astonishment, I saw my wife sitting among some squaws, crying. Our feelings can be better judged than expressed. They brought some water and directed her to wash and dress my wound, which she did and bound it up with her pocket handkerchief. They then brought up some of the men and tomahawked one of them before us. They now took Mrs. Helm across the river (for we were nearly on its bank) to Mr. Kinzie's. We met again at my father's in the state of New York; she having arrived seven days before me, after being separated seven months and one week. She was taken in the direction of Detroit and I was taken down the Illinois River and was sold to Mr. Thomas Forsyth, half brother of Mr. Kinzie's, who, a short time after, effected my escape. This gentleman was the means of saving many lives on the Missouri frontier. I was taken on the 15th of August and arrived safe among the Americans at St. Louis on the 14th of October.

Captain Heald, through Kinzie's sending his two negroes, got put on board an Indian boat going to St. Joseph and from that place got to Mackinac by Lake Michigan in a birch canoe. The night of the 14th the interpreter and the chief, Black Patridge, waited on Captain Heald. The Indian gave up his medal and told Heald to beware of the next day; that the In-

dians would destroy him and his men. This Heald never communicated to one of his officers. There was but Captain Wells that was acquainted with it. You will observe, Sir, that I did, with Kinzie, protest against destroying the arms, and ammunition until that Heald told me positively that he would evacuate at all hazards.

Fifteenth of August we evacuated the fort. The number of soldiers was 51 privates and four officers and physicians besides 14 citizens, 18 children and 9 women; the baggage being in front with the citizens, women and children on the margin of the lake. We, having advanced again the prairie, I could not see the massacre, but Kinzie, with Dr. Van Dorns, being ordered by Captain Heald to take charge of the women and children, remained on the beach; and Kinzie since told me he was an eye-witness to the horrid scene. The Indians came down on the baggage wagons for plunder; they butchered every male citizen but Kinzie, two women and 12 children in the most inhuman manner possible; open'd them, cutting off their heads and taking out their hearts. Several of the women were wounded but not dangerously.

EXPEDITION UNDER GENERAL MC ARTHUR.

DETROIT, Feb. 16, 1815.

To the Committee Appointed by the Citizens of Detroit:

GENTLEMEN:—In compliance with your wishes, I shall proceed to state to you that I was called upon by Col. McDougall on the Sixteenth day of October last to accompany him as a Volunteer under General McArthur to Saquina; he desired me to give him what information I was possessed of regarding that country; we fell to work and sketched out a Map of the various Routs thither, the different villages around, distances and number of those warriors of my company likely to be found there in each; he remarked that the General, finding I was so well acquainted in that quarter, wished me particularly to join him.

On the 17th I waited on the General; he remarked that he was desirous of obtaining ten or fifteen young men who knew the country, for the space of eight or ten days, to go to Saquina. I then volunteered my services and assisted in procuring a dozen of active woodmen and faithfully promised them that they should be detained no longer than the time mentioned, relying on the General's word. No compensation was offered nor was any expected. We volunteered with our horses, from the purest motives and

zeal, to render every service to our country, and I am well convinced that if the General had gone to the place he mentioned, that we would have acquitted ourselves with honor. We drew ten days' provisions at Detroit and joined the Detachment at Grosse Point on the 23rd, the General placing my Command in advance of the Detachment, to River St. Clair; there to my utter astonishment, the General mentioned to me that he was going to River Thames and not to Saquina; wished me to mention the circumstance to my Command and expressed a desire that they should cross the river with him, to which they agreed, expecting that there would be no difficulty in returning from the Thames; we continued for two days and a half up Big Bear Creek and across towards Moravian Town, always in our station in advance of the Detachment, when within about eight miles of the latter place, I received from Adjt. Woods to take my men in the rear of the Detachment, which we obeyed with great reluctance, and surprise. A short time afterwards the General came to the rear of the Detachment, and remarked that the Rangers under Capt. W. McCormick were jealous of our having the advance and if he had not given it to them upwards of twenty of their number, whose times had expired, would positively return.

On the evening of our arrival at the Moravian Town, my men assembled and requested I should make a representation to the General that their time was nearly expired and if he would not give them their former station they asked for permission to return home. I accordingly sent him a note that evening which he did not answer, but came to our tent next morning, accompanied with Dr. Turner, and in a violent passion, remarked that my men should not be allowed to return and if they deserted to Detroit, that he would send the Indians after them. He said that the citizens of Detroit, to the exception of perhaps a dozen, were Traitors and as ready to send information to the enemy as the people of Sandwich, that the Territory was not worthy of our Government's protection, that he should so represent it to the Secretary of War, and that it should only be defended as a pass; he also excepted those present under my command from that.

We continued our course with the Detachment, up the Thames which we (reached) at Delaware & on the ——— River some of my men were missing, who however came into camp that evening at Westminster, where, having refreshed themselves, they returned in the night without my knowledge, or being noticed, coming or going, by any one, as they told us on overtaking them at Sandwich alledging that their time, being when their time should expire, if they thought proper, they, as well as myself, not being provided with cash or suitable cloathing, for a long expedition at that season of the year.

Memoranda of our Expedition under Gen'l McArthur. Started, 23 Oct., 1814. Returned to Detroit, 9 Nov. 1815, at Sunset.

[The original is very indistinct and badly mixed up.]

Left Detroit, Sunday 23 Oct 1814 at 3 P. M. and slept at John Grant's.

Monday, 24, left Gross Point and slept at B. Huron, kindly treated by my friend, Fr. St. Aubin.

Tuesday 25, left R. Huron and slept at Swan Creek, at Baron's Log House, which was tore up for Fuel.

Wednesday 26, Slept at the late C. Harrow's plantation this evening and am informed for the first time that we are not going to Saquina but are to cross the River towards Belldoon tomorrow. The General and suite very polite and attentive to us.

Thursday 27, Cross our horses this afternoon.

Oct. 27, 1814. List of Michigan Volunteers under Gen'l McArthur at Harrow's Plantation, River St. Clair.

No. 1 Geo. McDougall.
" 2 Capt. Jacob Smith.
" 3 Edward Tucker.
" 4 Birette Jacques Campeau.
" 5 Louis Campeau, Junior.
" 6 Benois Louis Tramble.
" 7 Louis Moran.
" 8 Henry Campeau.
" 9 Francois Boyer.
" 10 Antoine Marcelay, dit Dimord.
" 11 Francois Dupuis dit Le Blanc.
" 12 James Meldrum.
" 13 James Conniway.
" 14 Michael Wilder.

Audrain's Rangers, attached to the Michigan Volunteers.

No. 1 Lt. John Ruland.
" 2 Louis Dufour.
" 3 Etienne Duseau.
" 4 Kager Harris.

Recapitulation.

12 Michigan Canadians.
2 American do.
4 Audrain's Rangers.

18 Total.

[Impossible to read the rest.]

ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS OF DETROIT TO MAJOR WILLIAM H. PUTHUFF, LATE OF THE U. S. 2D RIFLE REGIMENT, UPON HIS RETIRING FROM THE ARMY AND THE COMMAND OF HIS POST.

DETROIT, 9th August, 1815.

TO MAJOR WILLIAM H. PUTHUFF:

SIR:—The meed of merit in a Republic being the plaudits of a country, we thus address you to testify our sense of the obligations we are under, for the firmness and rectitude of your conduct during the terms of your different military commands on this frontier. Our country doubtless knows your worth, this being only the tribute due from us as individuals, and it is with heartfelt satisfaction we now offer it.

You, sir, when commanding as an officer, never forgot the rights of the citizens under your authority, impartial justice has been distributed to all, envy has fled mute, and by the justice and urbanity of your conduct and manner when commanding on the Canadian shore have even called forth the well earned praise of the enemies of our country, whilst the decision and firmness of your character forced them to acknowledge the patriot and the soldier.

Your attention to the soldiery, your love of order and discipline, your unremitted exertions to enforce it, and your attention to your duty as an officer, has long excited our admiration, and now calls forth our applause. Where you have commanded sycophants were not known, faction has hidden its head, disaffection sat down in sullen silence, and treason was a stranger.

The indignation which you manifested at our insolent neighbor on the Canadian shore for his outrageous violation of every principle of the gentleman in the treatment offered by him to American citizens since the termination of the war, evinces that, where you command, the hand of friendship, nor the arm of protection will never be extended to the man who dares outrage upon the feelings of a member of the community to which you belong.

From the frontier of your country to the peaceful pursuits of private life, to the bosom of your family and place of abode, you return followed by the applause of your fellow citizens, and the admiration of our late enemy. That you may enjoy the happiness you so well deserve, is the sincere wish of your fellow citizens, and humble servants.

Signed by the following gentlemen of Detroit:

James May.	Jacob Visger.	Christian Clemens.
Richard Smyth.	Joshua Howard.	Wm. P. Blair.
A. Lacock,	James Black.	W. Watson.
Duncan Reid.	Stephen Henry.	Oliver Williams.

Austin E. Wing.	Robert Abbott.	Hiram King.
David Macomb.	Jno. McDonnell.	Jos. Campeau.
Conrad Teneyck.	Stephen Mack.	Jno. Bt. Cicot.
Edward W. Miller.	Gab. Godfroy.	Conrad Seik.
Louis Dequindre.	Jno. Meldrum.	James Dodemead.
Geo. McDougall.	Jacob Smyth.	Isaac Dodemead.
Albion T. Crow.	Dennis Campeau.	James Conner.
Jno. Stockdon.	B. Woodworth.	Jno. Roby.
Lewis Beaufett.	S. P. Cook.	A. Wendell.
A. Cook.	A. S. Cook.	Jno. R. Williams.
Rob. Irwine.	Rob. Smart.	B. Campeau.
W. Knaggs.	Peter Audrain.	Abraham Truax.
D. C. Campeau.	James Abbott.	Jer. V. R. Teneyck.

MAJOR WILLIAM H. PUTHUFF'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE CITIZENS OF DETROIT, UPON HIS RETIRING FROM THE ARMY AND THE COMMAND OF HIS POST.

DETROIT, 9th August, 1815.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—It has ever been my wish and intention while I had the honor to hold Commission in the army of our beloved country to duly appreciate the rights of the citizens and so far as came within my power afford that aid and protection to the enjoyment of those rights which by the spirit of our constitution and laws is guaranteed them. I have ever entertained the opinion that an Army is so far useful only as it may prevent aggression, avenge national injury and injustice, and protect the people in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights and privileges.

The opinion you have been pleased to express of the manner in which I have conformed to this principle during my command, affords me a pleasure beyond the power of expression. Honor is the soldier's best reward; to have it thus conferred, by a free, independent, and enlightened people gratifies his utmost wish, and more than compensates for the privation, toil and fatigue of War.

About to retire from the Army, I avail myself of this opportunity, to express the high opinion I entertain of the urbanity, patriotism and hospitality of the citizens of Detroit. Impressed with the deepest sense of gratitude, I withdraw with the most sincere, and ardent wish, that peace, harmony, health, happiness and prosperity may await you.

I have the honor, gentlemen, to subscribe myself your sincere friend and fellow citizen. (Signed.) WILLIAM H. PUTHUFF.

SKETCH OF JAMES WETHERELL.

MR. WALKER:—
I send herewith a brief sketch as you suggested. It may be too long; if so, please prune it.
Yours &c.,
B. F. H. WETHERELL.

James Wetherell, late Judge of the United States for the Territory of Michigan, was born in Mansfield, Massachusetts, on the 16th of July, 1759. His ancestors came from England among the first arrivals, after the Mayflower.

At the age of 16 he joined the Army under Washington at Boston; was afterwards in the battles of Rhode Island, White Plains, Bemus Heights, Saratoga, & Monmouth; was adjutant of the 11th Massachusetts Regt when the army was disbanded, 1783; After this war went to Vermont; in 1807 member of Congress; in 1803, appointed a Judge of the Territory of Michigan; held the office about twenty years, exchanged for the office of Secretary of the Territory, and died Jan 9th, 1838.

CERTIFICATE OF ASSIGNMENT OF CLAIM.

This is to certify that James May, Esq., has this day assigned and transferred to John, William and David Macomb an appraisment of damages done to his farm called Come's farm by the United States troops. Estimated under an order of Lieu't. Col. Geo. Croghan, dated Detroit, April 28th, 1814 by Henry I. Hunt, James H. Audrain, James Conner and Antoine Dequindre at $880.55. Be held annually accountable to said James May under said assignment to pay over to him any money that we may receive for the United States, deducting the fees, the expenses of collection, reasonable commission for attending to said claim, no further nor in any other respect are we to be held responsible for said claim.

Detroit, 5th Sept'r, 1814.

JOHN W. MACOMB.
WM. MACOMB.
DAVID MACOMB,
by his next friend,
JOHN W. MACOMB.

Witness, Lewis Cass.

LETTER OF MR. WOODBRIDGE TO JAMES MAY.

FAIRPORT, CONN., August 25, 1815.

JAMES MAY, Esquire:

MY DEAR SIR:—I remember to have heard you frequently speak of a species of medicine of which you were nearly out. You also expressed a wish to obtain from New York a new supply. It would give me pleasure to be of service to you in this respect, but I have forgotten the name of the medicine; I only know it to be some species of lozenge. If this letter should reach you in a reasonable time write to me at this place and I will with pleasure procure it for you.

It remains as yet uncertain how long I may be compelled to remain in Connecticut. The present indisposition of Mrs. W. will for some time detain me. I hope, however, to see you during the fall. You have sometimes facetiously invited me to make a family voyage to Michilimackinac. Proof will, I trust, in a few days, exist of the inutility of the experiment in our case. This hint will explain to you the cause of my protracted absence. An absence which I sincerely deplore both with reference to my private feelings and my publick duty.

Mr. Wing, in a letter sometime since received by me, conveyed the idea to me that you would be content to undertake the business of the Collector's office. Any arrangement on that subject which you may make with Mr. Wing for this season will meet my sanction. After my arrival or at some further period, should you not be engaged in other business, we may perhaps make a more permanent one.

Be pleased to inform me whether you have yet forwarded your bill on my brother for payment, or whether Mr. Wing has taken it up and what money he may have paid you? I mean in the event of your writing to me concerning the little commission you wished me to attend to at New York. I should be happy in any event to hear from you, and, through you, from your family.

Be pleased to make to Madame *votre epouse* my very best respects, and to the young ladies my compliments. Do not forget me either to our very worthy and warm hearted friend, Captain Knaggs.

Has Col. Hunt left Detroit for New York? I should be much gratified to see him in New York if he should be there this fall. To him also please remember me with respect, as also to your old backgammon antagonist, Mons. Audrain. I find myself imposing on you too many commissions. I

can only express to you further my solicitude to learn whether Mons. Beaubien has come down any in the price he asked me for his farm?

With respect I am, dearest sir, your obedient servant,

WM. WOODBRIDGE.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS FOR THE PORT OF DETROIT.

1. Matthew Earnest was the first collector; appointed about 1805. He held the office for some years, left the Territory about 1808 and never returned.

2. Reuben Atwater was the next collector. He was appointed about 1809. He was Secretary of the Territory about the same time, and was when appointed a resident of Windsor, Vermont. On the surrender of the Territory, Aug. 16, 1812, Atwater was compelled to leave the Territory and, not returning immediately on the return of peace, he was succeeded by Mr. Woodbridge.

3. Wm. Woodridge was appointed collector and secretary about 1815. He held the office until 1828 when he resigned, being appointed Presiding Judge of the Territory.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CIVIL OFFICERS APPOINTED BY THE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY OF MICHIGAN ANTERIOR TO THE 1ST MARCH, 1818.

Names.	Offices.	Jurisdiction.	Date of Commission.	Page of Executive Journal.
Audrain, Peter	Justice of Peace	District of Detroit	28 Sept., 1805	28
Anderson, John	Chief J. C. Court	Mon C.	14 July, 1817	32
Anderson, John	Jus. of the Peace	Dist. of Erie	15 July, 1805	28
Anderson, John	Auditor Public Accounts	Dist. of Erie	1 Jan., 1812	29
Anderson, John	Super'r Highways	Dist. of Erie	7 Oct., 1805	29
(torn out) Samuel	Coroner	Monroe County	14 July, 1817	32
Audrain, James H.	Supervisor Highways		5 Oct., 1814	3
Audrain, James H.	Sheriff	Wayne County	21 Nov., 1815	20
Audrain, James H.	Constable	Dist. Huron & Erie	21 Nov., 1815	20
Abbott, Robert	Auditor Pub. Accounts		Oct. 4, 1814	2
Abbott, Samuel	Assoc. Justice	Dis. C. Dis't Mich'c	16 July, 1807	29
Abbott, Samuel	Jus. Peace	Dis't Michil'c	5 Aug., 1815	17

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CIVIL OFFICERS.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Offices.	Jurisdiction.	Date of Commission.	Page of Executive Journal.
Abbott, Samuel	Super. Highways	Island Michil'c	7 Oct., 1805	29
Abbott, Samuel	Notary Public	Dist. of Michil'c	5 Oct., 1805	29
Abbott, Samuel	Auctioneer	Dist. of Michil'c	9 Sept., 1805	29
Abbott, Samuel	Judge of Probate	Dist. of Michil'c	27 Sept., 1809	29
Anderson, John	J. C. G. Q. Ses. Peace	County Wayne	15 July, 1804	28
Anderson, John	C. J. D. C. D. Erie	Dist. of Erie	15 April, 1807	29
Abbott, James	C. J. C. Court	Wayne County	9 Oct., 1815	19
Blackmore, Sylvenus	Marshall	Dist. of Huron	3 Sept., 1811	28
Brown, Henry	Auctioneer	Dist. of Detroit	9 July, 1816	23
Brown, Henry	Justice Peace	Dist. of Erie	17 April, 1817	27
Boudie, Dominique	Super'r Highways		10 Nov., 1815	19
Benfait, Louis	Super'r Highways		10 Nov., 1815	19
Benfait, Louis	Jus. of Peace	County of Wayne	19 Aug., 1790	28
Brown, Giles J.	Jus. of Peace	County of Macomb	20 Jan., 1818	
Bronson, David C.	Assessor	County of Monroe	6 Jan., 1818	
Choates, Samuel	Justice Peace	Dist. of Erie	17 April, 1817	27
Campeau, Jacques	Super'r Highways		10 Nov., 1815	19
Cicotte, Jacques	Super'r Highways		11 Nov., 1815	19
Cicotte, Francois	Supervisor		1 April, 1816	21
Cicotte, Francois	Constable	Dist. of Detroit	8 Jan., 1818	
Conner, Henry	Supervisor		26 Nov., 1815	21
Conant, Horatio	Jus. Peace	Dist. of Erie	13 Jan., 1817	24
Conner, Henry	Supervisor Highways	Hamtramck	5 Jan., 1818	
Clemens, Christian	C. J. C. Court	County Macomb	20 Jan., 1818	
Durocher, Lawrent	Justice Peace	Dist. Erie	9 Oct., 1816	23
Durocher, Lawrent	Clerk C. Court	County Monroe	14 July, 1817	32
Dubois, Etienne	Constable	Dist. Detroit	8 Jan., 1818	
Forsyth, Robert	Sec. Ind. Depart.	Ter. Michigan	2 July, 1817	30
Fulton, James	Sheriff, Constable, and Assessor	County of Macomb	20 Jan., 1818	
Gambel	Justice Peace	Dist. Michil'c	5 July, 1815	17
Grant, John	Super'r Highways		15 May, 1816	22
Hunt, Henry J.	Associate Justice	C. C. W. County	9 Oct., 1815	19
Hatch, Rufus	Justice Peace	D't Huron	8 Aug., 1817	32
Hatch, Rufus		County of Macomb	20 Jan., 1818	
Howard, Warren	Supervisor R. & H.	Spring Wells	8 Jan., 1818	
Howard, Warren	Constable	Dist. Detroit	20 Jan., 1818	
Harrington, Elisha	Justice Peace	County Macomb	20 Jan., 1818	
Kelsey, Reuben	Super'r Highways		9 May, 1816	21
King, Joseph	Super'r Highways		1 April, 1816	21

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CIVIL OFFICERS.—CONTINUED.

Names.	Offices.	Jurisdiction.	Date of Commission.	Page of Executive Journal.
Lacroix, Hubert	Sheriff	County Monroe	14 July, 1817	32
Leib, John L	C. J. C. C. & J. Peace	Wayne Co. & Dist. Detroit	31 May, 1817	27
Larned, Charles	Register	Dist. Erie, Detroit & Huron	12 Nov., 1816	23
Lee, Isaac	Justice Peace	Dist. of Erie	9 May, 1816	21
Lee, Isaac	Ass. J. C. & Regis	County of Macomb	14 July, 1817	32
Lascelle, Francois	Justice Peace	County of Monroe	Aug., 1817	32
LeRoy, Daniel	Asso'te Justice	County of Macomb	20 Jan., 1818	
LeRoy, Daniel	Justice Peace	County of Macomb	9 Feb., 1818	
Labadie, Francois	Justice Peace	County of Macomb	9 Feb., 1818	
Lawrence, Wolcott	Clerk C. G. Q. S. Pea	County of Monroe	6 Jan., 1818	
Loranger, Joseph	Treasurer	County of Monroe	6 Jan., 1818	
Macomb, David B	Justice Peace	Dist. Detroit	10 June, 1816	22
Macomb, John	Super'r Highways		22 Ap., 1816	21
McCloskey, James	Aud'r Pub. Accounts		8 Aug., 1817	32
McDougall, George	Justice Peace		7 Oct., 1814	3
McDougall, George	Auctioneer	Ter'y Michigan	5 Dec., 1816	23
Meldrum, William	Constable	Dist. Detroit	8 Jan., 1818	
Meldrum, John	Auctioneer		16 Jan., 1817	
McDonell, John	Ass't Justice C. C	County Wayne	16 Jan	
McDonell, John	Auctioneer	County Wayne	31 May	
McDonell, John	Justice Peace	Dist. Detroit	8 Jan., 1818	
Monteith, John	Pres. Univ. Mich		10 Sept., 1817	34
Morass, Ignace	Coroner	Macomb County	20 Jan., 1818	
Potter, John C	Jus. P. & Auctioneer	Dist. Michil'c	8 May, 1815	17
Potter, John C	Sup'r Highways	Dist. Michil'c	6 April, 1817	26
Puthuff, William H	Jus. Peace	Dist. Michil'c	19 Aug., 1815	17
Petit, William W	Notary Public	County Wayne	1 Sept., 1817	32
Patridge, Asa	Constable	Dist. Detroit	20 Jan., 1818	
Richard, Gabriel	Prof. Int. Sci's & Astr'y		17 Sept., 1817	34
(Torn out)	Clerk C. C. & Jus. Pea	County Wayne		22
Reid, Duncan	Constable	Dist. Detroit	6 June, 1817	30
Reid, Duncan	Assessor	County Wayne	26 Nov., 1817	36
Sibley, Solomon	Aud'r Pub. Acc'ts		4 Oct., 1814	3
Scott, Wm. McDowell	Justice Peace	Dist. Detroit	7 Oct., 1814	3
Saufaçon, Joseph	Super'r Highways		15 May, 1816	22
Smyth, Richard	Jus. Peace	Dist. Detroit	27 July, 1816	22
Smyth, Richard	Aud'r Pub'c Acc'ts		21 Dec., 1817	36
Stockton, John	Register and Clerk of C. C. & of C. G. Q. S. Peac	County Macomb	20 Jan., 1818	

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CIVIL OFFICERS.– CONTINUED.

Names.	Offices.	Jurisdiction.	Date of Commission.	Page of Executive Journal.
Tremble, Michael	Super'r Highways		15 May, 1816	22
TenEyck, Conrad	Treas'r & Aud'r Pub'c Acc'ts	County Wayne	26 Nov	
Thompson, William	Assoc. Jus. C. Court	County Macomb	20 Jan	
Tucker, Edward	Justice Peace	County Macomb	20 Jan., 1818	
Willits, Thomas	Super'r Highways		6 Nov., 1815	21
Williams, John R	Assoc. Jus. C. C	County Wayne	9 Oct., 1815	19
Westbrook, Andrew	Super'r Highways		7 & 8 Jan., 1817	24
Woodworth, Benjamin	Vice Marshall		5 Oct., 1814	3
Woodworth, Benjamin	Coroner	Coun. Wayne	21 Nov., 1815	20
Wing, Austin E	Sheriff	Coun. Wayne	15 May, 1816	22
Wing, Austin E	Constable	Dist. Detroit & H	10 June, 1816	32

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

[Authorship not given.]

Establishment of U. S. Factories with the Indians under the administration of James Madison.—Factors forbid to traffick with white people.—Establishment of a trading post in 1808 at Fort Madison on the Mississippi.—J. W. Johnson, factor.—An attempt to surprise and destroy the company of troops sent for the protection of factory goods.—Information of the intent of the Sacs and Foxes communicated to the sutler of the post by an Iowa Indian who once resided in Mr. Askin's family at Detroit, who could speak English, though imperfectly, yet could make himself understood.—His first visit.—His second visit to the sutler.—He attends the Council of Black Hawk in the winter of 1808.—Reports confidentially to his friend, the sutler.—Promised to keep him advised of the intentions of Black Hawk and his followers.

I was appointed sutler to a company of troops commanded by Alpha Kinsley, 1st regiment, U. S. Infantry, sent to establish a trading post, and for the protection of public goods, a site for a fort and trading post was selected by Lieut. Kinsley & Mr. J. W. Johnson, U. S. F. Nine miles above Rapid des Moine a stockade was thrown up of small pickets, 5 feet high; the winter quarters for the company, which consisted of about 50 men besides the officers, formed the rear of the stockade; the barracks were low (but one story); there were two gates, one in front, next the river and a small gate

opened in the rear towards the woods. The factory store, built by the troops, was erected near the gate on the right & a sutler store on the left of the back gate. A sentry was posted night and day at this gate, outside, where he could observe all that passed at the factory as well as at the sutler's store. By the first of September of that year Mr. Johnson was ready to commence trading with the Indians. His trade was principally confined to the post, with the Sacs and Foxes & Iowas. Positive instructions was given to Mr. Johnson as well as to all factors, for the Government had established trading houses as early as 1805 at Detroit, Chicago, Fort Wayne, Green Bay, Osage, Belle Fontaine on the Missouri and many other points; the object of which was to afford the Indian's goods a small profit, merely to cover all expenses. At that time the Mississippi country was filled with British traders who sold goods at high prices. Their goods were of the very best quality, manufactured expressly for the Indian trade. Their rifles were just what the Indian required & the powder of the very best quality; whereas the goods sent to the American factors were of a very inferior quality, in fact, it would seem that all the old goods of all our cities were bought up as good enough for wild Indians. At first the goods were laughed at, ridiculed, by the Indians. The leading articles of trade, such as blankets, cloths, powder, rifles, &c., were miserable. The blankets were small and thin, weighing but half the weight of an English trader's blanket; the cloths also were this and worse, so narrow that two yards would not make a match-i-co-ta for a squaw and the calico would not, from age, hold together. The traps were good for nothing; the springs would break but the government furnished a blacksmith under charge of Mr. Johnson, the factor, who mended their traps, axes, kettles, guns, &c., &c. The article of traps from their bad quality greatly disappointed those who bought them for they always had new springs to make; in fact the goods were badly laid in for the Indian trade. The factors were constantly complaining of the quality of goods sent them.

The British traders made a handle of it and the Indians became dissatisfied with their father, the President, for sending goods so inferior to those brought by their old traders. Some years elapsed before better goods were furnished. In the meantime British traders exerted themselves to poison the minds of the Sacks and Foxes against the new traders and the Big Knives.

Black Hawk was then a young chief of great influence with the braves of the Sacks and Foxes. He possessed a daring and restless spirit. The old British traders worked so effectually on the feelings of the Indians that they

were determined to attack the troops sent for the protection of the publick goods and rob the factory store.

All traders were in the habit of making credits to the Indians; each chief accountable for each individual in his band; the chief was in all cases present when the trader made his credits and as he knew who was a good hunter and who was not, he dictated the amount to be credited to each individual of his band. The credits were always made in the fall and paid after the Indians had made their winter hunts.

Some bands of the Sacks took credit at the U. S. Factory in the fall of 1808. No matter how inferior an article, if the Indian can obtain it on a credit he will take it.

Owing to bad counsels the Indians made that year poor hunts. They kept in a body and counseled among themselves the best manner of surprising Fort Madison or rather the temporary stockade before the new fort could be occupied. They knew the new fort could not be occupied before the following summer, the soldiers hauled all the pickets and timber in the winter, hitched to sleds, 10 or 15 men to a sled, for want of horses or oxen.

Whilst they were thus occupied the Indians were debating on the best mode of attack, several head men and warriors spoke in counsel, each submitting his favorite mode of attack. They kept themselves posted up in regard to the progress of the new fort which was to be of picket work and block houses. The pickets were to be about fifteen feet high and sharpened at the top. The month of May was decided upon as the time for attacking the troops and kill every man if they could. The whole nation left their summer village in the fall, and in canoes with their families, descended the Mississippi river some 250 miles to their usual wintering grounds, at or near Wa-con-daw Prairie, and about fifty miles below Fort Madison, where game was much more plenty. Whilst the young men were employed in hunting, the wise men of the nation were submitting their plans for an attack, as they should pass up the river in the spring to their summer village, where they usually make their corn. Sometime in February, a young Iowa made his Detroit friend, the Sutler, a visit, the object of which was to inform him that the old Sack chiefs had no control of the young men; that they were occupied all winter in holding councils among themselves and were determined on mischief; that they had sent wampum to the Iowas, who would not join them in a body, but that a few individuals who had intermarried with the Sack women would and that a general massacre of the Whites was determined upon to be carried in effect in the spring.

Black Hawk, or Muck-et-e-me-shuck, was selected as the leader of the

warriors. Pash-e-pi-ho, or Stabbing Chief, was to be second in command. To settle on the mode of attack was then to be determined on. Several plans were proposed in general council. The Plumb chief proposed to make the attack when the troops were engaged in raising block houses for the new fort, when the soldiers would be scattered; some hauling timber for pickets, and others chopping and getting out timber for the block houses and barracks, leaving only six men on guard. Had the Plumb chief's plan been adopted, and all their plans kept a secret, the garrison must have fallen and the factory goods lost to the United States.

Pash-e-pi-ho proposed to fire the barracks, or soldiers' quarters, at night, scale the stockade and put overy one to death.

Black Hawk's plan prevailed; the attempt was made and he was disappointed. (See life of Black Hawk.)

The second visit of my Iowa friend was in May, 1809, a few hours previous four hundred canoes with all the Sack nation. According to promise he came to my store. I was alone; it was early in the day; he appeared very much excited; told me that the Sacks were near and urged my departure that day; he informed me that he had been at all their councils and that they would send word to Mr. Johnson that they were coming to pay their credits and trade that they fetch their women and children; that their plans might not be detected, or more fully to put the troops off their guard. About nine o'clock the Indians came in sight on the opposite side of the river and encamped. Soon a canoe put off with a message to the trader to be ready to receive his credits, after which they would trade; that they were anxious to reach their summer homes and to plant their corn. Band after band paid up their credits and traded, the chief of each band sitting on the counter hurrying them on. About three o'clock the trading was over. Pash-e-pi-ho, in person, asked to be admitted within the stockade, accompanied by an interpreter. He told Lieut. Kingsley that his young men had paid all their credits and wished to give him a dance inside the stockade as it was stumpy outside and would hurt his young men's feet. The commanding officer gave him to understand that his request could not be complied with and said if they wished to dance that they could go over to their trader, Mr. Johnson, and see them dance. The dancing party soon became uneasy and struck up on the drum, getting in as compact a body as they possibly could and soon moved round to the front gate. There a sentinel was posted and was compelled to come to a charge with his bayonet. The commanding officer who stood near a six-pounder and a soldier with a lighted port fire, was all that was exposed to view. Beside the interpreter stood the commanding officer

and Pash-e-pi-ho urging the commanding officer to permit the Indians to enter the stockade. The chief had his knife in his hand carelessly cutting tobacco as I jumped from my store over the picket work.

The officer, instead of detailing his men for fatigue or suffering them to be scattered about as usual at their work, ordered them under arms. The soldiers' quarters formed the rear of the stockade of about one acre of ground. The six pounder stood within twenty feet of the barracks, directly fronting the gate, loaded with balls. Near the cannon stood a man with port fire in hand, waiting for orders. I looked towards the barracks, bayonets bristled through the doors and windows. Black Hawk was in front; about ten Indians filled up the gateway; those in front, from the pressure of those in the rear, anxious to gain admittance within, were bent forward; the sentinel at the gate stood at a charge with his bayonet. The Indian directly in his front leaning with his nose nearly touching the sentinel's musquet. In a moment I expected the affray would commence. The guard was doubled at the guard house. Within three feet of the sentinel, waiting the discharge of the six-pounder, the man at the gun swung round the port-fire, expecting every moment orders to apply the match. When Pash-e-pi-ho waved his hand as a signal for a retreat, the Indians came to the right about on their steps, and as they did so every man raised his war club in the air with a tremendous war whoop, disappointed and mad that their plans were discovered. Pash-e-pi-ho was suffered to depart with his men, not, however, without a warning from the commanding officer who told him he had been watched in all his councils during the winter, and in pity towards them they were suffered to go unharmed—the first fire. From the compact manner in which they came up the cannon must have killed one-half of them at the first discharge. The men in the barracks were to have charged to gate. In an instant twelve men in the guard house would have supported the sentinel whilst they reloaded the cannon. All the talking was through an officer through an interpreter. Pash was told the moment an Indian stepped over the gate-sill he would be fired on. Every man stood ready, for it was understood that if they forced the sentinel at the gate, it would be the signal to fire the cannon first, but in twenty minutes not an Indian was to be seen on the west side of the river. As the factory left the factory store the squaws took up their line for the canoes to be out of danger. So certain were they of success that the women brought with them their pack ropes to tie up the factory goods. Once in the stockade, they had confidently expected the troops would have gathered round them as they danced, and they were, at a signal from Pash-e-pi-ho, to have

used the war club and knife. The knife which he had in his hand, cutting tobacco with, he intended for the commanding officer, Lieut. Kingsley. This chief was one of the most successful warriors in the nation, had killed in battle with his own hand fifteen of their enemies. He had carefully preserved their scalps until his death, which occurred a short time since in crossing a river when drunk. He fell out of his canoe and was drowned. The night of the failure, fifty canoes, with Black Hawk, left their camp on a war party against the Osages, 300 miles off.

The next day the old chief, Quashquame-nom-wait, the Plumb chief, Pacon-Napope, came over with a white flag and informed Lieut. Kingsley that all the bad young men and young chiefs had gone to war; that they, the old chiefs, could not control these bad men, that they thanked the Great Spirit that the smoke had disappeared & that the sun shone once more & acknowledged that the Black Hawk had great influence over the braves & that they were urged on by bad white men. After the council ended the six pounder was taken out on the bank of the Mississippi and discharged. The river was calm and the balls had a charming effect on the water. Perhaps it might have been the first opportunity they ever had to see a cannon fired with six pounds of leaden bullets in it.

They put their hands to their mouths with an exclamation that that shot would have killed half of them. Had the Indians taken any other mode of attack they must have succeeded. Had they waited until night they could easily have set fire to the barracks and that would have left nothing to prevent them from getting in. They had no block-houses. The new fort was unfinished, the block-houses only half up and the picket work only just begun and one month after the company of men would have defied all the Indians in the country.

I have never met with my Iowa friend since. Report said he was suspected by the Sacks that he acted as a spy for the sutler and was put to death or killed in a drunken frollick. Certain it was that by giving me the name Saginash, (or Englishman) it saved my life years after & from a wish that I would leave the fort when danger threatened, the commanding officer was kept informed of all their movements. Shortly after the failure of the Indians, two companies of militia were sent there, the following summer. Shortly after, in 1808, the embargo was laid and British goods and English traders were not licensed to trade with the Indians unless an American was in some way connected with the business and his name appeared in the licence.

In 1811 (Sep.) a proposition was made to me (I was at that time still a Sutler at Fort Madison) by John W. Johnson, then a Sub. Ind. Agent, as

well as U. S. Factor, to take an outfit of Indian goods for the purpose of trading with the Indians, then engaged in working the lead mines at Toledo Mort (or Dead Head), about eight miles above the mouth of Galena River and about 9 miles below Dubuque. Mr. Johnson informed me that the Sack and Fox Indians had been one year at work & that a good business could be done in lead and fur. He further told me that he considered it his duty to see that the Indians at the mines were supplied with goods; that there were but few goods in the country, such as were necessary for the Indians & offered me goods as money as I wished; if sold to them they were to be accounted for; if not sold, to be returned in the spring. I hired five Frenchmen and two discharged soldiers; the latter to build boats to transport my lead and fur and winter with me after erecting my trading house. I discharged the two Frenchmen, keeping the two Americans and a young half-breed as my interpreter. The Indians called him Pe-peek (or Little Bird). After erecting a store, lead house and fur house, all connected inside with doors, I commenced trading for lead. The Indians had made large quantities during the year and had it all on hand. About the last of September I was prepared to receive their lead & trade commenced in good earnest. From ten to fifteen canoes, carrying 2000 pounds, were at the landing daily. I was kept from morning to night weighing and paying in goods, no opposition within five hundred miles. Lieutenant Prior, formerly of the U. S. Army, was carrying on a smelting furnace. He formerly got his goods from Mackinac until the embargo was laid, and supplies through that source were cut off. At this time he had collected of the Indians a large quantity of lead for which he had paid provisions and some goods. I carried on a profitable trade during the fall of 1811 & had made large credits to the Sacks and Foxes for which I was to be paid in fur in the spring. Unfortunately for me the Battle of Tippecanoe was fought and the Indians were defeated. One hundred Winebagos were in that battle; they had been to Malden that summer on a visit to their British Father & on their return stopped at the Prophet's town and in the battle lost 25 men.

After the battle they repaired to their village on Rock River. After resting awhile they collected a war party of one hundred men, headed by the Rolling Thunder and soon were joined by a small party under Monges des homme (or Man Eater).

On the 1st January, 1812, they encamped a mile from my trading house. A Sack woman went out early in the morning to procure bark to stretch fur with, and discovered them; perceiving that they were painted for war, she hastened back to inform me. She being encamped near my house, she came to me very much alarmed and said, "Saginash, there is one hundred

Winnebagoes a short distance back in the woods. Hide your goods. Hide your goods." I shortly after saw her with her mat lodge on her back, making her way down the Mississippi to about two miles below my house. On the river there were ten lodges of her nation encamped for the winter.

Two months had expired since Harrison's battle, yet no notice was given to American citizens and traders, and the first intimation I received of the battle was a war party at my door, yet I had a large amount of publick goods under my charge to sell for the factors at Fort Madison. The Sack lodges consisted of about fifty men. The most of them I credited and they happened to be out trapping when the old woman brought the news to camp of the danger I was in. All then at home, only six in number, armed themselves, but arrived too late to defend me within 100 yards of my store, and it was too late.

Soon after the old woman left me, four Winnebago spies from the war party came to the house past my two men who were getting timber for a flat boat that I expected to use in the spring. They had their guns with them. I took them into the house, placed before them a large bowl of corn and pork. Whilst they were eating they held their guns in their arms. Supposing they only came into trade and that they had their fur at their camp and came to price my goods as was usually the custom, I offered to take charge of their guns and tomahawk, which was also the custom; but they declined giving them up, as they said they were going right off as soon as they had eaten up what I had placed before them.

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